SOCIAL SPACES, SYMBOLIC POWER AND LANGUAGE IDENTITIES: A CASE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE USE OF CHINESE ADOLESCENTS IN CANADA

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

Research has shown that late-arriving teen English language learners (ELLs) are deeply rooted in the sociocultural and educational system of their home country for a majority of their schooling time (Duff, 2001; Minichello, 2001). In their transition to a new society in North America, this group encounters sociocultural and linguistic differences in their daily lives.

Through a lens entitled Critical Multiple Social Spaces, which combines the Multiple Worlds Model (Phelan et al., 1991), the concept of Third Space (Bhabha, 1994) and a sociocultural perspective on language use (Fairclough, 2001; Pennycook, 2010), this qualitative case study focuses on 10 Chinese ELL adolescents who came to Canada after the age of 15, and examines their cross-trajectory experiences of English practice in their daily lives and their language identities. At the time of this study, they were at the stage of completing high school and applying for admission to higher education institutions.

Findings showed that this group’s language use in daily life is full of conflicts, negotiation and consolidation, not only at school as a usual space of contested language practice, but also at home, with peers and in other spaces. At school, social division existed both in and out of class, yet such social division was not merely due to ELLs’ reluctance to integrate. Participants positioned themselves differently in English Literature courses and core classes in accordance with their perceived proficiency. Home, generally regarded as a traditionally stable space of language practice, became another site of complex dynamics. Peer networks also emerged as embodying similar complications. In addition to racial and ethnic factors, age on arrival and length of residence played a significant role in social interaction, impacting both same-ethnic and cross-ethnic peer networks.

Based on these findings, four categories are identified pertaining to participants’ cross-
trajectory language experiences, in which English spaces are positioned differently in relation to other spaces. Equally noteworthy are the dynamics between social spaces, social relations and language use, which shape – and are shaped by – symbolic power, investment and language identities. The implications of these findings on ELL adolescents’ language use in a broader migration space are also discussed.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Having travelled thousand miles from China to Canada to pursue my doctoral degree, I enjoyed this adventure of knowledge. The completion of this thesis journey involved many people in my life. Without their strong support, trust, love and inspiration, it would have been impossible for me to finally arrive at this stage.

My sincerest gratitude goes to my participants, in particular my ten core participants - Angel, Amanda, David, Ivana, Kira, Joe, Justin, Rachel, Tony, Travis - and their parents. Thank you all for generously sharing your time and your life stories with me. Without your support and insight, this thesis would not have been possible. Thank you!!

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>AOA</td>
<td>Age on Arrival</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td>Canadian-born Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCNCTO</td>
<td>Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIC</td>
<td>Citizenship and Immigration Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>CICS</td>
<td>Centre for Information and Community Services</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESL</td>
<td>English as a Second Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>English Language Learner</td>
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<td>GTA</td>
<td>the Greater Toronto Area</td>
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<td>IELTS</td>
<td>International English Language Testing System</td>
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<td>L1</td>
<td>First Language</td>
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<td>L2</td>
<td>Second Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>LINC</td>
<td>Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOR</td>
<td>Length of Residence</td>
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<tr>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Native Speakers of English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNS</td>
<td>Non-native Speakers of English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>Social Economic Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCCSA</td>
<td>The Cross-Cultural Community Services Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOEFL</td>
<td>Test of English as a Foreign Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>TDSB</td>
<td>Toronto District School Board</td>
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Statement of Research Problem

East Asian students are widely known for their academic excellence in North American high schools (Li & Wang, 2008). According to Brown’s (2006) five-year study on Toronto District School Board (TDSB) Grade 9 students organized into 17 language groups, Chinese students were at the second lowest rank with a drop-out rate of 12%. In contrast, the dropout rate of English-speaking-only students, including students from the Caribbean, was 22.9%.

Under the stereotype of Model Minority (G. Li, 2006b), late-arriving English Language Learner (ELL) adolescents – not only those from Asian communities -- often go unnoticed and underserved. This group has come to Canada “late” and has started their education after the age of 16 in Canadian schools (Chuang, 2010; Ruiz-de-Velasco, Michael & Clewell, 2000; Zehr, 2001). They have completed the majority of their secondary education before arriving in Canada, which has shaped their perception of knowledge, learning and social structures. Upon arrival to Canada, they are immediately embedded in a new set of social structures and sociocultural norms which they negotiate and renegotiate. This transition from one social setting to another at a later age undoubtedly involves more than just English proficiency, especially when compared to students who start their education in Canada earlier (Cohen, 2007; Duff, 2001; Duff & Talmy, 2011). Such transitional difficulties not only occur at school, but also in their daily life in multiple social spaces.

Research has shown that late-arriving adolescents usually have an intense schedule in order to complete high school courses (Roessingh & Field, 2000), and experience English proficiency issues in academic work, social division in peer networks (Miller, 2003; Minichiello, 2001), and changing family dynamics (J. Li, 2001). Yet, Asian learners’ voices are not fully heard due to a stereotype of model minority for a broader group (G. Li, 2006b). This study attempts to examine how late-arriving Chinese adolescents interpret their experiences of language use in daily life in Canada. More specifically, this study will focus on a group of late-arriving Chinese adolescents’ interpretations of differences both in and across various social spaces, and their experiences as learners who are deeply rooted in a distinct sociocultural context.
My Personal Story

My story: An adult ESL user.

I came to Toronto in 2007 to complete my doctoral studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto. As an English as a foreign language (EFL) teacher for more than 10 years at the university level in China who had completed a master’s degree in the United States (USA), I felt comfortable with both the English language and English cultures.

After a 13-hour flight and the hustle of settling down, I went to OISE to complete my registration. Standing in front of the OISE building, a sense of foreignness and invisibility prevailed over my excitement for the first time. Everybody on the street -- none of whom I knew -- was holding a cup of coffee and busy walking, oblivious to me. As I come from a Cantonese city, walking holding a cup of coffee is not a cultural norm there! Most of all, in that city -- on a familiar university campus where I’ve worked for a number of years -- most people knew me and I knew them as well. Standing in front of the OISE building, this sense of attachment disappeared. Still, I was excited to start my student life in Toronto. I rented an apartment and settled down in anticipation of my husband and my son coming a month later. There weren’t any problems getting basic tasks done in English, like applying for a home phone, Internet and TV account, or getting furniture for the apartment. So far, life in Toronto appeared easy and exciting.

The first course I took at OISE was a mandatory course for most graduate students. Two weeks before the class, I received an email from the instructor welcoming all students and explaining what to expect in the first class. Along with the email, there were some articles for the class to discuss. As the day came, I came to the class and found the class packed with excited students. Seeing everybody with printed materials, I realized that I was supposed to have printed those materials and brought them to the school. I hadn’t done so because I was used to instructors bringing materials to the class in China. Moreover, the whole class was full of lively conversations which gave me the impression that students in the class had already known each other for a long time. I started to feel panic, as I didn’t have the materials ready and I didn’t know anyone in the class, even though a classroom setting was not new to me as I had been a teacher for more than 10 years. Listening to those conversations, I felt that everybody spoke better English, which increased my level of panic. I envisioned that every mistake and error I would make would be easily identified and magnified in front of my peers who were all English native language speakers. Looking at the whole class, I started to feel my palms sweating.
Then, the class started. Even though I had no problem understanding the instructor and the classmates, I wanted to express my opinions, yet was fearful of making mistakes. Being quiet for almost the whole class, I told myself: “Yamin, you cannot keep silent in this class. If you don’t start talking, your four-year study at OISE will always be silent.” Then I forced myself to talk, and forced myself to purposefully ignore different wordings and expressions that were different from my soon-to-be-familiar classmates. It took me a longer time to organize my words in order to sound professional; yet I still felt my speech sounded like a street conversation. The instructor managed to let us voice our opinions regardless of our English proficiency. While I was deeply interested in those discussions and enjoyed the freedom to express myself, I still had sweaty palms and an accelerated heartbeat before I started to talk.

At present, I am in the fifth year of my doctoral study, and OISE has become an important part of my daily life - I can hardly remember the sense of foreignness that I felt in the first year. Subconsciously, I have changed so that I now fit the cultural norm -- I usually hold a cup of coffee and walk on the street hurriedly. On the table in my office, I usually have a cup of tea and a cup of coffee. When I am required to speak in public, I do not feel as much fear as I had that day in my first class; yet I still find that the fear returns during unfamiliar occasions.

**My son’s story: An early-arriving ESL user.**

My son John’s first year at school was difficult. Arriving in Canada at the age of 9 with very limited English, he had difficulty following classroom instructions and got very low marks for school work. With the help of another Mandarin-speaking boy, he could follow basic routines at school. Yet he could hardly talk to anyone other than Mandarin-speakers. Every morning when we took him to school, he usually stood alone in the school yard waiting for the start of school. He could not join in any peer conversations. Once when three kids in his class were talking excitedly while waiting for the class, he stood there listening, yet was incapable of joining in the conversation. It was obvious that he was on the outside of the social network due to his limited English proficiency.

To help him improve his English and establish a social circle, we registered him in various after-school sports activities. He started to take skating and swimming classes (he had previously started swimming at a young age in China). During winter and summer vacations, we registered him for various after-school activities so he could keep practicing English and also expand his social network. At home, we urged him to watch TV programs appropriate for his
age, hoping that these would help him to catch up soon. Living in a high-rise building where most of residents were graduate students from the University of Toronto, we shared a playground where children living in this building played together. Every day after dinner, John played with other children in the playground for a few hours. Those activities helped him quickly learn English. One year later, he could freely engage in peer conversations.

At home, we constantly reminded him he was fortunate to be able to speak Mandarin as well as English and he believed this until an incident that happened one year after his arrival. One day he came home looking sad. His classmates had told him to speak appropriate English or go to ESL classes. As we had taught him, his response to his peers was, “I can speak Mandarin but you can’t.” His classmates responded, “So what? Nobody uses Mandarin here.” My son did not know how to respond; actually, neither did we at that point. Later, at a parent-teacher meeting, I brought up this incident to his teacher. As I was talking, I saw tears in my son’s eyes and the teacher saw it too. The teacher promised John that he would have a talk with the class.

Three years later, a newcomer from China came to John’s class. In the first few weeks, my son became her interpreter explaining class instructions and basic school rules. One day at home, my son told me: “Mom, I feel powerful at school when interpreting. I feel other kids envy me since I can speak both languages.” He proceeded to happily tell me about an incident when he mistakenly spoke Mandarin to his English-speaking teacher and English to this Mandarin-speaking newcomer, since he was busy interpreting and confused by turns. He told me that his teacher, the newcomer and he, all laughed at this mistake.

**L1 loss.**
While John has significantly improved his English proficiency and adjusted to Canadian culture, he is losing his Mandarin. When he arrived in Canada in 2007, he could read classic Chinese literature. One of his favorite pieces was *the Legend of Three Kingdoms* (三国演义 san guo yan yi), which is written in an ancient genre (文言文 wen yan wen). In the first year in Toronto, he constantly read this book to a point where he could recite some parts. Now he can hardly read it any more. We can still have daily routine conversations in Mandarin, but since his learning of Mandarin effectively ceased with his arrival in Canada, if the conversations go deeper, or if I need to leave a note, we are forced to use English instead of Mandarin.

**Changing family dynamics.**
After living in Toronto for one year, my husband, Harry, was unable to find a job in his field. After a year, we felt that it would be better to accept a job offer in China with an excellent
remuneration package. Since then, it has only been John and me living in Toronto. The day that my husband left for the airport, I sat in the sitting room, feeling overwhelmed by the fact that I had to deal with life in Toronto alone.

Since then, my husband flies back to Toronto twice a year, while most of the time my son and I stay in Toronto without him. As time goes on, John uses English as his primary language since he does not know how to express many new concepts or details in Chinese. This is not unexpected given the environment in which John now lives. However, it does lead to difficulties in the family, which are probably representative of what many other newcomers experience. For example, my husband is more fluent in Mandarin than English. When my son and my husband converse, my husband now cannot understand what my son means in English and requests that John speak Mandarin. Since John is unable to express everything with his limited Mandarin skills, inevitably these conversations lead to frustration and sometimes anger. On more and more occasions, I find myself becoming both the interpreter and the peacemaker, explaining the meanings of words for both of them. The inability to converse is stressful for all parties.

**Working at the Johnson Institute.**

In 2008, I started to teach English language courses at a private language school in Toronto. This school has served a wide age range of Chinese learners for a decade, focusing mainly on test preparation. Before my first class, my expectations were for a small class with no more than 10 students. As well, I believed that Chinese students -- with a reputation of excellence in school work – would not have significant language issues. However, on my first day of teaching, I was shocked by the size of my class, which had around 20 to 30 students. In busy times, class sizes increased to up to 40 students. Students came from different senior high schools and generally had resided in Canada for approximately three years.

Teaching in this school, I experienced complicated feelings toward this group of learners. As a graduate student, I needed this job to cover expenses; however, compared to the top university students I taught in China, I felt I was teaching a group of “bad” students who were “lazy” and “resistant to assimilation”. I believed their English should not have been an issue since they had resided in North America for a number of years. I felt that they should have been more competent in English, as this is a predictable outcome of living in Canada. Yet, as I spent more time and had more conversations with them, I started to look at them from another perspective. Questions lingered in my mind: “Why are they here? Why is there such a high
number of these students registering at this school? How do they use English in their worlds so that they feel they need extra assistance? How many students are there in other language schools? What about those students who cannot afford to come?” These questions, coupled with my own personal experiences, led me to want to investigate this group of learners’ experiences in Canada. If my son, John, could successfully integrate into a Canadian school system, and significantly improve his English in a short period of time, why was this group of learners, who were present in my class, still struggling?

**Research Context**

**Migration waves in Canada.**

Canada has been receiving immigrants from different countries for many years. According to Statistics Canada (2007), 19.8% of the Canadian population was born out of Canada. This amounts to 6.18 million people, with 70.2% of them speaking a language other than English or French as a mother tongue. Ethnic diversity in Canada has also expanded, with more than 200 different ethnic groups identified within the population.

According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2008), Canada receives more than 130,000 students a year. In addition, the Canadian government has expanded visa student programs in order to recruit more international students. Mainland China, in recent years, has become one of the major educational markets for Canada.

Before 1989, Chinese immigrants in Canada were mostly from Hong Kong, Taiwan and other Asian countries such as Vietnam, Indonesia and Malaysia. People from those regions had distinct cultural, historical, social and political backgrounds from the Mainland Chinese (Chau, 1996; Chow, 1997; George, Fong, Da & Chang, 2004; Gunderson, 2007; Lo & Wang, 1997; McKay & Wong, 1996; Tsang, Irving, Alaggia, Chao & Benjamin, 2003; Zhang, 1995). A small number of Mainland Chinese started the wave of immigration to Canada as one of the consequences of the Chinese Open Door policy in 1976 (Lo & Wang, 1997). From 1989 onward, Mainland Chinese started immigrating to Canada in large numbers (Lo & Wang, 1997). According to CIC statistics (2008), this group has remained one of the top sources of immigration, making Chinese language the third most widely used language in Canada since 1998.

For the most part, this group immigrates to Canada as skilled workers (CIC Statistics, 2008). Other than political and religious reasons, the majority of Mainland Chinese skilled workers immigrate to explore material opportunities (Han, 2007; Zhang, 1995; Zhu, 2005) and
better education for their offspring (McKay & Wong, 1996; Xu, 2006). Before landing in Canada, adults have completed higher education (George et al, 2004; Lo & Wong, 1997; McKay & Wong, 1996; Xu, 2006), which deeply impacts their perception of their children’s education and ideal occupations. Since 1983, following the one-child policy in China, most Chinese immigrant families have one child.

**ELLs and ESL policies in Ontario.**

The face of Ontario schools is changing, with a growing number of schools having an ELL student population that outnumbers the Canadian-born student population (Mandel, 2008; Minichiello, 2001). Such a phenomenon does not only happen in Ontario – across many of the other Canadian provinces, the majority of students in some schools are ELLs, with English becoming a language that is predominantly used in class or with teachers (Anderson, 2002).

The TDSB is the largest school board in Canada. It has 451 elementary schools, 104 secondary schools and five adult schools, offering education from kindergarten to secondary to adult education. According to a 2009 TDSB Report (People for Education, 2009), approximately 51.9% of students did not speak English as their first language while over 9.1% of students had lived in Canada for no more than three years. In some urban schools, 95% of students reported being in need of English language support.

In response to this need, the Ontario government has been increasing funds for ESL education in Ontario schools. For the 2007-2008 fiscal year, almost 265 million dollars was allocated for ESL program enhancements and additional training services for new Canadians, with an additional 10 million more allocated the following year. However, in 2007, 53% of elementary schools with ELL students and 27% of secondary schools had no ESL teachers. The number of ESL programs declined from 58% in 1997-8 to 36% in 2005/6, even though the ELL student population kept rising (People for Education, 2009).

**The Greater Toronto Area and its Chinatowns.**

Of the ten provinces and three territories in Canada, Ontario is the most populous with more than 12 million people. Almost one in three Canadians lives in Ontario, and immigrants make up half of the total population.¹ According to the *People for Education* (2009), every year Ontario receives 100,000 immigrants. One third are under the age of 19, and three-quarters are from countries where English is not the first language.

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¹ Data retrieved from the Ontario Government website.
The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) includes the city of Toronto and four regional municipalities: Durham, Halton, Peel and York. It is Canada’s business and manufacturing center, which attracts a large number of immigrants and temporary visitors every year. In 2006, 68% of Canada’s landed immigrants chose to reside in Toronto (ElDakiky & Shields, 2009; People for Education, 2009; StatsCan, 2007). According to People for Education (2007), 77% of the English language learners (ELLs) in Ontario live in the GTA. Not surprisingly, schools in these areas report higher percentages of students in need of ESL education.

In the GTA, immigrants from the same ethnic background prefer to settle in the same neighborhood (Qadeer, 2004). There are two widely known Chinatowns and several suburban Chinese communities established in conjunction with the immigration waves of Chinese (Preston & Lo, 2000; Qadeer, 2000; Zhuang, 2008). Even though these might appear to be similar to most of the population, these Chinatowns are unique and different based upon the fact that they have attracted different groups of Chinese-Canadians due to their historical development, with different Chinese dialects dominating communication (Luk, 2000).

The biggest Chinatown in Toronto is located at the intersection of Dundas Street West and Spadina Avenue, and will be referred to in this study as “Spadina Chinatown”. After several decades of development, it has actually become a center for all Asian cultures, including cultures of Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai and other Asian countries. Services in this area are usually offered in Cantonese, Mandarin or English, of which Cantonese and Mandarin are more frequently used than English. Compared to other Chinatowns, the Spadina Chinatown is more distinct because of its dominant Cantonese and Vietnamese culture; restaurants, grocery stores and street signs are mostly printed in the traditional Chinese spelling system or Vietnamese, catering to Cantonese- or Vietnamese-speaking communities. Also, this Chinatown has a wider diversity of organizations and services. A large number of non-governmental organizations are located in the southern part of this Chinatown, engaging people from different parts of Toronto in various community activities. A few after-school programs are offered here, such as traditional Chinese martial arts, dragon dancing courses, language schools, as well as music and art school.

East Chinatown is located at Gerrard Street East, which is a comparatively smaller Chinese community. It consists mainly of Vietnamese Chinese and southern Mainland Chinese, many of whom are from Fujian and adjacent provinces with Fujian dialects. Thus, Fujian

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2 Fujian is well known for its numerous dialects. Residents in two adjacent towns may speak totally different
dialects and Mandarin are dominant languages in this community. This Chinatown has fewer organizations and businesses catering to the diverse needs of Asian communities. It has banks, grocery stores, restaurants and other entertainment businesses. However, it does not have many after-school programs and non-government organizations compared to Spadina Chinatown.

In recent years, a new Chinatown has gradually formed in one suburban area of the GTA due to the influx of Mainland Chinese immigrants who have come since 1989 (Lo & Wang, 1997). This Chinatown is located in Markham, centering around the Pacific Mall and Splendid China Tower. It attracts mostly northern Mainland Chinese immigrants whose first language is Mandarin. This Chinatown reflects a new type of ethnic congregation space, which attracts businesses for ethnic cultural needs and for assimilation needs. In this new Chinatown, Chinese grocery stores and restaurants catering to the needs of northern Mainland Chinese sit opposite to chain stores prevalent in North America, like Wal-Mart or Shoppers Drug Mart, representing a unique picture of the congregation of ethnic culture and dominant culture (Qadeer, 2004). Compared to Spadina Chinatown, this Chinatown is less known for its after-school programs and other community activities specifically designed for ethnic Chinese. It displays a mixture of Mainland Chinese culture intertwined with the dominant North American culture.

**The Research Site**

In the GTA, private language schools serve a wide range of Chinese ELLs, from high school students, to visa students, to adult immigrant learners. These schools are widely known among Chinese communities and are well attended, as evidenced by the high student registration numbers. These language schools are usually located near Chinese congregated areas (e.g., the Chinatowns described earlier in this chapter).

The research site, the Johnson Institute, has three campuses at three Chinatowns in Toronto and has been offering English test preparation courses for ethnic Chinese adolescents for more than 20 years. It offers a range of high school courses including, Mathematics, French, and English literacy, as well as test preparation courses, such as the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). Each campus has more than 20 teachers and staff. The language of instruction is Mandarin; English is only used for students from different language backgrounds or in tailored programs. For service in English, an extra fee is charged. Teachers in these schools are mostly immigrants from Mainland
China. Some of them have previous teaching experience in Mainland China, while all of them have earned at least one post-secondary degree completed in North America.

**Research Questions**

This qualitative case study focuses on late-arriving ELL adolescents from Mainland China. The late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents in this study migrated to Canada with various statuses (e.g., landed immigrants or visa students). They all came to Canada after the age of 15 from Mainland China. Some lived with their parents, or guardians, while others lived alone. This study examines their language use in all aspects of their daily life – not just at the educational level from high school to higher education institutions, but also as they seek to establish new social relations within their peer groups and community and negotiate the changing dynamics of a family in transition. In other words, it tracks language use in their daily lives, and how their experiences affect their interpretation of the future, as well as their access to social capital and the construction of their identities (Block, 2007b). The questions I aim to answer with this research are as follows:

1. What are the experiences of late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents in terms of their language use in Canada?

2. How do the experiences of late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents’ English use in one language world impact on their experiences in another world?

3. How do late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences with English use across multiple worlds impact on their choices for life after high school?

4. How do late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents perceive their current English use across multiple worlds regarding their potential success in university/college in Canada?

**Significance of the Study**

Using a lens of sociocultural theories, this research attempts to expand current understandings of late-arriving ELL adolescents with respect to their experiences of language use in their daily worlds: school, peers, home and other places. Some of the worlds can be worlds with a traditional definition of spatial and temporal space (e.g., home and school), whereas other worlds are transnational and trans-spatial spaces (e.g., cyber worlds).

Qualitative case study is an ideal methodology for exploring students’ lived and living experiences in a complicated real-life context, as well as examining how such experiences impact people’s interpretations of social networks and language practice in and across worlds.
Many studies (e.g., Early & Marshall, 2008; Soto Gordon, 2010; J. Li, 2007, 2009; Miller, 2007; Taylor, 2006) have employed this methodology to explore the experiences of linguistic minority adolescents from diverse perspectives.

By examining the experiences of late-arriving Chinese adolescents’ language use in depth, this study attempts to understand how their experiences in one world shape their experiences in another, and ultimately impact their choices and interpretations in future worlds. Furthermore, by looking at a group of ELL adolescents coming from a society with different sociocultural, linguistic and educational systems, this study explores how this group interprets differences and the underlying power relations among various worlds in their daily life. Through a unifying conceptual framework (i.e., Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model), this study aims to contribute to current literature by exploring how late-arriving linguistic minority students engage in language use as a social practice in which they position themselves. This study endeavors to expand the discussion by underlining the impact of difference on social spaces, social networks and language use, and how such a notion of difference shapes late-arriving Chinese adolescents’ perception of identity.

The Description of the Dissertation

This dissertation has nine chapters. Chapter 2 presents current empirical and theoretical studies on late-arriving English language learners. The first section focuses on empirical studies of late-arriving English language learners’ experiences of language use at home, with peers, at school and in other spaces. The second and third sections introduce the social developmental stages that adolescents experience. This chapter ends with a theoretical discussion of ELLs’ identity construction, which I expand on in Chapter 3 in which I introduce my conceptual framework for this study, which I have entitled Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model. This chapter starts with an introduction of the Multiple Worlds Model (Phelan, Davidson & Cao, 1991). Adding the notions of social space, language as symbolic capital and Third Space(s), this chapter ends with an outline of my consolidated conceptual framework. Chapter 4 introduces the methodology adopted for this study. Chapter 5 outlines the ten case narratives representing each of my core participants. Even though their experiences vary, the presentation of their narratives follows a general theme: home, school, peers, and other spaces. In Chapters 6 and 7, I present the findings of my cross-case analysis, and then in Chapter 8, I discuss these findings using my conceptual framework as a lens and suggest implications. Chapter 9 presents the implications of
this study for schools, parents and communities. It includes an epilogue and a direction for future research.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The literature review in this chapter is comprised of three major sections. The first section introduces the sociocultural nature of adolescent development, explaining how adolescents at this stage learn from and interact with broader cultural communities. This section also introduces how external and internal factors such as broader cultural communities, age of arrival (AOA) and length of residence (LOR) impact English Language Learner (ELL) adolescents’ learning and integration into North American societies. The second section presents empirical studies on late-arriving Chinese adolescents’ experiences in various spaces -- at school, at home, among peers and at other places. The third section reviews research documenting late-arriving ELL adolescents’ border-crossing experiences and identity construction.

Sociocultural Development of ELL Adolescents

In this section, I introduce theoretical discussions on adolescent development, and empirical studies on ELL adolescents’ experiences in multiple sociocultural environments.

Sociocultural nature of adolescent development.

Adolescence is the last step before becoming an adult, a transitional stage in adolescents’ role and identity in various cultural communities. Adolescence begins at approximately age 10 and lasts until one’s early twenties, during which time their physical appearance, cognitive development and character change. Also, adolescents at this stage contemplate their role in future adult worlds and their identities regarding social networks (Erikson, 1950). Adolescents usually become more distant from their parents and are more likely to be influenced by their peers. In some cultures, adolescents are regarded as rebellious and emotionally unstable (Rogoff, 2003).

Sociocultural theory maintains that humans learn from social situations, with signs and tools playing a mediating role, connecting learners to external sociocultural environments (Lave & Wagner, 1991; Vygostky, 1989). Bakhtin (1986) stressed the dialogical nature of utterance, which involves multiple voices arising from the interaction between speakers and external sociocultural contexts. Wertsch (1991) proposed a framework of agent acting with mediating tools, stressing the interactions among agents, their social contexts and the social languages that agents employ.

Humans are also thought to learn from forms of social co-participation (Lave & Wagner,
1991), where people learn from social engagement in a community, within which experts guide practice with tools and signs based on the rules of the community. In this regard, humans develop from collaborative participation in the social situations of a community with certain sets of rules.

Adolescents at this stage are not content with learning solely from social situations, but also from co-participating in and across social situations, where their roles in the future world and social relations can be consolidated. Furthermore, with their co-participation, not only themselves, but also the communities in which they participate will change their norms of practice to a certain extent.

Rogoff (2003) asserted that “human development is a cultural process” (p.3). Humans learn from their continuing participation in social situations of cultural communities with the guidance of experts, from which they learn cultural and social norms and values of cultural communities. With their participation, cultural communities do not remain static – they change as well. In other words, “humans develop through their changing participation in the sociocultural activities of their communities, which also change” (Rogoff, 2003, p.11). By participating in social activities and routines, humans learn the values and norms of cultural communities, and children may be expected to engage in these activities at different times during their childhood. In this regard, activities and routines of cultural communities reflect regularities and differences as well as social relations which further shape human thinking with cultural tools and institutions of culture. Human development should not be considered as a universal standard development based upon middle class families of American European descendants (Rogoff, 2003). Various cultural communities have diverse patterns of human development, whose goals are impacted by irregularities and differences. Thus, “cognitive development occurs as people learn to use cultural tools for thinking (such as literacy and mathematics) with the help of others more experienced with such tools and cultural institutions” (Rogoff, 2003, p.237).

Hedegaard (2009) suggested that humans develop by experiencing concrete social situations in and across various cultural communities. Thus, to study human development, it is necessary to include a child’s everyday institutions and the conditions that the society has given children for development. By focusing on a child’s daily experiences in concrete situations, such as home and school, a child’s development of his/her perspectives on social values can be identified. Fleer and Hedegaard (2010) stressed the dynamic process of participating in various
cultural communities in daily life, which changed children’s activities as well as “their relations to reality across institutional practices” (p.148).

This study takes a sociocultural view on adolescent development. Adolescent development refers to adolescents’ transitional participation in daily activities with the use of signs and tools in and across various cultural communities. Their language practice involves experiences with regularity and difference in multiple language and sociocultural communities in daily life where the practice will change. Along with their participation, those cultural communities will change as well.

**East Asian ELLs.**

Mills (2004) defined *discourse* as “sets of sanctioned statements which have some institutionalized force, which means that they have a profound influence on the way that individuals act and think.” (p.55). The discourse of Asian students, in particular East Asian students, has revealed such influence at various levels. East Asian students have been perceived as a “model minority” in North America. The term “model minority” first emerged in the USA in 1960s, referring to Asian Americans’ self-help and uncomplaining behavior (Li & Wang, 2008; McKay & Wong, 1996). Asian communities applauded this imposed image after a history of exclusion and discrimination from the mainstream. They considered this to be an upgraded image for Asian immigrants (Li & Wang, 2008). Immigrants who came to North America at a much later time embraced this imposed social image without being fully aware of the history of Asian immigrants in North America. In contrast, scholars and educators have rejected this imposed image as this label implies an anticipated image of obedience casted upon minorities by the mainstream (G. Li, 2008), and obscures contested sociocultural norms upon which minorities are expected to act (Pon, Goldstein, & Schecter, 2003).

As a model minority, Asian students were usually described as intelligent, enduring, obedient, academically outstanding but nerdy (G. Li, 2008), and quiet in classroom participation (Pon, Goldstein, & Schecter, 2003). In their 2012 report entitled *Coalition for Asian American Children and Families* (CACF), it was pointed out that Asian students have commonly been seen to be deprived of opportunities to voice their failure and frustrations. If an Asian student failed at school, they should be solely responsible because cultural expectations are that Asian students should be successful based on personal efforts. With this dominant discourse, teachers, schools and educational policies were legitimized in their inattention to the needs and struggles of this
Late-arriving adolescents from Mainland China are attributed complex labels. On the one hand, they are perceived as a model minority. They are expected to be quiet, obedient, diligent and academically outstanding. On the other hand, they are linguistic minority students, a group of which the “…first language is a language other than English or a variety of English significantly different from that used for instruction in Ontario schools” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005, p.6), and are in need of extra assistance to develop “broad proficiency in English [which is ] essential to students’ success in both their social and academic lives, and to their ability to take their place in society as responsible and productive citizens” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007, p.3). Therefore, late-arriving Chinese adolescents are plagued by complex dominant discourses, considered to be a group free from assistance and trouble, and are also seen as deficient language learners due to their distinct linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

In particular, stereotypes and bias have led to increased difficulties in students’ adjustment and transition (Chuang, 2010; Derwing, DeCorby, Ichikawa, & Jamieson, 1999; McKay & Wong, 1996; Xu, 2006; Zhou, Peverly, Xin, Huang, & Wang, 2003). In the case of late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents, they experience both dominant discourses of model minority and linguistic minority students at school. The experiences of two ELLs in McKay and Wong’s (1996) research best reflect the impact of both discourses on teachers. In this study, the ESL teacher held Jeremy in high regard because of his conformity to the widespread Asian model minority image of being quiet, obedient and hard-working. Even though Jeremy’s writing in his ESL class did not appear to progress much according to the researchers, his ESL teacher believed that he was ready for regular classes. In contrast, Brad, another Chinese immigrant student, did not conform to the prevailing image of a model minority. He constantly questioned teachers in his classes, which made others think of him as a problematic student. Even though his writing revealed higher complexity to researchers, his ESL teacher believed that he was not ready for regular classes.

Other research has revealed how teachers and educators have challenged dominant discourses and acknowledged existing counter-discourses (Chau, 1996; Chen, 1996; Duff, 2001; Gagné, 2008; Pon, Goldstein, & Schecter, 2003; Roessingh, 2006; Soto Gordon, 2010; Watt & Roessingh, 2001; Watt, Roessingh, & Bosetti, 1996; Xu, 2006). In these studies, researchers identified Asian ELLs as dynamic and diverse group of individuals who needed extra assistance,
such as counseling (Chau, 1996; Xu, 2006), social networking with mainstream students (Soto Gordon, 2010), successful completion of high school (Roessingh, 2006), stronger communication between family and teachers (Gagné, 2008), and modified participation sequence which allows ELLs to give delayed responses in class activities (Pon, Goldstein, & Schecter, 2003).

As pointed out by Luca and Grinberg (2008), teachers sometimes feel that they are not sufficiently prepared to teach diverse learners. Some teachers successfully implemented pedagogies catering to linguistic minority students’ English proficiency and participation preference; however, these seemed to contrast with the forms of pedagogy for English-speaking counterparts (Dooley, 2004). Teachers are sometimes advised to allow ELLs’ to use their first language rather than English in class and among peers in order to facilitate linguistic minority students’ cognitive development, and to promote linguistic minority students’ academic advancement (Cummins, Giampapa, Cohen, Bismilla, & Leoni, 2005; Goldstein 2003).

**Length of residence, age on arrival and English language proficiency.**

Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) are terms that are meant to distinguish between daily-life English proficiency and academic English proficiency (Cummins, 1979, 1980, 2000). BICS refers to learners’ ability to engage in context-embedded activities with which learners are familiar. Background knowledge and body language may be more frequently involved for better comprehension. CALP refers to learners’ abilities to engage in context-reduced activities, which involve less body language, background knowledge and heavily culturally contextualized metaphors. In general, BICS are mainly restricted to conversational skills, whereas CALP is seen more in academic language (Cummins, 2000). This distinction between BICS and CALP identifies language proficiency as a “multifaceted construct” (Cummins, 1981, p.132), and recognizes the L2 as a “new functional register or genre of language” (Cummins, 2000, p.75).

BICS do not predict ELLs’ academic success (Cummins, 1981, 1991, 2000). They partially reflect students’ linguistic competence in daily life conversations, yet it does not necessarily support their academic advancement (McKay & Wong, 1996; Ruiz-de-Velasco et al., 2000). Cummins (1981, 1991, 2000) found that linguistic minority students usually spend their first or second year focusing mainly improving their BICS, while their monolingual counterparts are already proficient in BICS and are developing their CALP. It usually takes five to seven years
for linguistic minority students to eventually develop the necessary CALP to catch up with their monolingual English-speaking counterparts. However, with competent BICS, teachers and parents of ELL students tend to falsely believe that their students are more cognitively and academically developed (Roessingh, 1996, 1999, 2008; Roessingh & Field, 2000; Roessingh & Kover, 2002; Roessingh, Kover, & Watt, 2005). As a result, necessary support is not provided for their advancement in CALP.

In the study of linguistic minority students’ language proficiency, AOA and LOR are considered to be two constructs that are closely related to ELLs’ L2 proficiency and academic achievement. In regard to early arrivals, there are different definitions. Some define early AOA as the age before 8 (Böhlmark, 2008). Collier and Thomas (1989) suggested that learners with AOA between 8 to 11 years old achieve faster than learners arriving later. Roessingh (2008) referred to early AOA as the age for elementary education, between 6 and 11 (Roessingh, 2008). This study will adopt Roessingh’s (2008) definition of late and early arrival age (i.e., learners arriving at the age of elementary education are considered to be early arrivals). In contrast, high AOA is referred to as the age after 15 (Roessingh, 2008). Immigrant children coming at an early age are called early arrivals, while those arriving at or after the age of 15 are referred to as late arrivals. In this study, children coming to Canada at or after the age of 15 are all referred to as late arrivals, regardless of their residential status in Canada (e.g., permanent resident, and visa student).

There have been controversial interpretations with respect to the impact of AOA on L2 learning. Stevens (2006) pointed out that this debate is essentially about the ideal time for L2 acquisition. To late arrivals, late AOA can be a negative factor, since it provides less time for language learning (Cummins, 2000; Roessingh, 2006, 2008; Roessingh & Field, 2000; Roessingh & Kover, 2002). However, arriving late indicates high L1 proficiency, which enables late-arriving learners to perform better with comparatively less L2 vocabulary (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Roessingh, 2008) when compared to their counterparts with low AOA. LOR was also found to be a strong variable predicting grammatical competence (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998), and the acculturation level (Duan, 2006; Kuo & Roysircar, 2004). In contrast, LOR, as the only factor, moderately impacts L2 pragmatics (Ahn, 2007). Matsumura (2001) found that the effects of studying abroad on the acquisition of pragmatic competence were not associated with LOR. Rather, LOR and overall L2 proficiency had a greater influence on L2
pragmatics (Felix-Brasdefer, 2004; Xu, Case & Wang, 2009; Yamanaka, 2003).

**Experiences in Various Spaces**

This section will introduce empirical studies on late-arriving Chinese ELL adolescents’ experiences in four places: (a) at school, (b) at home, (c) among peers, and (d) other spaces.

**At school.**

After being educated in the system of their home country for years, late-arriving ELL adolescents encounter different values and beliefs in the Canadian school system (Anderson, 2002; Au, 2004). Participants in Anderson’s study (2002) experienced difficulties adjusting to the Canadian society that they knew little about. Au’s (2004) study discussed a group of Chinese ELL adolescents’ language choice between French and English in a French-dominant Quebec school. This study also found that focal participants changed career choices because of language barriers. Among the many differences that late arrivals commonly encounter in the Canadian school system, many studies have discussed school curriculum and teaching pedagogy (Chen, Boyd, & Goh, 2003; Cummins, 2000; Roessingh & Field, 2000). In line with Roessingh and Field (2000), Derwing et al.’s (1999) study also discussed time issues that most late arrivals felt posed problems for their transition. Derwing et al. (1999) found that late arrivals believed that ESL programs were helpful in their transition to Canadian school system, yet they felt it took too much time to graduate from ESL programs. When they graduated, they were too old for regular classes.

Compared to early arrivals, late arrivals have a better knowledge of their first language which is seen to help them to develop cognitive skills; thus, they are more likely to achieve higher results in a shorter time (Cummins, 2009; Roessingh, 2008). Some researchers have investigated the challenges that this group encounters at school, specifically their experiences in school curriculum (Duff, 2001; Roessingh & Field, 2000; Roessingh et al., 2005). Compared to early arrivals, this group has a tight timeline for completing high school credits and applying for further education (Ressingh & Field, 2000). Chen, Boyd and Goh (2003) investigated a group of Chinese teenagers’ experiences in a pre-college camp, and it was found that this late arrival group felt ill prepared for university study because of their limited English proficiency.

Perceived as a model minority, Chinese late-arriving immigrant adolescents also tend to experience stereotyped-bias in school (Chau, 1996; MacKay & Wong, 1996). They are usually identified as a quiet group in classroom participation yet excellent in academics, in particular Math and science-related courses. Several reasons have been discussed regarding their silence in
class. Alford (2001) found that late-arriving immigrant adolescents lacked the critical thinking skills that are essential for class discussion in literature. English proficiency is also a significant issue to this group (Roessingh & Field, 2000). Classroom activities require complicated language skills that late arrivals lack, which limits their participation (Leğer & Storch, 2009). Also, their participation is inhibited by a lack of historical and cultural knowledge of events in discussion (Duff, 2001; Frańquiz & Cinthia, 2011). Late arrivals do not have enough cultural, social and historical knowledge of the events being discussed, which hinders active participation in class.

As a result of these limitations, late-arriving linguistic minority adolescents have been known to encounter more difficulties at school compared to early arrivals. As shown in Table 1, late arrivals experience ethnic peer divide at school (J. Li, 2009), and sociocultural misunderstandings from teachers (Zhang & Zhou, 2010). Despite this, ESL programs are found to have a positive impact on ELLs’ academic progress (Callahan, Wilkinson, Muller, & Frisco, 2009; Roessingh, 2006, 2008), as well as on their social relations with different language groups and teachers ((Andersson, 2003; Chau, 1996; Chuang, 2010; J. Li, 2009; Liang, 2006; Taylor, 2006). Viewed as a safe place, ESL classes become a space for them to socialize with peers outside of their own ethnic backgrounds (Duff, 2001; Harklau, 2000). Yet this group tends to have negative attitudes toward ESL courses due to their separation from regular classes (Daoud, 2003; Harklau, 1991). Some late arrivals hasten their progress in ESL classes in order to quickly integrate in regular classes.

Studies have discussed support programs that schools offered to this group in order to improve this group’s English proficiency and social contacts with English-speaking counterparts (Leung, 2001; Wong, 1999; Yeh, Ching, Okubo, & Luthar, 2007; Yeh, Okubo, Ma, Shea, & Pituc, 2008). Yeh et al. (, 2007) introduced a buddy program which bridged early arrivals of the same ethnic and late arrivals together, sharing social and cultural knowledge of North America. Similarly, in a study by Ching, Yeh, Siu, Wu and Okubo (2009), an intern program was introduced to facilitate a smoother integration. By including immigrant adolescents as research interns, this program enabled them to skillfully deal with the stress from cultural adjustment. It also empowered this group to offer support to other immigrant adolescents.

Gagné and Soto Gordon (2011) introduced a program connecting late arrivals with early arrivals and Canadian-born adolescents. The objectives were to enhance understandings of
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<th>Focus</th>
<th>Findings</th>
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<td>Participation in classroom activities</td>
<td>• Lack of critical thinking skills</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Limited English skills</td>
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<td>• Lack of historical and cultural knowledge</td>
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<td>Social networks</td>
<td>• Peer divide</td>
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<td>• Misunderstanding from teachers</td>
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<td>• ELL programs as a socially inclusive space, yet distant from other programs</td>
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<td>Other</td>
<td>• A tight timeline for high school diploma</td>
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<td>• Feeling ill-prepared for university</td>
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<td>• Greater possibility of higher achievement in a short time</td>
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cultural knowledge and to create a supportive learning environment. In this program, it was found that both late arrivals and other groups of learners felt alienated from each other. While late arrivals felt that English proficiency and lack of sociocultural understanding were barriers, their English-speaking counterparts felt that they had insufficient understandings of them as well.

By exploring reasons why both groups felt alienated, this program enhanced understanding and furthered social contacts between the two groups. There have been more efforts linking language learning to mathematics, sciences or other courses in which late arrivals have been known to perform well (Duff, 2001; Roessingh & Field, 2000). Although late arrivals generally benefited from such attempts at language learning (Chen, 1996; Soto Gordon, 2010), this group still felt isolated at school socially (Chuang, 2010; Derwing et al., 1999; Yu, 1996).

To summarize, late-arriving Chinese adolescents have higher L1 and limited English proficiency. They are socially included in ESL programs and other school support programs, yet they often feel excluded in classes because of their limited English proficiency, critical thinking skills and lack of understanding of North American culture and history. Even though studies have found that their higher L1 can enable them to quickly catch up with other ELLs who may have arrived earlier, it is not clear how their higher L1 proficiency and their previous learning experiences in China impact their social participation at school. In other words, research needs to identify how late arrivals’ higher proficiency in L1 and learning experiences in China facilitate their situated learning in Canada.

At home.
Most Chinese parents consider their children’s education as being one of the primary
purposes for immigrating (Xu, 2006). When immigrating, it is not uncommon for Chinese families to undergo significant changes to their living situation (Chuang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2009). This section will present current empirical studies on late arrivals, discussing (a) parent-child interaction, (b) parents’ involvement in child’s education, and (c) satellite/astronaut children.

**Parent-child interaction.**

Raised in a culture of Confucianism, Chinese parents are usually the authority figures at home, where adolescents are expected to follow parental decisions (J. Li, 2009; Qin, 2007; Shek, 2008). In her book entitled *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother* (2011), Chua introduced how she, a Chinese mother, raised her two daughters in the Chinese culture. Shaming is constantly used as a strategy by Chinese parents to push their children to excel in academics. Using shaming as a strategy, Chinese parents expect, or sometimes forcefully urge, their children to follow parents’ decisions (Lieber, Fung, Leung, 2006). As controversial a parenting strategy as shaming is, it has a variety of impacts on children. Chua’s daughter, Sophia Chua-Rubenfeld, responded to criticisms that shaming is a culturally-embedded strategy, and stated that misinterpretations occur due to lack of understanding of the culture. Agreeing with Sophia on the positive outcomes of the child-rearing strategy, Liu (2012), also declared that he was the son of a tiger mother, and pointed out that such a parenting strategy could cause tension and alienation between parents and children. Further, it was found that such a strategy tends to cause stress and decrease children’s self-esteem (Qin, Chang, Han, & Chee, 2012).

Contact zone refers to “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today” (Pratt, 1991, p.34). Pratt (1991) pointed out that classrooms are contact zones, where students with diverse backgrounds experience cultural clashes. Schecter and Bayley’s (2002) ethnographic study indicated that home is also a contact zone, where contestability arises in decision making on language maintenance and shift.

Chinese child-rearing strategies have been known to cause difficulties at home due to an

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3Confucianism is a Chinese ethical and philosophical belief system developed by the Chinese philosopher Confucius. This belief system stresses altruism, etiquette and filial piety.
acculturation gap between parents and children (Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom, 2003; Wan, 2004). Compared to other groups of immigrant adolescents, as shown in Table 2, it has been found that late-arriving immigrant adolescents communicate more with their parents due to shared native language and culture (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000; Ying, Lee, Tsai, Lee, & Tsang, 2001). Only a small minority of parents are fully aware of the changes that their children will encounter in Canada to the extent that they have adapted their support to the realities of a Canadian society that is completely different from their Chinese homeland. Some parents offer suggestions and support based on their prior learning experiences in China (G. Li, 2006).

Chinese immigrant parents tend to have high academic expectations for several reasons (Dyson, 2001; Ji & Koblinsky, 2009; J. Li, 2001, 2009; Qin, 2007; Taylor & Krahn, 2005; Zhong & Zhou, 2011). The most identified reason is the influence of Confucianism which values a person’s academic performance rather than other personal traits (J. Li, 2001, 2009; Wong, 1999). Another reason is Chinese immigrant parents’ comparatively high educational achievements (G. Li, 2007; J. Li, 2009; MacKay & Wong, 1996; Xu, 2006). Since Canada uses the point-system in immigration selection, Mainland Chinese who have been granted permanent residence status tend to have completed higher education in China. Thus, it is natural that they believe that their children should also achieve academic excellence in Canada. In the alternate scenario where immigrant parents have not received higher education, the same expectation for their children’s academic performance is present. The parent’s personal life experiences have convinced them that their children should be well educated for a better future in Canada (Qin, 2007; J. Li, 2001). Most Chinese immigrant parents have suffered lower-paying jobs, unemployment and racial discrimination in their workplaces in North America. Parents under such stress put more pressures on their children who are constantly reminded that they should be successful in Canada as their parents sacrificed a better life in China for their sake. Compared to high expectations toward academic performance, Chinese immigrant parents are found to be less attentive to the development in other fields (Qin, 2007).

Other than higher academic expectations, Chinese immigrant parents are also more inclined to encourage their children to pursue a science-related career due to their perceived marginalized position in Canadian society (J., Li, 2001). By choosing a field that is considered to be less demanding of English proficiency, parents believe that it is an effective strategy to avoid suffering disadvantages as linguistic minorities in an English-dominant society. Also, gender is
also implicated in such expectations (Qin, 2009a, 2009b). For example, females are expected to choose professions that coincide with the Asian stereotype (e.g., teachers or accountants).

Table 2 presents a summary of these findings related to parent-child interaction at home. Now I turn to discussing another facet of the living situation at home - parental involvement in their child’s education.

**Parental involvement in child’s education.**

Usually parental involvement is an important factor influencing adolescents’ academic performance (Eng et al., 2008). Chinese immigrant parents have been found to be less actively involved in school activities (Ji & Koblinsky, 2009; Yeh et al., 2008) yet they are comparatively more actively involved in adolescents’ education at home (J. Li, 2006). Parents do not have frequent and smooth communication with school due to their lower English proficiency, work schedule, and cultural barriers (Guo, 2009; G. Li, 2006; Zhong & Zhou, 2011). This inevitably leads to further unfamiliarity with North American educational systems and resources at school (J. Li, 2009).

As Table 3 shows, Chinese immigrant parents have employed a wide variety of strategies to improve their children’s school work (Eng et al., 2008; Gunderson, 2007; G. Li, 2006a; J. Li, 2009; McKay & Wong, 1996; Miller, 2003; Xu, 2006). In Xu’s (2006) study, parents shared how they used their own English learning experiences to motivate their children. Since most Chinese parents believe in traditional pedagogy and bottom-up memorization of learning strategies, which learners use to acquire English mainly from basic language structures, it is not surprising that their perceptions of effective English learning resources are also based on these types of learning strategies (G. Li, 2006a). They often encourage their children to engage in bottom-up
Table 3

*Parental Involvement in Child’s Education*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parent-school communication</td>
<td>Less active communication because of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Limited English proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Different working schedule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Cultural barriers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Unfamiliarity with North American education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent-child communication</td>
<td>Active communication on learning because of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Sharing L1 learning strategies and resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Enhancing traditional learning strategies at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Exploring intra- and inter-community resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Family business open to cross-race customers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less active communication on English learning because of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Unaware of inter-community resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• L1 practice at home</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

language learning. Thus, watching TV is considered to be a waste of time by most Chinese immigrant parents, since it does not conform to their belief in effective learning strategies consisting mostly of reading, writing and reciting (J. Li, 2009).

Some immigrant parents have explored resources in other ethnic communities to assist adolescents’ English learning such as hiring tutors or giving extra homework (Gunderson, 2007; G. Li, 2006; J. Li, 2009; Louie, 2001; Miller, 2003). Parents tend to register their children in various supplementary educational organizations, such as tutoring schools, musical classes and sports programs, to make their children a fully-developed adolescent (J. Li, 2009; M. Zhou, 2009). In some cases, parents challenge the school’s decisions related to their children’s placement in ELL classes (McKay & Wong, 1996) and school curriculum (G. Li, 2006). Parents with higher and lower social economical status employed different strategies and resources in assisting their adolescent child (Louie, 2001).

Chinese adolescents’ families are comparatively isolated from the mainstream society because of language barriers (Miller, 2003; Tsang et al., 2003; Xu, 2006). As a result, they are not aware of English language resources that can facilitate adolescents’ English learning (Miller, 2003; Ruiz-de-Velasco et al., 2000; Miller, 2003; Yu, 1996). In Miller’s (2003) research, Tina’s family did not have any Australian friends. In their spare time, they rented Chinese DVDs with Chinese captions from Chinatown instead of watching English TV programs for more exposure.
to English. As a result, Tina’s access to English language was further restricted. In contrast, another participant, Nora, worked for her family restaurant on weekends. As the major figure communicating with English-speaking customers in this restaurant, Nora made substantially better progress in her English proficiency. Knafo and Schwartz (2001) found that parents who encouraged their child to be more active in English practice at home believed that such practice could help them to obtain ideal symbolic capital for their child’s future life in North America.

**Satellite/astronaut children.**

In recent years, a large number of astronaut or satellite children have appeared in Mainland Chinese immigrant communities (Keung, 2009). Satellite children are referred to as children living with one parent in Canada while another parent works in Asia (Irving, Chau, Tsang, Benjamin, & Au, 1998; Irving, Tsang, & Benjamin, 1999; Li & Lee, 2004; Minichiello, 2001; Tsang et al., 2003). In contrast, astronaut children or parachute children (Hom, 2003) live with their relatives while both their parents work in Asia (Bai, 1995; Gunderson, 2007; Li & Lee, 2004; Walters, 2003). Usually these children stay in Canada for the completion of their higher education and/or for requisite residence length for citizenship. This is considered to be an ideal strategy for expanding financial opportunities (mostly upper class families) and as basic survival for middle-class families (Irving et al., 1998).

As Table 4 shows, astronaut or satellite children generally have better financial resources than those living with both parents in Canada (Hom, 2003), as well as confusing national identities because their family usually plans to re-settle at Asia (Bai, 1995; Irving et al., 1998; Irving et al., 1999; Miller, 2003; Minichiello, 2001; Tsang et al., 2003; Walters, 2003). Their relationships remain closer to the same ethnic groups and more isolated from the dominant culture than adolescents living with both of their parents (Hom, 2003; Irving et al., 1998). Also, this group has weaker language skills (Irving et al., 1998). As a general rule, satellite children or astronaut children are known to be well-behaved and have a strong belief in their traditions (Irving et al., 1998). However, in some cases, this group of children falls into trouble easily due to the lack of communication with their parents who were not present in their daily life in North America (Bai, 1995).

In addition, astronaut or satellite children take up important family roles earlier than their counterparts in families, often leading to a sense of annoyance arising within the family group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for this phenomenon</td>
<td>• Economic and educational benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features of this group</td>
<td>• Better financial resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Weaker language skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Confusing national identities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Stronger bond with the same-ethnic peers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Early family responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Mostly well-behaved and stronger traditional value, yet some may fall into trouble more easily</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example, they generally become interpreters for the family and are responsible for communications between the family and the mainstream institutions and systems (Tsang et al., 2003). Also, female adolescents usually take up household chores such as cooking and taking care of younger siblings while male adolescents take up the father’s responsibilities such as household maintenance work.

To summarize this section, research has shown that ELL adolescents experience cultural clashes at home because of a different pace of acculturation between adolescents and parents. Their parents tend to provide culturally-embedded learning resources in their communities. Furthermore, due to parents’ limited English proficiency and lack of understanding of North American culture and educational systems, the family is usually isolated from school and mainstream society. Asian ELL adolescents undergo more family changes due to resettlement plans and economic situations. Most studies assumed that parents were resistant to pressures including adjusting their conventional language use in the home and having to change their own parenting styles. Yet, when the whole family immigrates for the purpose of children’s education in North America, and to learn English, it is hardly convincing that parents would stick to L1 practice when late-arriving Chinese adolescents have received a quality Chinese education in China.

**Among friends.**
In this section, I introduce current studies focusing on late-arriving Chinese adolescents’ peer network. It will have two sub-sections: a) peer networks, and b) code-switching.

**Peer networks.**
Gumperz (1997) defined social network as membership that “evolve[s] among
individuals who have a common history and have undergone similar communicative experiences within the context of institutional networks of relationships where members cooperate over relatively long periods of time in the achievement of common goals” (p.200). Peer network, as one part of social network of late-arriving ELL adolescents’, is referred to their network of friends with whom they share the membership of communicative experiences in and across multiple social spaces. Peer network has been identified as an important source for their English use and acculturation level (Miller, 2003; Olsen, 2000; Stroud & Wee, 2006; Toohey, 2000). It not only impacts their language proficiency (Anderson, 2002; Liang, 2006; Minichello, 2001; Tsang et al., 2003; Xu, 2006; Yeh et al., 2008; Yu, 1996), but also reveals their language identities (Miller, 2003; Olsen, 2000). Furthermore, peer networks unveil the social practice of inclusion and exclusion via languages (Stroud & Wee, 2006), where, by communicating in one language in a network, linguistic minority adolescents include those who can speak the same language and exclude those who cannot. Therefore, networks become a predictor of adolescents’ proficiency in languages as well as their affiliation with different language communities.

Research has shown that linguistic minority adolescents experience difficulties establishing a network in a new sociocultural context. As seen in Table 5, research has shown that late arrivals in particular encountered more difficulties in constructing friendship networks with English counterparts because of their lower English proficiency (Anderson, 2002; Chuang, 2010; Miller, 2003) and the lack of shared experiences with the mainstream students (Olsen, 2000). To be heard by the mainstream, this group has to be linguistically competent in English (Anderson, 2002; Miller, 2003). Such a phenomenon does not just take place in Chinese communities. In fact, linguistic minority students of different language backgrounds commonly feel that they should learn English in order to have a social network with English-speaking people. Heller’s (1995) study found that French-speaking students reported feeling as if they had to learn English to socialize with English-speaking people. When linguistic minority students’ English is not proficient enough for communication, they tend to be labeled as “others” by the mainstream (Miller, 2003; Shenk, 2009).

In some classes, ELL students outnumber English-speaking counterparts. In this case, English then becomes a language that is used only in class or with teachers (Anderson, 2002; Miller, 2003; Minichielo, 2001). It adds further difficulties for ELLs to construct a
network with their English speaking counterparts. Interestingly, if they speak fluent English, some studies have shown that linguistic minority adolescents are still more likely to be friends with the same ethnic group as this network creates a culture of home community (Cohen, 2007; Liang, 2006; Miller, 2003; Xu, 2006). In addition, due to family resettlement plans, to speak the L1 is to preserve the connection with their home country (Irving et al., 1998; Miller, 2003). In this case, speaking the first language is an effective strategy in maintaining the connection with their home countries.

Gender is also one of the factors predictive of integration at school. With stereotypes toward Asian males and females, Asian male teenagers are considered physically less strong and less active in sports (G. Li, 2008; McKay & Wong, 1996). Further, due to different expectations of family and society, boys usually encounter more difficulties at school regarding networking (McKay & Wong, 1996; Miller, 2003; Toohey, 2000). On the contrary, females are more likely to be affiliated if they cater to traditional Asian female stereotypes (i.e., being quiet and obedient).

In conclusion, a peer network cannot be understood in isolation from its social cultural context. Instead, establishing a peer network is a process of “renegotiation of social identity within a multilingual context” (Miller, 2003, p.2). Peer networks strongly predict the probability of English use, the formation of language identities, and linguistic minority teenagers’ desire of affiliation and life goals (i.e., expected assimilation into the target community or their own community).

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English peer network</td>
<td>As an indicator of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• English proficiency and acculturation level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Language identities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Social inclusion/exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese peer network</td>
<td>As evidence of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The culture of home community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The L1 bond for resettlement plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties in English peer network</td>
<td>Reasons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Limited English proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of shared experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Lack of chances for English use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Gender</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Code-switching.**

Code-switching refers to the use of two languages in an unchanged setting, usually within the same utterance (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). It is considered to be a by-product of language contact, which usually occurs within and across multilingual communities (Garner-Chloros, 2009; Kamwangamalu, 2010). According to Cummins’ *Common Underlying Proficiency Theory* (1991, 2009), ELLs with higher L1 proficiency can employ cognitive skills that they learned in their L1 for L2 learning. In this regard, using L1 in teaching and learning can enhance learners’ cognitive development. Code-switching between L1 and L2 in class, between students and teachers, or between learners, can enhance their learning (Liang, 2006) and assist communication and fluency (Lo, 2007).

Code-switching has been known to consolidate membership of a linguistic community (Lam, 2004; Liang, 2006; Lo, 2007), and assist learners’ language and content-based learning (Cummins, 2009; Seng, 2006; Zheng, 2009). Code-switching is a necessary strategy for consolidating linguistic community membership. As seen in Table 6, research has shown that it can also be used as a strategy for excluding or including people from different linguistic communities (Liang, 2006; Miller, 2003; White & Lowenthal, 2011). White and Lowenthal (2011) postulated code-switching as an effective tool to include ELLs in academic discourse communities. Conversely, Liang (2006) also found that code-switching can cause dilemmas due to conflicting membership between L1 and L2 language communities. In Miller’s (2003) study, Alicia spoke both Mandarin and Cantonese, while Nora spoke Mandarin and Shanghainese. When in a dispute, Alicia would speak to her Cantonese peers, excluding Nora from social interaction.

Code-switching reveals how lived experiences occur in certain sociocultural contexts (Curdt-Christianse, 2007; Morris, 2007; Zheng, 2009). Linguistic minority students tend to mix two or three languages, based on the context of a situation, in particular the topic and interlocutors. In Curdt-Christianse’s (2007) study, multiple language learners wrote about different events in French, Chinese or English, since those events happened in different language contexts. One female participant in the study (i.e., Xiao An) preferred to write in French when the events happened in French. Research on code-switching has also revealed a practice of localizing language practice. The focal participants in Lam’s (2004) study engaged in different social and language practice by appropriating the Internet context and conventional language
practices in two languages in a chat room. This discursive practice developed the focal participants’ mixed-coded language use in a discursive social context, which enhanced fluency and accuracy to assist communication.

In conclusion, research has shown that language is a significant factor impacting late-arriving Chinese adolescents’ peer network. This group tends to socialize more with the same-ethnic groups, speaking L1 mainly for daily communication. Other reasons were found such as acculturation level, family re-settlement plan, and social exclusion from adolescents from different backgrounds. Studies revealed strategies that late-arriving adolescents adopted to integrate into various social groups. Code-switching is constantly used as a strategy by late-arriving adolescents for social, academic and cultural purposes. In these studies, code-switching was regarded as either a remedial strategy compensating for ELLs’ limited target language proficiency, or a strategy for maintaining sociocultural contacts with ELLs’ L1 social network. Current studies have not found that late-arriving adolescents employ their strengths (i.e., higher L1 proficiency and rigorous school-based learning experiences in China), when engaging in social activities.

Other spaces.
This section introduces empirical studies on other spaces attracting ELL adolescents that are outside of the school or home context. Other space refers to one space in this conceptual framework, even though it includes multiple social spaces. As core participants in this study were at an age when they have more freedom to explore spaces outside of school, it is necessary to introduce current studies on those resources. In this section, I introduce three specific places, including (a) supplementary educational resources, (b) ethnic communities, and (c) virtual space.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social network</td>
<td>Including/excluding membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• academic discourse communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• between L1 and L2 communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning</td>
<td>Assisting learners’ learning and communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• L1 and L2 switch in class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Using L1 in L2 learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life experiences</td>
<td>Revealing life experiences in multiple sociocultural context</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6

*Code-switching*
**Supplementary educational resources.**

M. Zhou (2009) conducted research on supplementary educational resources (e.g., after-school courses, and test preparation courses) in Chinatowns and Korea towns in Los Angeles, California. During weekends and holidays, these geographical places also became a center of sociocultural activity for Chinese and Korean parents and children. While children took extra-curricular courses at learning organizations, their parents have culturally-related activities (i.e. excursions for dim sum). Such routine social activities not only help shape parents and learners’ daily lives; these activities also shape geographical and social spaces of a city.

In the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), different types of supplementary educational resources have existed for decades to serve a variety of needs, for example, tutoring school curriculum, teaching heritage language and other extra-curricular activities. A dearth of research identified the impacts of such organizations on immigrant adolescents’ learning outcome. In Kanno and Varghese’s (2009) research, some adolescents were able to achieve higher academic progress due to the assistance of supplementary educational resources. However most did not relate their success to the efforts of these organizations.

There is very little research on the impact of these organizations on immigrant adolescents’ learning outcomes. In Kanno and Varghese’s (2009) research, some adolescents were able to achieve higher academic progress due to the assistance of supplementary educational resources. However most did not relate their success to the efforts of these organizations.

**Church and non-profit organizations.**

Two additional types of organizations included in the category of other spaces are non-profit organizations and church. Of the many non-profit organizations in the GTA, an important one is the Chinese-Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter (CCNCTO). It has attracted adolescents from various backgrounds to the history of Chinese-Canadians and language issues. This organization has been coordinating a range of activities focusing on civic engagement, Chinatown history and other related programs. Its membership includes Canadian-born Chinese, early-arriving and late-arriving Chinese, and visa students.

The church has also been recognized as an inclusive place to promote language learning, since it creates a sense of community for adult learners (Han, 2007). In Han’s (2007) study, Chinese immigrants found that they were more welcome in church, which provided them more opportunities to practice their language skills. However, because most Mainland Chinese have
different religions, there may be fewer ELLs regarding church as an effective language resource.

**Virtual space.**

There has been a growing interest in examining ELL adolescents’ online experiences in light of sociocultural theory. The virtual space has created a platform for ELL adolescents to maintain and/or expand their social network, to engage in hybrid text practices, and to negotiate their identities. Research has shown that it can enhance immigrant adolescent’s literacy and language skills (Bao, 2006), satisfying their social needs, and impacting their identity construction (Chan, 2006; Walsh, 2008). In virtual space, ELL adolescents explore and practice hybrid literacies, for instance, computer literacy (Bretag, 2010), and multilingual literacies (Baynham, 2007) from which their voices are negotiated and consolidated (Guzzetti & Gamboa, 2005; McGinnis, Goodstein-Stolzenberg, & Saliani, 2007).

Compared to physical space, language learners are found to be more active participants in virtual spaces (Frañquiz & Salinas, 2011), in that there are more chances for participation (Coyle, Yanéz & Verdú, 2010). As shown in Table 7, multiple languages are often used interchangeably (Lam, 2004), and learners are engaged in more dialogical conversation (Coyle, Yanéz, & Verdú, 2010). In Lam’s (2004) study, two Chinese immigrant adolescents took a more active role leading online conversations with adolescents from other countries. Rather than being quiet students in a physical environment like the classroom, these two adolescents acted as experts in the chat room, introducing English culture and language use. Other studies have shown that teachers and ELL adolescents develop a more effective communication style in this space (Bretag, 2010), and that students engage in culturally embedded learning strategies (J. Li, 2007; Tan, Ng, & Saw, 2010), where learners practice and design their own text practice from online journal writing (Guzzetti & Gamboa, 2005).

ELL adolescents are found to employ the Internet as an additional space to practice their language skills. It can help to satisfy their social needs by expanding their social network with adolescents of a similar age as well as with adults (Gjerde & Cardilla, 2005). As a space nourishing adolescent pop culture, the Internet is a place where this group can share a culture and construct a close relationship (Wilson, 2006).

Virtual space becomes a space for ELL adolescents constructing multiple identities in the course of complicated social practice. With the convenience of technology, this group can keep
Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enhancing literacy practice and language skills</td>
<td>• Practicing hybrid literacies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• More participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• More dialogical conversations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructing identities</td>
<td>• Enhancing culturally embedded learning strategies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Meeting social needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Practicing pop adolescent culture</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

connections with ethnic communities by engaging in transnational communication. In this regard, virtual space tends to be a more homogeneous than physical environment, consequently enhancing their national and ethnic identity (Chan, 2006). Yet Shaules (2007) pointed out that the use of technology in virtual space does not change the hidden cultural practices of a space. In other words, the nature of how a group of people interact in a social space remains, while technology breaks the temporal and spatial limitations which prevent people with shared beliefs from participating. Technology as a mediational tool enables people from different places and different time zones to interact; yet shared beliefs on social activities remain.

In conclusion, compared to home, school and peer networks, studies on ELL adolescents’ language experiences in other places are comparatively limited. ELL adolescents’ experiences in other places reveal their preferred language use, religion and family networks. In other places, ELL adolescents were found to be more active in virtual space, where they can engage in complex language practice and language identity. Church has also played an important role in creating an inclusive social space for newcomers; however, when their religion is different from the home country, this becomes difficult. While ELL adolescents’ experiences in other places were usually found to reinforce desired language practice, this study goes further to identify how it resonates or clashes with their experience in other spaces.

**Border-crossing Experiences and Language Identity**

In this section, I introduce research on ELLs’ (a) experiences in dominant space(s), (b) investment, and (c) their border-crossing experiences and language identity.

**Linguistic minority students in dominant space(s).**

Dewey (1938) believed that education could be effective only when it emphasized learners’ experiences. His notion of experiences is referred to as having both existential and temporal dimensions, which include not only individuals’ experiences, but also an historical
sense of experiences with its past, present and future in a society (He, Phillion, Chan, & Xu, 2008). Thus, school curriculum should focus on local school experiences, a practical context in which a school curriculum is implemented (Hlebowitsch, 2005). As such, local school experiences should incorporate both learners’ inward experiences with social and cultural context in which learners are embedded, for the reason that learners’ formulation of meaning is from “…all portions of the total environment” (Willis, 2000, p.439). In this regard, more value should be added to individual experiences in school curriculum, in that it is individual learner’s participation in and perceptions of school learning activities that differentiate their academic performance (Erickson et al., 2008), and eventually facilitates “…the process of individuation…” (Pinar, 2000, p.413).

From this point of view, the curriculum should include lived and living experiences that learners undergo at individual, social and cultural levels. In the Canadian context where an increasing number of learners are linguistic minority students, ELLs’ experiences are not yet fully included in school curriculum (Chan, 2003; He, 2003; He et al., 2008; Xu, Connelly, He, & Phillion, 2007). To be specific, when Canadian history is mostly viewed as a history of British and French origin, immigrants are not yet viewed as individuals with personal histories (Chan, 2003; He, 2003; Xu, 2006). Even though it is believed that one of the differences between Canada and USA is that Canadian people value diversity more (Sumara, Davis, & Laidlaw, 2001), immigrants’ experiences that contribute to such diversity have not yet been fully included in the curriculum.

A curriculum of shared interests, embracing all learners from diverse backgrounds, and an inclusive milieu encouraging success of all learners are still ideals (He et al., 2008). It is not uncommon for linguistic minority students to feel that their cultures, languages and identities are not represented in the school curriculum, which in essence legitimizes experiences from certain backgrounds and delegitimizes “others”. Further, it reveals the future of linguistic minority learners in a society. In particular, the mainstream society lacking attention to immigrants’ experiences manifests insufficient interest toward immigrant groups’ future in Canada.

It is not enough to include linguistic minority learners’ experiences in the curriculum. As Cummins (2000) pointed out, the central construct in diverse classroom learning is the negotiation of identity, in which students from culturally and linguistically diversified backgrounds interpret social relations. Thus, instructional pedagogy with a clear focus on “social
realities and students’ experience” (p. 261) is needed to create a foundation for students from all backgrounds and to promote a social reality of justice with all students’ participation. For example, reciprocal pedagogy links learners’ life experiences in daily life to class (G. Li, 2006a; Xu, 2011). Reciprocal learning and teaching is opposed to one-way learning, where learners only learn from teachers and conform to dominant discourse. In contrast, reciprocal learning and teaching bridges school curriculum and linguistic minority learners’ life experiences (Xu, 2011), which makes school curriculum and structure inclusive to diversified groups of learners. Reciprocal teaching and learning is used to ensure equitable education and it changes “the underlying power relationships between the teachers and schools, and the families and communities” (G. Li, 2006a, p. 212).

**Border-crossing experiences.**

Chinese late-arriving ELL adolescents’ border-crossing experiences are full of negotiation and exploration. Liang (2006) found that ELL adolescents wanted to be affiliated with English networks. They wanted to invest more in English to gain membership in English-speaking social networks. Yet their multiple investments to both L1 and English communities appeared to conflict with each other. Feeling the pressure to speak L1 in the Chinese community with their Chinese peers, Chinese ELL adolescents longed to speak English.

Not all Chinese ELL adolescents have investment to engage in English networks (Duff, 2001; Minichiello, 2001). In Minichiello’s (2001) study, ELL adolescents felt that it was easier to be in an L1 social network that provides home culture practice, than in an L2 social network where they had difficulties adapting. Also, since some adolescents planned to return to China after the completion of their university education, they felt that it was unnecessary to engage in English practice.

Miller (2003) found that residential places can be another factor impacting participants’ investment in crossing language networks. In her study, John lived in Chinatown where he did not need English in his daily life. Living in Chinatown, his investment in Chinese language was more than English in daily life. As a result, his English was very limited, and he did not feel he needed to improve. Also, the border-crossing experiences can be resulted from language learners’ membership to different language networks. In Miller’s (2003) study, Tina, an Asian girl from Taiwan, felt alienated as a girl with black hair. Although they were all ELL students, she felt that brown-hair students had more chances of social interaction than black hair. By
positioning herself as an alienated ELL learner both from appearance and language practice, she felt closer to her L1 people.

In cases of unsuccessful border-crossing, ELLs tended to refer to issues of their personalities, English proficiency, and lack of sociocultural knowledge of North America when reporting on their social interaction with English speaking counterparts (Gagné & Soto Gordon, 2009, 2012). ELLs believed that they were too shy; they needed to change their personalities in order to have more English practice. They also believed that it was their limited English proficiency that prevented them from more English practice. This resonates to what Shin’s (2010) study which suggested that it is the lack of language repertoire leading to unsuccessful border-crossing. ELLs usually have limited English resources which caused another form of inequity among language users (Shin, 2010). Other than English proficiency, ELLs felt they needed to have more knowledge of North America, and tended to feel inferior in social interactions with English-speaking counterparts, since they believed that they should first improve their English proficiency and change their disposition in order to have more English practice.

In summary, ELL adolescents’ border-crossing experiences shape, and are shaped by, their English proficiency, settlement plans, ethnic density in residential places, and positioning and self-positioning in and across social networks. Furthermore, it is determined by language resources that help them access different social networks and increase the knowledge of North America, such as sociocultural networks, language repertoires. When it is too difficult to cross borders, ELL adolescents are more likely to remain in their networks.

**Summary.**

In this chapter, I described the sociocultural nature of human development, focusing specifically on the stage of adolescence in a sociocultural network. The research introduced here showed that adolescents are at a stage where they learn from co-participating in situated learning in community social activities, in order to understand and consolidate their roles in current social network and future worlds. Yet, East Asian learners have double labels. On the one hand they are perceived as a group that excels in academic work; on the other hand, they are usually regarded as a quiet group that does not participate socially because of their limited English proficiency.

Empirical studies have found that late-arriving Chinese adolescents encounter challenges at school, at home, with peers and other places, most of which arise because of their limited English proficiency and lack of knowledge on North American culture and history. They have
limited chances to participate in situated learning in English communities, both at school as a broader social environment, and in classes as a smaller social environment. They experience dramatic changes at home, where their roles change. Furthermore, they encounter a social divide in peer networks in North America, which further restrains their chances of situated learning in social networks. Their participation in communities is influenced by more complicated factors such as English proficiency, religion and family networks.

This chapter identifies some of the sociocultural needs of adolescents, as well as the challenges and supports that late-arriving Chinese adolescents encounter. It shows that even though adolescents need co-participation in socially situated activities in and across communities, it is not uncommon for late-arriving Chinese adolescents to be insufficiently engaged in such participation. This impacts their identity, which further restricts their chances of co-participation in and across spaces.

In the next chapter, I introduce the conceptual framework of this study, starting with an introduction and suggested expansion of *Multiple Worlds Model* (Phelan et al., 1991), combining the notions of social space(s) and identity to create the conceptual framework of this study entitled *Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model*.
CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter introduces the conceptual framework that this study employs to examine late-arriving ELL adolescents’ language practice in and across social spaces. Based on my personal and professional experiences introduced in Chapter 1, and the literature described in Chapter 2, it was clear that examining this phenomenon required an integration of multiple theoretical perspectives, which I describe in more detail below.

Conceptual Framework Preview

Existing models could not capture what I observed; therefore, in this chapter I propose a consolidated conceptual framework that I use to interpret my data, which integrates the following theoretical bodies of literature: (a) sociocultural theory of language use, (b) multiple worlds model (Phelan et al, 1991), (c) social space(s), (d) language identity formation, (e) language as a symbolic power, and (f) third space. The graphic representations provided at the end of each section are combined at the end of this chapter to form my conceptual framework entitled Critical Multiple Social Space Model. This unifying conceptual framework extracts findings of empirical studies in several fields as introduced in the previous chapter, and combines the aforementioned elements to enable me to better understand focal Chinese ELL adolescents’ language use experiences in daily life in Canada.

Sociocultural Theory of Language Use

Social context, language users and language use.

This study takes a sociocultural perspective on language learning, centering on the interaction between learners and a broader sociocultural environment. Thus, language use, instead of language learning, is used to represent the nature of language learning as part and product of social activities embedded in social contexts (Fairclough, 2001).

The sociocultural perspective of language use stresses “the interrelationships amongst language, place and doing” (Pennycook, 2010, p.1), where “language use is part of a multifaceted interplay between humans and the world” (Pennycook, 2010, p.2). In other words, the focus is on what and how people interact in a context during language use. Thus, social contexts, language users, and language use are three interrelated factors, none of which should be studied in isolation. As Figure 1 shows, language use plays a mediating role in the dialogic
interactions between social contexts and language users, and the gears imply the central role of
dialogicality among three factors, which I will elucidate in the following paragraphs.

Signs and tools play a mediating role in the process of learning, linking learners to the
outer world (Vygotsky, 1986). Language, as a part of signs, links learners to the outer world. Yet
such linking is a dialogic process in which language users not only understand a language from
their interaction with an outer world, but also develop their own voices which they apply to their
language use in the world (Bakhtin, 1986). In this regard, language use as a part and product of
activities, emerges from the interactions between learners and a broader context. This nature is
reflected in Figure 1, where the gear of language use is positioned slightly further compared to
the gears of social contexts and language users. Thus, language use is always a two-sided act
(Hall, Vitanova, & Marchenkova, 2005). It reflects a way of acting in a context at a moment -
“when we speak, then, we do two things: (a) we create the contexts of use to which our
utterances typically belong and, at the same time, (b) we create a space for our own voice.” (Hall,
Vitanova, & Marchenkova, 2005, p.2).

The dialogic nature of a sign system and language users is representative of the
complicated interaction between language users and social context. On the one hand, social
context impacts language use (Fairclough, 2001; Wertsch, 1991, 1998), as shown in Figure 1,
where the gear of social contexts is placed in the centre implying a more significant role in social
interactions. Social context includes social structures and social order such as social groupings
(i.e., inclusive of groupings of race, ethnics, gender, and culture) (Hymes, 1973; Fairclough,
Certain groups of people practice certain forms of language use. On the other hand, language users can also change social context, since people practice diverse literate lives in and across social contexts (Curdt-Christiansen & Maguire, 2007; Vasudevan & Campano, 2009). As a result of such crossing-context language practice, people influence social structures and social orders. Thus, English Language Learners’ (ELLs) language use becomes their social accomplishment in their daily life (Swain & Deters, 2007).

To investigate ELLs’ language use, it is important to identify social contexts in their daily life. The next section introduces the Multiple Worlds Model that has been employed and extended in order to study ethnic minority students’ daily life.

**Multiple worlds model.**

Current research has explored in great depth and breadth how families, schools, teachers, and peer groups affect adolescents’ learning outcomes (G. Li, 2007; J. Li, 2009; Liang, 1999; Miller, 2003). However, limited research has identified how those worlds constitute the daily world of adolescents and impact their learning. Phelan et al. (1991) responded to this gap by proposing a *Multiple Worlds Model.* This model combines families, schools and peer networks as ethnic minority learners’ daily life and investigates learners’ learning from a holistic perspective (see Figure 2).

In this model, *World* is referred to as "cultural knowledge and behavior found within the boundaries" (Phelan et al., 1991, p.225). Each boundary, or each world, has its own sets of values, expectations and actions familiar to insiders. Across multiple worlds, ethnic minority adolescents are active agents negotiating meaning of their experiences. Their experiences in each world are fluid and interactive to the extent that the experiences of one world impact the experiences in another. Phelan et al. (1991) identified four types of characterization of movement between worlds on the basis of the complicated nature and harmony among adolescents’ worlds: (a) congruent worlds/smooth transitions; (b) different worlds/boundary crossings managed; (c) different worlds/boundary crossings hazardous and (d) borders impenetrable/boundary crossing insurmountable. For students in the first type, their worlds are parallel in values, expectations and beliefs, therefore crossings from one setting to another share more commonalities. For instance, when a student’s school shares the same norms as their families, they are more likely to succeed in school learning. For the second type, students encounter differences in their worlds, which require adjustments between settings. Students in the third type perceive their family,
Figure 2 Multiple Worlds Model

Peer and/or school as distinct entities, which make their crossing only possible under certain conditions. For the fourth type, students feel it is impossible to cross boundaries because their values, beliefs and expectations are too distinct to surmount.

Students who fall within these four categories employ different strategies to successfully cross between worlds. Students in the first type tend to have fewer strategies because of the congruency of their worlds. Therefore they are more likely to fail crossing boundaries when they are put in a different setting or with a group having different norms. Students in the second type usually cross their worlds successfully. The worlds of students in this type usually are quite distinct; however, students are capable of managing the different norms and cultures of each world, and acting in accordance with each of them. Both the first and second types of students tend to be overlooked by teachers since they are mostly perceived as having successfully “fit in”; they are academically excellent and present few problems in their life. Students in the third or fourth types encounter disparities of their worlds to an extent that crossing boundaries is considered difficult, stressful or anxious. For these two types of students, teachers in the school tend to focus upon the obvious issues and are not aware of their full strengths and potentials.

Many studies have used this model to investigate ethnic minority learners’ experiences and
strategies across boundaries (Chhuon, Hudley & Macias, 2006; Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia, Lopez & Dunbar, 1995; Cooper, Jackson, Azmitia & Lopez, 1998; Gagné, 2007b, 2008; Qian, 2008). Considering the findings collectively, a number of factors have been identified: ethnic minority learners’ perceptions of academic and career opportunities (Cooper et al, 1995; Cooper et al, 1998), communications between school, parents and communities (Gagné, 2007b, 2008) as well as strategies in cultural adjustment (Chhuon et al, 2006; J. Li, 2009; Qian, 2008; Qin, 2007). Although some of these studies did not use this particular model as a lens to interpret their findings, researchers did investigate minority adolescents’ experiences in more than one world in daily: family, school or peer (Ajayi, 2008; Dyson, 2001; G. Li, 2006; J. Li, 2009; Qin, 2007), which all emphasized the connectedness among multiple worlds (Phelan et al, 1991).

**From “Worlds” to “Social Spaces”**

As “worlds” describes each sociocultural setting as a fixed and static entity, such description cannot quite capture the essence of language minority students’ experiences in daily life. In this study, I use the notion of social space for my conceptual framework. Since the notion of social space has originated and evolved from the notion of space in Lefebvre’s (1991) book, the *Production of Space*, I first introduce his categorization and the nature of a space.

Lefebvre (1991) proposed that (social) space is the production of social activities. He suggested that there are three types of space in human society: perceived space, conceived space and lived space. Perceived space is described as geographical settings in society. I will use the term, material settings, instead of geographical settings in the following discussions in order to include virtual space, a venue which also has three types of space due to the nature of social activities (Ivković & Lotherington, 2009). This type of space takes the form of a theatre, a playground, or a bank in a society.

Conceived space is how a space is thought of and described. It reveals institutional power on spaces in a society. It determines sociocultural practices of a space, and people’s relations in the space. In particular, a conceived space informs what types of social activities are expected to take place by which groups of people. Thus, it is discourse on space. For example, theatres are conventionally for art performance, and an audience is expected to quietly watch the performance. A playground is generally regarded as a venue for school activities, where students play and teachers supervise.

Lived space refers to lived experiences of space developed through perceived space and
conceived space. This type of space is formed as a result of individuals’ dialectical experience with the sociocultural practice of a space. In particular, it emerges out of individuals’ lived experience within the sociocultural practices of a space. Thus, it is the discourse of space, uncovering individuals’ lived experiences with perceived space and conceived space. Soja (1996) referred Lefebvre’s notion of lived space as Thirdspace, which I further discuss in the section entitled Third Space in a later discussion on language identities, because the nature of Third Space is of hybrid social practice and identities (Lefebvre, 1991; Gutiérrez, 2008).

The three types of spaces, perceived space, conceived space and lived space, co-exist and evolve from each other (Lefebvre, 1991). Sheehy and Leander (2004) presented a collection of studies uncovering how the three types of spaces shape, and are shaped by, social activities and social relations of a society. Thus, the studies on space do not only focus on the geographical venues of a society such as street landmarks, and street signs in public domains, and how such material environments impact language use in a city (Pan, 2009). There are also studies on types of space in virtual space (Gee, 2004; Ivković & Lotherington, 2009; Lam, 2004, 2006). Ivković and Lotherington (2009) elucidated how symbolic conditions of virtual space create and enhance certain sociocultural and language activities. With access to the Internet, language users obtain entry to various spaces of virtual space, which entails multilingual signs and landmarks delivering different discourses of social spaces in virtual space to different language users. The distinct conceived spaces undoubtedly lead to discrete and distinct lived experiences.

Social space is a social process and product (Kostogize, 2006; Lefebvre, 1991). In a society, certain routine social practices produce certain social spaces, and every social space enables and enhances certain routine social practices. In the following sections I will use the term social spaces, instead of space, for the social nature of a space. I suggest incorporating the notion of “social spaces” in my conceptual framework. By using social spaces, three types of spaces are subsumed: perceived space, conceived space, and lived space, as they exist concurrently (Lefebvre, 1991). I discuss this notion further in the following section.

**Social space.**

Social space has emerged as a factor that plays an increasingly important role in the studies of language use since late 1990s (Firth & Wagner, 1997, 2007; Hélot & de Mejía, 2008; Kostogriz, 2006; Swain & Deters, 2007; Vadeboncoeur, Hirst, & Kostogriz, 2006). Social space is an essential source of language activity and impacts practice across social institutions as well
as social groups (Hyme, 1972). In second language studies, context, is usually perceived as a static, pre-existing entity, to which agents either conform or resist (Mondada & Doehler, 2004). Different from context as a pre-existent entity, social space exists along a social-interactional plane (Wertsch, 1998) and is the product and source of sociocultural and historical activities, which “unlock the fixity of meaning and identities” (Kostogize, 2006, p. 176). Thus, social space is dynamic and fluid; it can be influenced by multiple sociocultural and historical activities inside and outside of the social space.

The study of social space in sociolinguistic studies cannot focus on only one of the three types of spaces: perceived space (material settings), conceived space and lived space. They emerge and evolve from social activities in any type of space. Social space embodies more than just its material settings (i.e., perceived space) in which social activities take place. A social space, as a sociocultural setting (Hélot & de Mejia, 2008), is formed by the shared sociocultural activities which are situated both within material settings and a certain historical background. Further, a social space is a combination of place and time (Pennycook, 2010; Hafner, 2012). Thus, the formation of a social space emerges from routine social activities occurring in place and time.

Such situatedness, and meanings with which it is associated, bear the traces of a broader temporal and spatial dimension (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Pennycook, 2010). For example, the classroom is conventionally considered to be a space for certain social practices in certain languages. Resources and daily routines in a classroom pertaining to its material features -- for example, chalk, textbooks and other materials -- enable or disable certain practices (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005; Toohey, 2000). Furthermore, schools in North America are naturally considered to be social spaces where social activities should take place in English. Thus, classrooms in a school represent shared sociocultural practice in a geographical place, and the social space of the classroom in a North American school is usually regarded as a space where formal schooling takes place in English. Furthermore, the curriculum and pedagogy of a class also reveals the combination of time and space - what is recognized as dominant practice at school indicates the effects of priority at a place and a time (Pennycook, 2010).

The material settings of a social space can also enhance certain social practice. For example, a school in Canada is a space dominant in English practice. Yet, such material settings can be extended to trans-spatial and trans-temporal dimensions, with the application of
technology. Such extension makes it possible for learners to engage in the same social practice in a virtual space, while in a different geographical environment (Gee, 2004; Lam, 2004).

**Social space: a symbolic system.**

Social spaces are the products of social activities mediated by capital and knowledge (Lefebvre, 1991). As Bourdieu (1989) discussed, a social space functions as a symbolic system which produces certain social structures. People in this system have the same perception and same weight over different forms of capital: sociocultural and economic capital. In other words, people in a social space share a similar perception of social reality. Sharing the same self-evident perception, people in the same social space tend to remain distant from different realities (Bourdieu, 1989).

A social space manifests certain forms of daily life practices (Baynham & Simpson, 2010) and social relations (Bourdieu, 1989). These practices and social relationships privilege certain social groups and disadvantage others. A social space is an invisible system of social relations representing a field of power in which people position and are positioned differently (Bourdieu, 1989). It is the sense of belonging that indicates one’s affiliation to a social space (Bourdieu, 1989). For example, texts, events and cultural traditions have meaning for insiders (Brockmeier, 2001); certain lifestyles (Bourdieu, 1989) and conventional use of language (Pennycook, 2010) also dominate certain social spaces, which answers the recurring question of “when and where to say what”.

Therefore, a social space is more than a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), as shown in Figure 3. It is an affiliated lived space in which learners are engaged in practice for mutual goals (Barton & Tusting, 2005; Gee, 2004). In the same lived social space, language users acknowledge shared lived experiences (Bourdieu, 1977) and produce similar linguistic products using a particular language (Baugh, 2009). It not only includes the recognition of a particular language formality, but also privileges particular shared lived and living experiences. Thus, a social space embodies social networks.

Now I elucidate how social networks, social activities and language use interplay in a social space. For example, the classroom -- as a social space -- is a legitimate space prioritizing school curriculum and dominant teaching and learning pedagogy. It forms a dominant social space that shapes learners’ interactions and social relations. Yet, not all learners in the classroom are in the same social space, in that some learners may be excluded from social activities in
certain languages for mutual goals, and are thus excluded from practices in the class. Therefore, as the next section shows, due to different affiliated social activities, a classroom can have several social spaces that form different sets of social relations and further impact language practice. In other words, learners in the same classroom may position and be positioned differently.

**Social spaces and language users.**

A material setting can have multiple conceived and lived social spaces, and a conceived and lived social space can also include several material settings. Language users in one material setting are not necessarily in the same social network, and engage in the same social activities in the same conceived and lived social space. In actuality, language users position, and are positioned, differently in social spaces, if they engage in different social practices with different social networks. In other words, language groups position, and are positioned differently, in accordance with their relation to social networks in a social structure in a society (Bourdieu, 1977), even though they are in the same material setting. Taking a classroom as an example (as Figure 4 shows), the classroom as a material setting can also have multiple conceived and lived social spaces due to the nature of social activities, social networks and language use. For example, an English literature class makes the classroom a social space for English literature and English sociocultural history. When the space is used for a Math class, the same venue, the
classroom, becomes a social space for Math knowledge. When the classroom is used for ESL classes, this material setting becomes a social space for ELLs. Social spaces for various sociocultural and language practice do not have the same weight of symbolic power in a society (Fairclough, 2001; Sheehy & Leadner, 2004). Social spaces for the dominant sociocultural and language practice have more symbolic power. In contrast, a social space for less dominant
sociocultural practice is more marginal. Thus, a social space with ELLs does not have the same symbolic power as a space with English-speaking students due to its’ varied sociocultural and language resources linked to the dominant sociocultural and language practice.

A social space will cross several material settings. The nature of a social space is shaped by its symbolic capital including social networks and social activities. When social activities occur within the same social networks in and across various geographical environments, it is one and the same social space. Taking the classroom as an example again (as Figure 5 shows), the same group of learners is engaged in classroom activities in ESL classes and Math classes. After the classes, the group goes to the cafeteria and engages in their routine social activities (e.g., discussing a popular movie), and their social space moves from the classes to the cafeteria. Thus, their social space includes multiple material settings: English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, Math classes and the cafeteria.

Social spaces do not share the same level of symbolic power in a society, as different language groups are not positioned at the same level of social structure in a society (Fairclough, 2001). Such symbolic power is reflected in the availability of – and accessibility to – linguistic resources by language users (Toohey, 2000). This demonstrates the varied positions in which language users are situated in a society (Miller, 2003). For example, a language that is officially used at school reveals the resources available in official dominant social spaces, and validates this language more than other languages (Goldstein, 2003). On the contrary, when a language is more frequently used among linguistic minority groups, resources available for this linguistic community are commonly made more accessible in less dominant social spaces.

In summary, this dynamic relationship between social spaces and geographical environments has implications for my conceptual framework. Home, school and peer networks are three spaces that my study will navigate in terms of Chinese ELL adolescents’ language use in daily life. However, it needs to be pointed out that home, school and peer networks, in terms of space, are complicated. Conventionally, home and school are more often discussed in relation to material settings as well as conceived space (i.e., what a home is for). For example, the material settings of a home such as its location and neighbourhood, implies social relations and social activities in a society. In contrast, the peer network is more linked to lived space, since the peer network is formed by shared lived experiences. However, as Lefebvre (1991) pointed out, “any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relations - and this despite the fact that a
space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products)” (p.82-3). Thus, three types of spaces are connected and interrelated. In my conceptual framework, home, school and peer networks are all identified as social space, even though some of them may be more linked to one particular type of space as discussed. Anytime a social space is mentioned, the notion that a social space may contain multiple geographical environments, and that a geographical environment may contain multiple social spaces, is implied. Besides home, school and peer, there are other spaces implicated in this framework, which I introduce below.

**Other spaces.**
In this chapter I have introduced social space and elaborated on its nature as a symbolic system, which is different from worlds, and from geographical environments. Now, I suggest the inclusion of “other spaces” in the Multiple Social Spaces Model.

The *Multiple Worlds Model* (Phelan et al., 1991) examines the interrelationship between three worlds (i.e., home, peers and school), and the impact of ethnic minority learners’ cross-trajectory experiences on their learning at school. The model looks at ethnic minority adolescents’ daily life experiences which commonly implicate three worlds: family, peers and school. In the original study, Phelan et al. (1991) focused on a group of second-generation ethnic minority learners in North America who lived with their families ten years ago and had stable peer networks at school and in their community. My study investigates Chinese late arrivals’ language practice and cross-trajectory experiences and their respective identities. Resonating with the *Multiple Worlds Model*, my study recognizes the importance of looking at learners’ daily lives in multiple worlds in order to fully understand their learning at school. Yet, as the previous section showed, this study stresses the dynamic and fluid nature of each world (which is termed as social space), emphasizing the affiliated situated learning that engages learners. Therefore, instead of using the term “worlds”, I will use the notion of “social space” in my conceptual framework.

In addition to family, peer networks and school, this study expands on Phelan et al.’s (1991) *Multiple Worlds Model* to include a focus on participants’ other spaces as being another space of practice that is supplementary to the daily lives of late arrivals’ language practice in their daily life. At their stage of development, adolescents are more independent in social activities compared to learners at an earlier age, and ELL
adolescents in particular have more complicated activities in their daily life. Other spaces in this model refer to places other than school, peer networks and school. It includes: (a) ethnic community centers, for example, immigrant settlement centers, and religious sites; (b) supplementary educational organizations; (c) virtual spaces; and (d) public services.

Ethnic community centers play an important role in late arrivals’ lives. An ethnic community reveals different sociocultural practice between social groups (Hones, 1999; Wong, 2008) and can enhance school learning (Shaw, 2009). As a metropolitan city, the GTA has three Chinatowns, and various religious places and ethnic community organizations such as the Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter (CCNCTO) that create social spaces for adolescents to socialize.

Supplementary educational organizations provide additional academic resources for ethnic minority adolescents in order to facilitate their learning at school and meet culturally responsive learning strategies (Kanno & Varghese, 2009; M. Zhou, 2011). Those organizations are usually located at the center of ethnic congregated areas (M. Zhou, 2011) and run their programs after school hours on weekends or holidays. On the whole, these supplementary education organizations are usually for-profit organizations, and even though there are controversial opinions regarding teaching pedagogies and curriculum (Golden, 2011), those organizations play an important role in bridging linguistic minority learners’ socially and culturally embedded needs in North America.

The rise of virtual space in an adolescent’s life necessitates its inclusion in this study as another space as it brings forth a different notion of time and place to space (Giroux, 2005). The virtual space (e.g., Facebook and Renren), 4 changes learners’ social networks, forms of social activities and resources (Gee, 2004; Lam, 2004) as well as their role in social practice (Lankshear & Knobel, 2006).

Considering public service institutions as social institutions reveals dominant social practices (Fairclough, 2001). Some of the public service institutions examined in this study include public libraries, public transportation systems and community recreational programs. As a result of their developmental stage and changing family roles, late arrivals often assume the responsibility of communicating with public service institutions. In fact, some of them live alone in Toronto, and as a result they need to contact those institutions

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4 Renren.com is a very popular social website for Chinese adolescents.
to get things accomplished.

The inclusion of other spaces in the conceptual framework guiding this study (see Figure 6) works to recognize minority adolescents’ daily life after school, which includes more than family, school and friends. Late arrivals, coming mainly for educational benefits, are not a homogenous group; some live in North America alone, while some come with their parents and have to take up more family responsibilities. Thus, it is necessary to include a focus not only on their experiences in other spaces, but also their ever-changing linguistic identities.

Language Identity

According to existing research, the notion of identity is non-unitary, conflictual and fluid (Canagarajah, 2004; Norton, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Omoniyi & White, 2006; Weedon, 1987), and represents a state in which “…individuals constantly attempt to maintain a sense of balance…” (Block, 2006, p.35). The nature of language identity in particular is dependent on language users’ experiences in society, thus it is socially-, culturally- and locally-constructed (Lee & Anderson, 2009; Ricento & Wiley, 2002) and involves a complex subjective negotiation of learners’ past, present and future (Block, 2006; Norton, 1995). Language identity is a complicated process of identifying, negotiating (Wenger, 1998) and becoming (Hall, 1996), and is contingent upon individuals’ dialectical social relations in social and cultural contexts (Collins & Blot, 2003; Gérin-Lajoie, 2005; Miller, 2003; Omoniyi & White, 2006). It shapes how people act in social spaces in accordance with its social structures (Curdt-Christiansen & Maguire, 2007; Norton, 1995; Shin, 2010). Moreover, language also represents a product of sociocultural and linguistic practice with various groups of people, rather than a source (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

The construction of language identity involves a process of identifying social relations with other language groups, negotiating self-representations, and becoming an ideal self-image that is dependent on desires that emerge from interactions with various linguistic communities (Norton & Toohey, 2000). Language identity reflects language users’ sense of belonging to various language groups in the social contexts in which they live (Gérin-Lajoie, 2003, 2005; Weedon, 1987). In other words, it is based on language users’ perception of themselves, prevalent images they recognize (Gee, 2000), and the roles of languages in their daily life experiences in social spaces (Curdt-Christiansen & Maguire, 2007).
In terms of linguistic minority students’ identities, they have been seen to be remarkably more complex than we can imagine due to their plurality and their relationship with the majority (Gérin-Lajoie, 2003; Omoniyi & White, 2006). Language identity reflects language users’ understanding of their future in a society (Norton, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2000). This is usually determined by their performance in the society (Gee, 2000) as well as the material and social resources available for them (Toohey, 2000; Norton, 1995). Linguistic minority students’ understandings of social space shape their perception of their future in the society. As such, the study of linguistic minority learners’ language identity should broaden its focus to include not only the outcome of language practice, but rather the learners’ process of language practice (Norton, 2000). This process reveals learners’ desires and sense of affiliation in various social spaces (Stein, 2004; Toohey, 2000), and shapes “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (Norton, 2000, p.5). Such a process reflects language users’ desire for recognition and association (West, 1992) and “…the quest for existential meaning …” (West, 1992, p.21); the desire for recognition and association does not only appear in a public space and in a language acknowledged by dominant groups, it also happens in multiple spaces (Canagarajah, 2004) and in various language forms (Stein, 2004), leading to the construction of identities. In Figure 7, the notion of self is introduced to highlight
the dialogical relationship between self, social spaces and language use. The reciprocal arrows, connecting self, and various social spaces represented by small circles in Figure 7, reflect the dialectic relations between self and social spaces. While language identities, presented as SELF in Figure 7, reflect language users’ desire of affiliation and reorganization to various social spaces, language identities are also shaped by, and shape, symbolic powers in the social space. Such dialectical interaction manifests in forms of language use and social networks. I explain this phenomenon in further detail in the next section.

**Language as symbolic power.**

The study of language learning should not be isolated from the study of power (Bourdieu, 1977; Canagarajah, 1999, 2004; Cummins, 2000, 2009; Norton & Toohey, 2004;). In the words of Shor (1999), language is “the ways we speak and are spoken to” (p.1) and shapes us into the people that we become in a society. As McLaren and Lankshear (1993) point out, the process of becoming is more than simply assimilating to the norms of a society; instead the essence is the leverage of “the social habitus of society and the means” (p.405). This social habitus is a set of dispositions that individuals develop in response to social conditions (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), reflecting society’s dominant ideological assumptions of language and society (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). Thus, studies of language do not just work to understand a sign system.
expressing surface meanings (Gee, 1993), but rather examine the differences in how language groups interpret the world and how different language practices are “implicated in relations of power” (Giroux, 1993, p.368).

Bourdieu (1989) defined symbolic power as a process of world making, and “the power to consecrate or to reveal things that are already there” (p.23). Symbolic power impacts social groupings and social relations (Hymes, 1973). Language as symbolic power “make[s] things with the words” (Bourdieu, 1989, p.23), and places certain language formalities in a more dominant position and an appropriate speech in a society (Bourdieu, 1977). People in a society are positioned differently due to their varied history with a particular language formality, knowledge of cultures and history in a social space (Heller, 1995), and their ability to use legitimate language (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). As Gee (1990) elaborated:

…languages are social possessions, possessions that partly define who count as ‘real’ members of the group, ‘insiders’, we might say. As the language becomes a complicated and intricate form, not tied in any very obvious way to meaning, only children, people born into the culture, can master it fully, effortlessly, getting it just right where English, for instance, uses the word ‘the’, while ‘late comers’ never fully master these intricacies, and so always mark themselves as ‘outsiders’. … (p.78)

The meanings of a language are partially isolated from its form (Gee, 1990, 1993). People who have been included in a linguistic community are more likely to share the same “common sense” and self-evident rules (Bourdieu, 1989). This common sense practice encompasses historical, sociocultural and linguistic practices. Such historical situatedness (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembruck, 2005; Collins, 1999; Phillipson, 1998) – indicative of varied social groups’ familiarity with various linguistic repertoire – reveals how symbolic power enhances the credibility and legitimacy of a language formality, positioning language users within a hierarchical social structure, and reproducing social inequality (Swartz, 1997).

Language as symbolic power, in this regard, is a ‘structuring structure’, hierarchizing linguistic production, and shaping “…speaker’s position in the social structure” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.646). Language as symbolic power determines which form of language practice is more valued, and how language practice is conditioned in a society. Linguistic practice becomes a form of discursive practice, regulating and reproducing hierarchies among social groups (Foucault, 1972; Giroux, 1993; McLaren & Lankshear, 1993). In this regard, we should look at
language learning as a process which centers on learners’ “struggles over controlling the production and distribution of resources and over the legitimation of relations of power” (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p.2). Consequently, the process of language learning shapes language users’ identity in their social contacts with different language groups, in particular their relations with language groups speaking dominant languages (Norton, 1995; Gérin-Lajoie, 2003).

Linguistic minority students are usually perceived as a unitary group whose identity is shaped by “notions of deficiency, inferiority, and disadvantage” (Canagarajah, 2004, p.117). Such a perspective promotes a stereotype of linguistic minority students’ inferior and passive social images, which ultimately impacts learners’ experiences of language use and possibilities for future success (Cummins, 2000). Scholars and researchers called for more research that stresses the complexity of ELLs as a group of active agents, in particular how learners deploy negotiating and affiliating strategies for re-distribution of language resources and production (Canagarajah, 2004; Cummins, 2000). Shin’s (2010) timely study made an important contribution in this respect, proposing that language should be regarded as a set of resources and second language learning as an economic activity. She also suggested that language learning is socially embedded, and a transnational economic activity in which transnational language identities are constructed.

The notion that language is symbolic power and language learning is a process of negotiating redistribution of language resources explains the theoretical background of this study, which examines the process of negotiating social spaces of language use. In Figure 8, I integrate this notion into my conceptual framework by incorporating world languages in the perimeter of my graphical representation. This is meant to acknowledge their potential influence on the formation of social spaces, sociocultural practice and identity formation of linguistic minority students in my study. The double-sided arrow in Figure 8 connecting the language parameter to the social space uncovers the impact of symbolic power on social space. The random sequence of languages implies the uncertain yet dynamic influence from the multilingual world on language users’ sociocultural practice in social spaces. The double-sided arrows in the space of school represent the dialogic negotiation between these learners and the social spaces characterized by dominant language practice. This negotiation involves not only the exploration of physical materials for language use, such as textbooks and software, but also symbolic resources, such as friendship and chances to have conversations (McKay & Wong, 1996; Norton,
2000; Toohey, 2000). In nature, this is in effect a manifestation of social relations (Apple, 1999), and the systems generating such social relations (Blommaert et al, 2005). Some researchers have proposed that a figurative “Third Space” emerges out of this negotiation, which I describe in detail in the following section.

**Investment.**

Norton (1995) suggested a notion of *investment* to stress the dialogical relation between language learners and the broader dynamic society. Investment, seen as learners’ engagement in language learning (Norton & Toohey, 2011), highlights ambivalent and multiple desires that learners have to learn and practice the target language. Such desires are shaped by power relations between learners and target language communities. Studies have found that the investment shapes, and is shaped, by learners’ identities. In Norton’s (1995) study, Eva worked in a place where her colleagues did not perceive that she – as an immigrant woman – was someone who was worth listening to and talking to. Her investment of being listened to and talked to led her to adopt a range of strategies. As an immigrant from a European country, she had this social capital that her colleagues, and most Canadians, desired, which was her lived experiences in Europe. Eva’s investment in English practice was determined by her social identities in her interaction with her colleagues in the workplace. Although learners are invested in obtaining ideal symbolic capital, they do not necessarily feel comfortable communicating with
people in the target language that they invested with (Norton, 1995). In Norton’s (1995) study, another woman, Martina, more invested in English because of her multiple identities as the mother, the wife and the main caregiver of the family, still felt stupid and inferior when speaking English. Additional studies also used the notion of investment to explore the dynamics between language learners’ desire to practice the target language, and challenge or confront a particular discourse. McKay and Wong (1996) examined how four Asian ELLs were selectively invested in certain English modalities (i.e., oral communication, writing) in response to the discourse of the Asian model minority at school. Michael invested more in developing strong oral communication skills and sports, which made him very popular with his peers, and Jeremy invested more in developing his written English.

Language learners’ membership in multiple communities has been found to impact investment in language learning (Haneda, 2005; Kanno, 2000, 2003). In Haneda’s (2005) study, Jim and Edward had differentiated investment in Japanese writing because of their different experiences with Japanese communities. Both Haneda (2005) and Kanno (2000, 2003) found that learners’ investment in using the target language tended to be lower, if they planned to return to their home country (i.e., the country of their L1) after the completion of their university education.

**Third Space.**

Bhabha (1994) defined the “in-between” space or spaces as “Third Space”, which acknowledges and celebrates different discourses and identities. It is a space defined for and by marginalized groups, which is by nature a space for recognizing and negotiating differences, intervening dominant discourses and creating “Others”. The emergence of a Third Space, which is also referred to as liminal space, is a profound process of redefinition that privileges difference and seeks recognition. Such difference can be lifestyle, history as well as social cultural settings (Helot & de Mejia, 2004).

Bhabha’s notion of Third Space addresses temporal aspects of lived difference (Soja, 1996), while Lefebvre (1991) linked Third Space to spatial aspects of lived difference. Combining both the notions of Bhabha (1994) and Lefebvre (1991), Soja (1996) suggested that Third Space, which he termed as Thirdspace, is shaped by lived experiences from both diverse spatial and temporal locations. Gutiérrez, an important scholar on Third Space literacy studies, suggested that Third Space should be treated as a collective zone of proximal development emerging from
“ongoing contradictions that need continual re-mediation” (Gutiérrez, 2008, p.154), where agents in the Third Space negotiate and consolidate hybrid language and sociocultural practice. She argued that the production of Third Space is born out of spatial-temporal differences, and through collective interactions. The production is always difficult and complex.

Third Space is a space of semiotic mediation, in which interpretation and reinterpretation of such mediation take place (Brockmeier, 2001). Agents in the Third Space practice contested and alternative forms of literacy collectively (Gutiérrez, 2008). It is a space of hybridity within which multiple forms of literacies are recognized, practiced and privileged by agents from non-dominant communities (Bhatt, 2008; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999; Haditabassum, 2005). Thus, this liminal space becomes the site of symbolic interactions where disadvantaged symbolic forms are privileged and practiced through interactions. It stresses language users’ subjectivity in crossing social space(s) (Haneda, 2006; Mondada & Doehler, 2004), instead of simplistic dichotomy of they-we. In this study, Third Space is a collective zone of proximal development, where language users negotiate and consolidate hybrid language and sociocultural practices. Such hybrid practices emerge from sociocultural and language practice developed from different history and spaces. For example, Pennycook (2010) in Language as a Local Practice, elaborated how multiple languages (i.e., English and Chinese dialects) were practiced through the interaction between the temporal and spatial development. The sociocultural and language practices in the Chinatown revealed Chinese immigrants’ history and their use of the space in North America. Thus the practices in Third Space uncover both spatial and temporal differences that language users negotiate.

The concept of Third Space has been used to explore marginalized groups’ literacy practice or non-dominant forms of literacy practice in relation to dominant literacy practices. Some studies identified the connection between ELL adolescents’ everyday literacy and institutional literacy practice (Benson, 2010; Hafner, 2012; Gutiérrez, 2008; Majoe, Ciechanowski, Kramer, Ellis, Carrillo, & Collazo, 2004) or the use of multiple languages in dominant media (Bhatt, 2008) and in virtual space (Lam, 2006; Shin, 2010). Others outline the interaction between teachers and students (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999; Hirst & Vadeboncoeur, 2006), including ELLs and their teachers (Li & Giran, 2004) or the practice of family literacy at school (Pahl & Kelly, 2005). Additional studies focus upon English learners’ lived social-historical life in dominant social spaces (Liaw, 2007), parents’ perception of English use (Song, 2010), and
literacy practice in content subjects (Majoe et al., 2004; Wallace, 2004).

Considered collectively, these studies highlight the disconnect between marginalized discourses and dominant discourses, where marginalized discourses arise from everyday experiences at home, community, peer groups as well as lived experiences distinguished as difference in a society. Practicing non-dominant forms of literacy in the classroom, agents are either silenced or appear resistant. These studies brought this disconnect to the forefront (Benson, 2010), and identified agents’ struggle, frustration and negotiation in literacy practices that are distanced by dominant discourse. At this time, the concept of Third Space could exist within and across each of the social spaces represented in my conceptual framework; its graphic presence will be determined by my participants’ experiences and negotiation in my study. I now present the consolidated conceptual framework guiding my study.

**Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model**

This research employs a *Critical Multiple Social Spaces* framework (see Figure 9), which is my consolidated theoretical lens that combines the notions of (a) sociocultural theory of language use, (b) multiple worlds model (Phelan et al, 1991), (c) social space(s), (d) language identity formation, (e) language as a symbolic power, and (f) third space. I use this model as a lens to examine late-arriving Chinese ELL adolescents’ language use in and across multiple social spaces.

In this study, I examine a group of ELL adolescents’ language practice in multiple social spaces at a transitional life stage where they have completed the majority of their education in one distinct sociocultural context and find themselves in a new education and sociocultural context. As Figure 9 shows, in my model, home, school, peer network and other spaces are the four dominant spaces under investigation, each of which constitutes many social spaces. These four spaces are surrounded by a broader sociolinguistic space, which is full of different social activities that occur in different languages that are used by many groups of people. The sequence of languages is random implying uncertain yet ever-changing influences of symbolic power in a broader multilingual space. The dotted line around each social space represents the fluidity, and the potential for the self/identity to shape and be shaped by sociocultural practice at work in those places. Each of these four spaces does not necessarily attribute the same symbolic weight to language users, nor are they equally inclusive, thus the four spaces appear in different sizes. For example, to some ELL adolescents, school may be a social space having the most
sociocultural activities and social networks while home may appear a smaller space of fewer sociocultural activities and social networks.

In its present form, this model shows some obvious areas where the four spaces have the potential to overlap, such as school and peer networks. Most studies found that the peer network of late-arriving ELL adolescents’ is mainly from school. Yet, some worlds may not overlap due to the disconnection between social spaces. In this regard, the overlapping area indicates affiliated situated learning, while some spaces may not overlap at all. In my framework, third space does not only exist between the main spaces, but also between social spaces in one world. It is a space where participants practice hybrid forms of language practice, which are not yet recognized in their social spaces.

In this chapter, I have introduced the conceptual framework for this study, which I have named the Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model. This model combines the frameworks of social space(s), language use and language identities to examine the experiences of late-arriving ELL adolescents’ language use, and to look at how ELLs perceive what they are doing with their language(s) in multiple social spaces over a one-year period. Now, I introduce the methodology that was adopted in this study to investigate these phenomena at work.
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Case Study

Qualitative research employs an interpretive and naturalistic approach, examining issues in natural settings and making sense of a phenomenon from the meanings that people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). As proposed in many studies (Norton, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Toohey, 2000), the study of English language learners’ (ELLs) experiences with language use is, by nature, the examination of their lived experiences in a social context. Therefore, qualitative methodology is an ideal research methodology for focal issues (Au, 2004; Bai, 1995; Chau, 1996; Liang, 2006; McKay & Wong, 1996; Tsang et al, 2003), as this research method is interested in the world of lived experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Stake (2005) pointed out that the object of the case study is more important than the research methods employed. Case study research can be conducted by qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. As “By whatever methods, we choose to study the case, we study it analytically or holistically, entirely by repeated measures or hermeneutically, organically or culturally, and by mixed methods, but we concentrate, at least for the time being, on the case.” (Stake, 2005, p.443). A qualitative case study concentrates on the impact of social, political or other contextual facts on issues (Stake, 2005). It also focuses on contemporary events where researchers usually have no control of participants’ behaviors (Yin, 2009). This approach allows researchers to understand real-life events from a holistic and meaningful perspective (Yin, 1994). Thus, it is ideal to examine the complexity of a social group or a phenomenon, within which it is impossible to separate variables from the context (Merriam, 1991). Many studies (e.g., Early & Marshall, 2008; Soto Gordon, 2010; J. Li, 2007, 2009; Miller, 2007; Taylor, 2006) have employed this approach to investigate and describe the complex and holistic experiences of linguistic minority students, since a case study approach adds “to existing experience and humanistic understanding (Stake, 2000, p.24)”. This qualitative case study attempted to investigate how a group of Chinese adolescents crossed linguistic spaces as linguistic minorities, and how such experiences impacted their identities. The conceptual framework, Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model, merges several fields of empirical and theoretical studies, and makes an effective lens for the researcher to develop comprehensive understandings of the focal issue. As the researcher, I had little control over the issues under study, which were by nature a set of
contemporary events in my participants’ real-life contexts. Therefore, case study was an ideal research approach for this study.

**Participants**

**The selection criteria.**

Even though the focus of this study – late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents’ language use in Canada – implied some preexisting qualifications for participation, selection criteria were still required to ensure that participants recruited for this study were engaged in a set of contemporary events in which this study was interested. The selection criteria for participants were as follows: (a) they had to have resided in Canada for no more than four years, (b) they had to have resided in Mainland China for the majority of their life prior to the landing to Canada, and (c) they were required to be full time students at a secondary school in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) at the time of study.

For the first selection criterion, the purpose of setting four-year-residence as a criterion was due to a generally practiced language policy in Canadian university applications. Most Canadian universities have an additional language policy requiring university applicants who have studied in Canadian school for less than four years as full-time students to take a designated English proficiency test as an evidence of English competence. Thus, it was important to include the length of residence in Canada as a criterion since it constituted an important context of daily life for all participants.

For the second criteria, it was crucial to specify that the majority of participants’ life prior to their landing to Canada had been spent in Mainland China, since this research centered on late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences with language use. Therefore, it was an understood requirement that participants should be ethnic Chinese. As mentioned previously, adolescents from Mainland China are distinct from ethnic Chinese from other regions due to historical, cultural and political differences. This criterion was meant to eliminate a significant part of the variation that might have occurred from growing up in different countries.

The purpose of this research was to identify how adolescents explored various spaces in terms of language use. School – as a space replicating and reproducing official discourse – was therefore significant in terms of its potential impact on adolescents’ language use experiences and identity construction. Since there are many international colleges that cater to late-arriving Chinese adolescents and employ their own curriculum, stressing that core participants in this research were all full-time students at secondary schools of the GTA would help to ensure that
the educational environments had less variation that might affect the results.

**Recruiting process.**

The recruitment process started at the Johnson Institute where the researcher worked as a part-time teacher. Recruitment letters were posted on campus with the permission of the administrator of this school (Appendix A). A snowball method (Yin, 2010) was used to recruit participants who were not registered for programs at the Johnson Institute. Recruitment letters were sent to my colleagues and friends, and to students who had completed programs at the Johnson Institute so that they could invite their friends who had similar backgrounds (Appendix G).

Eventually 30 participants were selected for the survey. Ten of these were selected for the second stage data collection: semi-structured interviews and observations. In an effort to have variety in my sample, participants were included in the second stage of the study based on the following criteria: (a) those who spoke different Chinese dialects other than Mandarin as their first language, (b) those whose parents or guardians, with whom participants lived in Canada, were willing to participate in this study, (c) those who displayed a range of socioeconomic status; (d) five males and five females were selected, and (e) those who were planning to stay in the GTA throughout the period of data collection. For the first criterion listed here, it needs to be pointed out that Mandarin is used as the official language in China, yet people from different regions usually speak different Chinese dialects in their daily life, such as Cantonese, Shanghainese, and Hakka. These varieties of Chinese are not mutually intelligible. In addition, in some regions of China, Mandarin is the only language spoken by the majority of the population. However, due to the language policy in China, most people can communicate fluently in Mandarin. This study originally planned to recruit only six participants but fortunately more than six participants agreed to participate.

From the survey, it was hard to directly determine participants’ socioeconomic social (SES) background. Thus, the socioeconomic status was derived indirectly and largely based on their original residence in China as there were certain regions or provinces that tend to be more affluent. However, as can be expected in an indirect selection, this study recruited participants from Cantonese areas having lower socioeconomic status even though this region has been traditionally more affluent than other regions.

This research followed the ethical committee’s requirements of human science research.
Thus, a clearly written introduction of the research – in both Mandarin and English – was given to participants beforehand (Appendix A). Consent forms in both languages were given to participants above 18 years of age (Appendix C), while additional consent forms were distributed to parents of adolescents under 18 years of age (Appendix B). I explained in Mandarin that participation in this research was voluntary and they were entitled to terminate interviews at any time. Compensation was given to each participant for taking part in this research. Due to my role at the Johnson Institute as an instructor teaching writing, participants were offered a free tutorial on writing, a reward not inconsistent with the business nature of the institute. Most participants submitted one school writing assignment and asked for assistance. I usually highlighted sentences in their writing that needed to be edited but left the corrections to the participants.

At the second stage of the study, data collection did not start until receipt of the consent forms from the ten participants and their parents or custodians (Appendices D, E and F). They were reminded that they could select a pseudonym for the writing of this research in order to protect their personal information. The interview sites and schedules were determined at their convenience, and the interviews themselves were conducted in a safe and quiet place. There were moments when participants became too emotional to continue the interview. At these times, I turned off the recorder but recorded incidents in field notes afterwards.

The close connections between some of the participants and I allowed for opportunities to obtain richer data from some participants, while comparatively less rich data from others. With some participants, I established a strong tie with both the participants and their parents. These connections continued after data collection allowing me to witness a continuation of their lives in a post-study environment which further contributes to the validity of the conclusions. A varied level of connection and involvement in participants’ lives is also revealed in the length and detail of each of the narratives for the ten participants.

**Participant profiles.**

**Stage one.**

The thirty participants invited to complete a background information survey were all from China and had all been living in Canada for no more than four years (see Table 8). Their age ranged from 16-20. All participants were native speakers of Cantonese, Mandarin, Korean or other south Chinese dialects.
Table 8
Survey Participants’ Length of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Length</th>
<th>1 year</th>
<th>2 years</th>
<th>3 years</th>
<th>4 years and more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 9 shows, among 30 participants, 17 lived in a school dorm with other adolescents or in a rented room alone. Three participants lived with one parent; three lived with both parents while three lived with relatives.

Of the 30 survey participants, six were from eastern provinces while five were from the north, including Beijing. Ten participants were from Guang Dong Province, a southern province in China. Two were from western provinces which are relatively less developed economically. Three participants were from central provinces and three were from northeastern provinces. One participant did not indicate where he was from.

**Stage two.**

Ten adolescent participants were selected from the 30 survey participants. Of the ten participants, there was an equal breakdown between male and female. The residential status breakdown was as follows: four were international students, four were immigrants and two were Canadian citizens. In terms of their home country status, four participants lived in Guangdong province, a southern province, while two lived in Beijing, the capital of China. Two were from Zhe Jiang, an eastern province. One was from Hu Bei, a province in the middle, while one was from Liao Ning, a northeastern province. In terms of their Canadian living arrangements, two participants lived alone in a rented house. One lived with both parents while the remaining five lived with only one parent. One lived with her aunt and one lived with his older brother. While the ten participants all shared the required criteria for this phase of the study, there was significant diversity among the participants.

In terms of schools they attended in the GTA, adolescent participants were at a variety of schools at the time of the study (see Table 9). Some of them studied at the same school but they did not know each other (Angel and Travis). Other participants studied at the same school and were aware that they were each participating in this study (Tony and Ivana). Some participants
Table 9

Residential Status (Survey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residential Status</th>
<th>One Parent</th>
<th>Two Parents</th>
<th>Relatives</th>
<th>Alone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

studied in a private high school which mainly recruited international students from China (Angel and Travis). Joe studied at a private school for middle-class families in North America. Other participants studied at different public schools in the GTA.

Table 10 shows general information about the participants, including language test scores that the ten participants obtained for their application to university.

International English Language Tests (IELTS) has 9 as its highest band. The minimum requirement for some universities is 6.5 or higher (e.g., the University of Toronto). The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) Internet-based Test (iBT) has 120 as its full score, and the general cut off score for most universities is 99 or higher (e.g., the University of Toronto). The Certificate of Proficiency in English (COPE) is an English test designed by the University of Toronto for applicants to the University of Toronto. The full score is 120. Its general cut off score is around 80 or higher.
Table 10

Participants’ Brief as of December 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender/Age of Arrival</th>
<th>Caregivers in Canada</th>
<th>Language Test Results</th>
<th>Year of Arrival</th>
<th>LOR Months</th>
<th>School Enrolled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angel</td>
<td>Female/16</td>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>IELTS 6</td>
<td>Jan., 2009</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Private School A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>Female/20</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>TOEFL (had taken 2 times and did not pass 99)</td>
<td>Dec., 2008</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Public School B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivana</td>
<td>Female/17</td>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>IELTS 7 COPE 112.5</td>
<td>Summer, 2009</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Public School C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Male/15</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>TOEFL (to be taken)</td>
<td>Oct., 2008</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Private School D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin</td>
<td>Male/18</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS 6</td>
<td>May, 2009</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Public School E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kira</td>
<td>Female/16</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>No language test required</td>
<td>April, 2007</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Public School F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Male/17</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS 6</td>
<td>Oct., 2009</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Public School G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>Female/16</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS 7</td>
<td>Mar., 2008</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Public School H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony</td>
<td>Male/19</td>
<td>Older Brother</td>
<td>COPE : 70</td>
<td>Aug., 2009</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Public School C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travis</td>
<td>Male/20</td>
<td>School Dorm</td>
<td>IELTS: 7</td>
<td>April, 2010</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Private School A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Collection

Data collection tools.

The unique strength of case study lies in its ability to deal with a range of evidence - documents, interviews and observations -- which leads to the validity and reliability of a research study (Yin, 2009). Based on a carefully designed protocol, this study employed multiple sources of evidence in data collection, using structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, documentation and observation.

The interview, as an essential source of data for case studies, is an effective tool to explore people’s feelings and their interpretations of the world around them (Merriam, 1991; Yin, 1989). Many scholars and researchers have favoured interviewing in the study of linguistic minority students’ experiences (Chen, 1996; Derwing et al, 1999; Dyson, 2001; Feuerverger & Richards, 2007; Kilbride, Anisef, Baichman-Anisef & Khattar, 2000; McKay & Wong, 1996; Roessingh, 2006). It allows the interviewer to probe focal issues for clarity or for more detailed information when necessary (Johnson & Turner, 2003). Qualitative interviewing is a process of meaning-making based on conversations between researchers and interviewees (Warren, 2001).
Usually, interview formats are either semi-structured, structured or unstructured (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Merriam, 2009). Semi-structured interviews are more commonly used in case study (Yin, 1989). It enables participants to provide insights into focal issues and present high-quality data sources of relevant evidence (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Johnson, 2001; Yin, 1989). Due to the development to technology, Internet interviews do not necessarily isolate interviewees from expressions of emotions (Mann & Stewart, 2001). This study focused on ELL adolescents’ language use in daily life. It was in essence to investigate their meaning-making of their own language use experiences. Thus, the semi-structured interview was an ideal data collection tool for this purpose.

Informal Internet interviews were conducted in this study, since some participants were more active in online activities. I frequently had informal interviews with participants online to get updates of their lives. As the three semi-structured interviews were scheduled in a three-month period, informal Internet interviews allowed participants to share with me the events that took place between the semi-structured interviews. Also, there were moments where some participants preferred immediate assistance. The informal Internet interview was an efficient tool for me to have more access to their daily life. However it is important to stress that the study did not merely rely on data from Internet informal interviews. Despite the advantages that interviews bring to case studies, this source of data is usually also likely to have bias, poor recall and inaccurate articulation (Yin, 1989). Thus, it is necessary to use other data collection tools.

Surveys are usually used in case study to provide another source of evidence (Yin, 2003). A survey with highly structured questions can obtain a considerable amount of data in a short period of time. The survey in case study is often used as a sampling procedure and as another instrument (Yin, 2003). Questions for the survey are carefully worded and the same set of predetermined questions are asked of all participants. When necessary, some questions remain open-ended (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Yin, 2009). A survey was used in this study to collect general information about the time of arrival, living conditions in Canada and languages used by the 30 respondents in daily life. Since the purpose of using this survey was to select participants for Phase Two study, this data collection tool was idea for the first phase of this study.

Triangulation in qualitative research is necessary for a “…simultaneous display of multiple, refracted realities” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p.6). In this study, documentation (Mertens, 1998) and direct observation (Alder & Alder, 1994; Merriam, 2009) were used as other sources of
evidence. Direct observation ranges from formal to casual data collection activities (Lee, 2000; Merriam, 2001; Yin, 1989). It can be observations of meetings, classrooms or a field visit in a geographical environment as well as in a virtual space. These can be valuable in that they help researchers to understand the natural settings of the study (Yin, 2009). Since participants were all adolescents, they were more active in communicating with their social networks online. Therefore, online observation helped me to have a sense of their social interactions in virtual settings, which provided additional information about the focal issue. Many studies on adolescents’ experiences of language use employ observation to achieve a better understanding of participants’ interaction with their context (Gaulin, 2006; Liang, 2006; Taylor, 2006). With permission, field visits were conducted in some participants’ home and/or their neighborhood.

Participants’ narrative writing in regard to their experiences with language use in different spaces was collected as an extension of other evidence (Yin, 1989). Narratives in this study were referred to as life stories (Riessman, 2008). This approach produced accurate accounts of meaningful events in the participants’ lives (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), and enabled participants to voice their interpretations of their own experiences (He, 1998). This type of data was used together with other sources of evidence to achieve deeper understanding of linguistic minority students’ experiences with language use (Gaulin, 2006; Miller, 2003; Tsang et al, 2003). Also, narrative writing provided a space for participants to describe some experiences that they did not mention in face-to-face interviews. What’s more, since this study was mainly on their language use in daily life, through narrative writing, I could have a sense of their English proficiency, which is an important factor in their social activities in the North America. Not all participants completed their narrative writing. Eventually, 18 pieces of narrative writing from five participants were collected and are presented in Chapter 5. Some participants chose to email the researcher their narrative writing, which are presented in text boxes, while others chose to write their journals on pieces of paper, which are presented as photos followed by the same typed text in a box.

**Data collection phases.**

Data collection for this study took place over two phases. The first phase consisted of a preliminary survey for the purpose of identifying participants for the second stage and developing a broader picture of the focal groups’ language use experiences. The second phase centered on selected adolescent participants and their parents/guardians.
During Phase One, 30 participants were invited to answer a two-page survey (Appendix C). This survey was a set of questions regarding participants’ general language use in daily life, and their residential status (i.e., arriving age, living condition in Canada). The language of the survey was English, and the vocabulary set was carefully chosen so they could easily the questions. The survey fulfilled two purposes. The first was to identify participants who met the criteria of the second phase of the study and to establish a broad picture of this group’s experiences with language use. This survey had two sections, taking participants 20 minutes to answer. In answering the survey questions, participants were encouraged to choose English, Mandarin or Cantonese as the language for communication. Ten participants from Phase One of the study were invited for the second phase of the study.

During Phase Two, three semi-structured interviews (Appendix H) were conducted over a four-month period with the ten adolescent participants, after a consent letter (Appendix D) was collected. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was audio-taped. Questions in the semi-structured interviews focused mainly on (a) their language use at home, school, with their peer network and in other spaces, and (b) their perception of their future in Canada. I took field notes after each interview with each participant to record nonverbal details during the interview. I wrote reflections as well after each interview in order to summarize the main findings from the interview and to determine follow-up points to be explored in the next interview.

Core participants were more active online, thus there were more online informal conversations, most of which centered on participants’ updates of their daily life. Sometimes I received phone calls from participants inquiring about some issues. Field notes were also taken after any unplanned online chatting and phone conversations with participants.

Six of the ten adolescent participants’ parents consented to being interviewed. Some parents lived in China at the time of this study and participants did not want me to contact them. Thus, not all participants’ parents or guardians were interviewed. It was interesting that most parent participants in this study were mothers, except Justin whose father agreed to an interview. For example, I interviewed Kira’s mother because her father was a driver for a tourist company, and he was mostly absent from Kira’s daily life. The other four mothers were the only caregivers of the adolescent participants in Canada, therefore the parent participants were mostly mothers. After the consent letters were collected, interviews with parents were conducted (Appendix I). Interview questions were mainly about (a) their general background information such as their
arriving time, and current living situation and occupation; (b) their children’s language use at home, with friends, in other spaces, and their perception of their children’s future in Canada. The interview was conducted in Mandarin. Parents were interviewed once at home. One parent asked to be interviewed at a place other than home, and two parents requested a phone interview. In total, approximately 30 hours’ worth of interview data was collected from parents and adolescents.

Documentation includes participants’ journal writing, activity checklists and their online records. Even though the length of narratives was not specifically required, participants were encouraged to write narratives with four elements (Appendix L): a) the people; b) the spaces; c) the events and d) personal interpretations (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In total, 18 pieces of journals from five participants were collected. Only one participant kept her activity checklist (Appendix K) and gave it to the researcher.

Field visits and online observation were conducted in this study. I visited the participants’ place of residence once to get a sense of their family interaction and the geographical environment in which they lived. Field notes were taken for this field visit to record the details of family interaction in terms of who talked the most, in which language, and how adolescents interacted with their parents at home, as well as observations of the community in which the participants lived. In terms of online observation, all participants were aware that the researcher was conducting a study on ELL adolescents’ language use. With their permission, I was added to their online network in order to observe their activities online. Some participants wrote blogs and those that were relevant to this study were collected.

When the data collection was complete, an email was sent to participants after interviews for their feedback or concerns.

Data Analysis
Data analysis in qualitative research is inductive, which involves data consolidation, combination, reduction and interpretation (Merriam, 1988; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data analysis for this study was mainly content analysis using mixed coding analysis (Johnson & LaMontagne, 1993; Krippendorff, 1980; Riessman, 2008), where both closed and open codes were used to analyze data. Coding entails “a variety of approaches to and ways of organizing qualitative data” (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The predetermined codes in this study were organized into themes related to my research questions. The remaining codes emerged from
significant themes. Open codes were carefully examined to avoid repetition and overlapping. When open codes were consolidated, mixed codes were used to identify patterns and themes from each category. Misfits and “negative” findings were treated as important data to re-examine mixed codes. Patterns and regularities were identified and both were transformed into categories.

Data from the observations, field notes as well as other resources was used to triangulate themes and patterns that emerged from analysis of the interview data. Following this process of triangulation, patterns and themes were used to identify causal and effectual connections to the research questions. The last step of data analysis was making inferences and developing theory to explain focal issues of this study.

**Presentation of Findings**

In the next three chapters, I present the findings of my analysis of the data. In Chapter 5, I begin by presenting participants’ narratives. Then, in Chapters 6 and 7, the cross-case analysis findings are reported. In this study, the core participants were all Chinese-speaking (mostly Mandarin), which requires additional information related to the presentation of my findings, including issues related to (a) translation, (b) names of participants and (c) terms.

**Translation.**

Participants from the second stage of this study were from various parts of China: north-eastern provinces, eastern provinces, central provinces, and the Cantonese area. The regional differences impacted the varieties of Mandarin that they used to express themselves. I grew up in a south-west province of China and completed my bachelor degree in Beijing. I worked in a Cantonese area for a number of years, and my husband’s family is all from a north-eastern province. This background enabled me to understand the varieties of expressions that participants preferred to use in their interviews. These expressions may appear different to Mandarin readers who read the Chinese citations in the subsequent chapters. For example, Amanda, a Cantonese speaker, tended to use 唐人 to refer to Chinese people. Angel used some Cantonese auxiliary words in her expression, for instance “啦 la”, as a preferred expression for most Cantonese. Tony was born and grew up in the eastern part of China. He tended to use “没有 did not” to express “不 do not”, which should have been used as a sign of the past tense in Chinese writing system. Yet in his expression, “没有 did not” is used to refer to the present and the future.

There were two stages in the translation of participants’ words from interviews. I translated
participants’ words of Mandarin into English and invited one of my colleagues in China to examine the translation. This colleague completed her doctoral degree in Applied Linguistics in a well-known university in Asia, and had been an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teacher at university level for more than 10 years. Knowing both languages and having a deep understanding of Chinese learners’ preference of expression, this colleague was an ideal person to proofread my translation. When there were different opinions in regards to translation, both parties discussed their viewpoints until mutual agreement was reached.

**Names of participants.**

The 10 core participants in the second stage all chose a name for themselves for the reporting of this study. A female participant chose the name “Even” to represent herself and since this name has the same spelling as the word “even” in English, it caused confusion at the syntactical level in the reporting. Thus, the researcher suggested that Even assume another name (i.e., Ivana) in this report. She accepted this suggestion.

**Terms.**

In this study, the word “Chinese” is used as a general term when there is no need to specify which dialect of Chinese a participant used. Yet in some cases, a specific dialect is indicated. For example, when a participant from northern China can only speak Mandarin, he has to speak English to his early-arriving Cantonese-speaking friend since neither can understand the other’s first language. Here, it was necessary to indicate a specific dialect of Chinese that they were speaking. However, when this same Mandarin-speaking participant socialized with an English-speaking adolescent, it did not really matter what dialect of Chinese this participant was speaking. In this case, Chinese was used as a general term.

ELL adolescents, ELL language users and linguistic minority are used interchangeably in this study to refer to language users whose first language was not English. Although these terms have different theoretical implications when considered using different theoretical lenses, in this study they are used more generally to refer to English language learners. Late arrivals and late-arriving adolescents are also used interchangeably to refer to the same group of learners, who came to North America after the age of 15.

**Limitations**

This study examines the daily life language use experiences of a group of late-arriving adolescents’. Due to social psychological developmental features of this group, it was not
possible to have non-participatory observation at school even though I had observation privileges online and in other spaces. Yet, the focus of this study is on this group’s interpretation of their language use in daily life. Although not ideal, the absence of this type of observation does not interfere with the essence of this study.

As a linguistic minority from Mainland China, I feel personally attached to this group. My own experiences were similar to the participants. I came to Canada to complete my doctoral studies and to obtain symbolic capital in the job market. My understanding of the group – and my personal attachment to them – is potentially a factor which could lead to a bias and a more favorable interpretation of this group. However, I also consider this limitation to be a strength, as it is this insider’s perspective that allows for a different interpretation and bears a different light than current studies investigating this group of adolescents.

Summary.
This chapter introduces the research methodology, including the selection and recruitment of participants, data collection and analysis, and limitations. In some parts of this chapter, the researcher, instead of I, is used to purposefully distance myself from the description of data collection and analysis. From the next chapter onward, instead of using “the researcher”, I use “I”, since I have been part of the lives of the participants.

The findings of this study are presented in four chapters: 5, 6, 7, and 8. Chapter 5 is the 10 narratives of adolescents’ participants, starting from a general introduction of the chapter structure, followed by a table of participants’ brief background information. Each narrative starts from a general portrait of the adolescent participant, giving a brief background such as the time of arrival, and length of residence in Canada. The 10 narratives follow a general theme: home, school, peers, and other places. Chapters 6 and 7 are the findings of the cross-case analysis.
CHAPTER FIVE: TEN NARRATIVES

Introduction

This chapter presents ten narratives of focal adolescent participants as we follow their language experiences in Canada. Even though their life experiences in Canada vary greatly, the narratives follow a common pattern, introducing their experiences (a) at home, (b) at school, (c) with peers, (d) in other spaces, and (e) their interactions with significant others. Each narrative starts with a brief background of the participant looking at factors such as the age of their arrival, residential length and residential status in Canada, school(s) attended, language(s) spoken, and scores from an international language test if taken. The majority of the interviews were conducted in Mandarin and were subsequently translated into English. Both languages are used for the citation of the interviews. There are occasions where participants used a mixture of English and Mandarin in their interviews. In these cases, English used by the participants is represented by bold letters.

The sequence of participants is based on the alphabetical order of the pseudonym they selected for this study. Table 11 presents a brief background of each core participant, which will be also introduced in the beginning of each participant’s narratives.
Table 2
Participants’ Brief (II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender/Age</th>
<th>Caregiver(s) in Canada</th>
<th>Language Test Results</th>
<th>Time of Arrival</th>
<th>Languages Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angel</td>
<td>Female/16</td>
<td>Aunt</td>
<td>IELTS 6</td>
<td>Jan., 2009</td>
<td>Cantonese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>Female/19</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>TOEFL (had taken 2 times and did not pass 99)</td>
<td>Dec., 2008</td>
<td>Cantonese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Male/17</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS 6.5</td>
<td>Oct., 2009</td>
<td>Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivana</td>
<td>Female/17</td>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>IELTS 7 COPE 112.5</td>
<td>Summer, 2009</td>
<td>Cantonese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Male/15</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>TOEFL (to be taken)</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin</td>
<td>Male/18</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS 6</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kira</td>
<td>Female/16</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>No language test necessary</td>
<td>Apr., 2007</td>
<td>Korean, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>Female/16</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS 7</td>
<td>Mar., 2008</td>
<td>Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony</td>
<td>Male/19</td>
<td>Older Brother</td>
<td>COPE 70</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Cantonese, Shanghainese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travis</td>
<td>Male/20</td>
<td>Dorm</td>
<td>IELTS 7</td>
<td>April, 2010</td>
<td>Cantonese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Amanda: “(我)每一分钟也不想浪费. I don’t want to waste any single minute.”

Amanda came to Toronto with her mother under the category of the Investor Immigrant Program\(^5\) in February, 2009, at the age of 19. Her mother and she rented a basement unit of a detached house. When I met her, she had lived in Toronto for 24 months, and was a full-time student at a public school of Toronto District School Board (TDSB). Amanda spoke Cantonese and Mandarin with a mixture of Cantonese expressions and grammar. She had taken the Test Of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) test twice and failed to achieve a satisfactory score for her application to university. At the time of the study, she was planning to take it for a third time.

\(^5\) The Investor Immigrant Program seeks experienced business people with the required sum of net income to invest and become permanent residents.  
She was not willing to tell me the actual results of her TOEFL tests.

**Home**

*Living condition: a residence with a “bad Feng Shui”.*

When they first came to Canada, Amanda and her mother lived on the second floor of a building where the first floor was a convenience store. The busy traffic and loud noises in this area constantly woke her up early in the morning. They soon moved to a quieter community where they lived in a basement and the Chinese landlord lived upstairs. Amanda’s second home was located in a diverse community, where people walking on the street spoke various languages other than English.

Coming into the foyer of their home for the first time, I noticed a Guanyin\(^6\) in a prominent place, to which a cluster of burnt incense and an apple were presented. Amanda explained that they were Buddhists, worshiping Guanyin. Once in a while, her mother and she went to a Buddhist temple near Toronto. Passing the foyer, we entered into a bigger room which functioned as a kitchen and a sitting room. Since the unit is in the basement, natural light and air from outside barely penetrated the room. Even though my visit to her home was on a sunny Sunday noon, the room was still very dark and I was unable to observe the details of the whole unit.

Amanda’s bedroom was a typical girl’s room: pink sheets, a few pink dolls on the bed and piles of clothes. With two small windows in her room, there was limited fresh air and natural light. Opposite to the bed, there was a desk table on which piles of books and handouts lay. Most of those materials were for English learning: TOEFL materials and vocabulary lists. Amanda showed me a long list of vocabulary from the Johnson Institute on which she wrote down Chinese definitions for every word. She asked me the usage of a few words that still caused her confusion: *being, be, been, for, at, to, by*. After listening to my explanation, Amanda asked, “有些老师说 *by* 后面只能跟名词，有些老师说不可能后面是动词跟 *-ing*。但是那些外国人就可以这样用。为什么？”

Some teachers say that ‘by’ can only be followed by a noun. Some teachers say that it cannot be followed by verbs with an *-ing*, but I usually heard those foreigners use it this way. Why?”

Sitting in her home for around one hour and a half, Amanda asked, “钱老师，你有没有觉得我

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\(^6\) Guanyin: In Chinese Buddhism, Guanyin has been popular among ordinary worshippers for the belief that the Buddha is able to save people from poverty, disease and sorrow. Retrieved from [http://www.putuoshan.net/English/Seeings/guanyin2.php](http://www.putuoshan.net/English/Seeings/guanyin2.php) on Sep., 2011
Mrs. Qian, do you feel my room is really stuffy? I always feel out of breath. If I stayed in my room for too long, I would feel dizzy.” I also felt the lack of fresh air but I was too embarrassed to admit it. Staying in her room for around an hour and a half, I felt the urge to leave that room for fresh air. Making up an excuse and leaving her home after the visit, I realized that it was actually a sunny day – a complete contrast to what I had experienced in Amanda’s home.

On the way to the bus stop, Amanda said that she felt that the place where she lived has a bad Feng Shui⁷, which made her life in Canada very difficult. Amanda wanted to move out, but her mother told her that their financial situation did not allow them the luxury of moving to a better place.

**The mother and the daughter.**

Amanda’s mother, Chen, was born into a poor family with several siblings. She did not receive much education due to family reasons. She had to start working at a young age and later owned a company from which she felt that she gained rich social experiences. Then she went back to a university and fulfilled her dream of continuing her education. Chen learned Japanese and at the time of the study, did not speak fluent English. However she believed that as long as she kept using English, she should have no problem in Canada.

Amanda and her mother were very close. Sometimes Amanda taught her mother how to read an English word, but her mother did not follow when corrected. “我说要纠正她，...我叫她再说一次，她就不会说了。I said I should correct her. I told her to repeat [the word], she would not repeat.” Instead, Chen insisted that as long as people understood her, she did not need to be precise in terms of pronunciation. Amanda felt that Chen was not humble enough to learn. On certain occasions, Chen suggested to Amanda that they use English as the home language. However, such practice did not last long. “也只是说说。It’s just a suggestion.”

Even though they did not talk much to each other due to their respective schedules, they did spend time sharing difficulties and frustration with each other. “分享就很少。因为毕竟她要去工作，我自己上学的时间也不是太多在家，基本的谈话就是遇到挫折自己很难受，所以我就跟她去沟通。(We) seldom share, because she needs to work, and I am busy at school. Basically we only talk when I met difficulties and felt upset.”

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⁷Feng Shui is an ancient Chinese system of aesthetics believed to use the laws of both Heaven (Chinese astronomy) and Earth to help one improve one’s life.
Amanda felt that her mother’s abilities were not fully recognized because of her lack of English proficiency. "语言不行也经常人都是笑她，说她什么什么。她心里很难受，因为一个是她发挥不到那个特长在那个环境，因为那个英语。Her colleagues constantly laugh at her because her limited English proficiency. She is very upset because she can’t fully present her specialities in an English environment. [It is] only because of English. ”

Amanda wanted to provide a better life for her mother. In our interviews, she asked me several times how to help her mother to improve her English. In one interview I asked Amanda whether it added an extra financial burden to her family for her registration to the Johnson Institute, a supplementary English school. Amanda was in tears to a point where the interview had to be terminated.

Compared to Amanda, Chen appeared more optimistic regarding their experiences in Canada. She felt that the current situation was only transitional and their life would surely become better. “你将来可以去美国，法国，回中国。我不要求你一定在加拿大。可能这个地方容你不，跟你没缘，...人是一个鸟要飞的。...这个世界是这样的了。You can go to the USA, France, or return to China in the future. I don’t expect you to definitely stay in Canada. Maybe this place does not suit for you, and has no connections to you. Human being is like a bird, and we are destined to fly. ...This is the world.” She felt that Amanda should not put too much pressure on herself with regards to her academic studies. As a result of her own experiences, she believed that there were more important things to learn in a society other than school education. She wanted to share her social experiences with Amanda but on the other hand, felt it was necessary for Amanda to experience much of life on her own.

School.

A matter of timeline.

Amanda finished college education in China, yet was of the opinion that she needed a solid education in Canada if she planned to settle down in North America.

“It is a long-term consideration. I feel, because of my background, I should to start from high school. They also suggested I go to college. I’ve asked counselor, and he said that I could go to college after I finish ESL B. But I feel that in the long run, I should start from the basics.”

Since coming to Canada, Amanda has switched schools five times. During the time of the
study, she was in the process of switching to her fifth school, an adult high school, from a TDSB senior high school.

At the first school she finished her first ESL course: ESL B. As this school only offered ESL courses for English Language Learners (ELL), students finished courses at this school and then transferred to other schools. After passing ELL B, she switched to her second school and was placed at ESL C. Feeling that this course at this school was too easy, Amanda did not want to spend much time here. She switched to the third school one month later and was placed at ELL D. She stayed for one year and finished a mandatory literacy test. In June 2010, Amanda switched to her fourth school where I initially met her. In November, 2010, Amanda was asked to switch to an adult high school, the fifth school, because her age was over 20.

When asked why Amanda had switched schools five times, she explained that she wanted to make the best use of her time. She was older than other late-arrivals and realized that this left her less time to complete high school than other high school ELLs. It was her belief that the schools had misplaced her in lower ELL classes and therefore she needed to switch to a new school in order to be replaced at a higher level. When it was time to switch to her fourth school, there were two schools from which to choose. Although both were adjacent to her residence, she chose one based upon the fact that it had lower ethnic density, which she believed indicating more English practice. She hadn’t planned to switch schools again; she was requested to switch to an adult high school by the school administrator. She viewed the change to the fifth school as extremely negative (See Photo 1 and its text below). She perceived adult high school as a different social network from other “regular” high school students.
This week I did a very stupid thing. What I did drove me depressed and thought myself stupid enough. One day of this week, on Thursday I met the guidance. Second period afternoon, discusses about the night school register, everything on eh way. But when she gave a piece of paper for me for registered, and asking my age, I just did not think a lot then told her My actually ages, Oh my God! That was a stupid action! The point was, government did not allow student who age reach 21. The guidance just take out my four course next semester after she check out my age already reach the standard after my August birthday!!! That means that I may turn to Adult School next semester. I felt sad about what I did. I even can not stop blaming myself all the time. When that moment referesh in my mind, the up and down’s feeling all came to me, conflict in my mind, tear in eyes. Sense of scare means that I was not strong enough? end....

(The text of Amanda’s Journal 1)

When I commented on her experiences of transition, “你的经历很特别，经历很多学校。Your experiences are really unique. You’ve been to many schools.” Amanda replied, “很不稳定. Very unstable.”

**Length of residence and English proficiency.**

In the third interview, Amanda told me a story of her ELL teacher at the fourth school. This teacher immigrated to Canada at an early age, and had finished his teacher education in Canada.
As an immigrant himself, this teacher shared with them his experiences of English use at university. As an early-arrival, he had encountered difficulties in using academic English. This helped form his belief that immigrant high school graduates should spend a longer time on English, in particular academic English, in order to succeed in universities. The teacher suggested that Amanda and her classmates go to college rather than university since their English was not ready. They should take another year to improve their English proficiency otherwise they will not survive in university. To reflect the higher standards in university, the teacher evaluated the whole class on a higher standard. As a result, the highest mark in this class was 70. Students, including Amanda, felt that this teacher was destroying their dreams in that they all wanted to go to university sooner.

However, she admitted that what this teacher said made sense. She understood living in Canada required her to make decisions for the long term. However, since she was already older than other adolescents, she did not want to attend a university when she was a few years older than her peers. “He (ELL teacher) said it shall be okay. (My English) will become better later, but I feel it won’t be any better.”

Amanda also mentioned a few incidents with another teacher which also made her feel frustrated. Once, while talking to this teacher, she pronounced a word differently. The teacher asked her to repeat the word. “他就叫我读，读完之后，他就哈哈大笑。然后他就说‘大家不要笑’。真的没有人笑。那些白人都在自己聊天。就只有他自己在笑。 He asked me to read it. After I read it, he laughed out loud. Then he told other students not to laugh. Nobody was laughing. All those white students were chatting. It was only him laughing.”

When asked about her feelings, Amanda admitted that she felt sad. She mentioned repeatedly that she managed to adjust herself to an extent that she didn’t feel too upset.

In the same class, Amanda once submitted a writing assignment which had so many
grammatical mistakes that the teacher had problems understanding her writing. As a result, she got a low mark from this assignment. She went to the teacher and asked whether she could rewrite the assignment. The teacher declined to let her resubmit the assignment and she felt very upset. She went to a substitute teacher, who had previously immigrated to Canada from the Philippines. This teacher shared with Amanda her own experiences as a linguistic minority, which helped to make Amanda feel less frustrated.

反正就是很伤心, 是我自己想表达的东西，表达不出来，得到那个分数觉得很不公平。可不可以再重做一遍。他说不行。那时候真的很难受。...过了一天, 很快就平复了, 就说“你这次改了我这样, 下次我就是做多几次。改正改正。Anyways (I) just feel very upset. When I want to express something, I cannot fully express myself. It is unfair to get that score. [I asked the teacher] whether I could re-do it. He rejected and I felt really sad. ...The next day (I) quickly recovered [from the frustration]. (I) said (to myself) ‘this time you correct my writing this way. Next time I will try a few more times. Improve. Improve.’

Peers.

The choice of friends: Chinese will not be lost.

Amanda believed that she should spend more of her time with English speaking counterparts, while minimizing the time spent with Chinese speaking peers, in order to improve her English in a shorter period of time. She also wished to remain in her Chinese social network.

During lunch breaks at school, Amanda sat with her Chinese friends and finished her lunch in 20 minutes. She then went to the school library in order to socialize with adolescents of other languages. She felt that that she had no problem socializing with Chinese adolescents and believed that she should focus on English since it was her biggest challenge.

我做了有意的。因为我觉得在这边，如果是跟中国朋友交，真的不难。因为... 如果在这边经常说中文，跟在中国真的没有什么区别。自己想放大那个圈子。想放大那个英文圈子。自己来到这边一个很明确的目标就是说是学英文，... 特别有意的说的快点吃, 不想跟他们一起... 就是去图书馆，看一些有没有跟那些英文朋友互动一下。 I did it intentionally. Because I felt if [I] want to have Chinese friends, it is not difficult at all. Because... if [I] speak Chinese most of time, it really won’t make any difference from [the life] in China at all. I want to expand that [English] network. I have a clear goal. That is to learn English, so I deliberately eat faster. I don’t want to be with them [Chinese-speaking peers]. [I] usually go to the library, and find chances to interact with those English-speaking friends.

In the library, students of other languages sometimes approached Amanda for help with Math problems and Amanda took those opportunities to practice her English. However, she was frustrated that these connections existed only to Math discussions in the library. “但是有时候真的想
跟他们说很多，大家其实可以玩得更好。但是达不到那个程度就想说，但是他不明白，就是我表达不到那个意思。But sometimes [I] really want to say more to them. We could have been closer, but the connection is very superficial. It’s either he can’t understand, or I can’t express well.”

Amanda also felt that it was her listening skills that further inhibited communications with her English-speaking counterparts: “说太快我就听不到。什么什么，就是说了好几次他就觉得厌烦了。讲了一两次就觉得你们怎么这样子。所以就没有玩得太多这样子。I couldn’t follow when they speak fast. Pardon, pardon, after a few times they go frustrated. (They) spoke once or twice, and wondered why you were like this. So (we) don’t have more interactions afterwards.”

In addition, Amanda felt that her English counterparts did not show an interest in having contacts with her either. “里面的人全部都是白人。在这个课堂里特别少用英文，就因为他们知道你是来这里学语言的。他们都不会怎么跟你聊。They were all white. There were very few chances [for me] to use English in this class. They were not interested in chatting with you since they knew you came to learn English.”

While expanding her English network, Amanda purposefully minimized her time online chatting with her friends in China in Chinese. “上线，自己不想花这个时间在上面，觉得好像比较浪费。QQ 上去都是跟你说中文，就不想...I don’t want to spend too much time on the Internet. I felt it is a waste of time. …On QQ, (they) all speak Chinese. (I) don’t want to [speak Chinese]…” During the time of this study, I was constantly online chatting with the participants. Amanda was the only one that I could rarely reach. She was always offline. In terms of responding to emails or messages that I sent, it usually took a few days or even more than a week for her to respond.

With regards to her network of Chinese friends in Canada, Amanda felt that it was difficult for her to maintain a stable network with them as well. She met a group of late-arrivals in the ELL class at the first school but these contacts were soon lost because most students switch schools after they graduate from ELL courses. “感觉就像在这里，交朋友就不像在中国，就是可以很多经常可以黏在一起. Making friends in Canada is not like that in China. In China, you can have many friends and you can hang out more frequently.”

Amanda felt that she should be more focused on her network of English friends given that her English proficiency was far lower than Chinese.

Now my Chinese level is here [higher], and my English is here[lower]. I hope someday they will be at the same level; (My English) can be as fluent as my Chinese. After that, it does not matter if I speak Chinese. Now my English is not
at that **level** yet, so I am striving for that goal.

**Other spaces.**

**Better English, better life.**

Amanda has experienced incidents both in and out of school where she felt incapable of speaking out for herself. She constantly mentioned that she needed to adjust herself in order to release her frustrations. She believed that all the issues that she has encountered would have been solved if her English were proficient enough.

Once while taking a bus she was sitting in the front section. At one station, a mother with a baby came onto the bus, standing in front of her. Since there were other vacant seats nearby, Amanda did not give her seat to this mother. She then saw this mother exchanging a few looks with another passenger and saying “she did not give the seat”. She felt incapable of defending herself, so she got off the bus at the next stop, even though it was not the place that she planned to go. “反正就是说如果遇到这些事情，如果跟他们吵的话也吵不过他们。Anyways, if such things happen, (I) am not capable of arguing against them.”

Amanda mentioned another incident in a public library. Once she returned two ESL books which she wanted to renew for the second time. The librarian told her that she could only renew them once. Amanda’s friend, who went to the library with her, agreed to borrow the books with her library card for Amanda. However, the librarian told Amanda that her friend was not allowed to do so. Amanda did not understand why her friends could not borrow books for her. In our interview, Amanda asked me why she could not renew the books for the second time and why her friend could not borrow the books for her. I could not explain either.

Angel: **Coming to Stay for the Family**

Angel came to Toronto at the age of 16 as an international student in 2009. She had lived in Toronto for 23 months at the time of this study. She lived with her aunt (her mother’s older sister) in a detached house. Her aunt immigrated to Canada ten years ago. Angel spoke Cantonese and Mandarin fluently. She attended a private high school in downtown Toronto. The
students there consisted of primarily Chinese international students from Mainland China. She took IELTS twice. On her second try, she got a score of 6 and was admitted to a college to which she had applied.

**Family.**

*Family immigration history.*

The reason that Angel came to Canada was closely related to her family immigration history. Her mother is from a family of three daughters. In a small village, her family status is much lower than families with sons. As a result of the discrimination from neighbors, this family wanted to prove that they were better than these villagers. The first daughter, Angel’s first aunt, went to Hong Kong and later immigrated to Canada a decade ago. Later, the daughter of the second aunt, another sister of Angel’s mother, also came to Canada and lived with the first aunt. Angel’s grandmother, the mother of the three daughters, came to Canada as well.

When Angel was in junior high, her parents told her that she should marry someone living in Canada after she completed her university education in China. Reluctant to accept an arranged future, Angel told her parents that she wanted to have a future of her own. She wanted to have her education in Canada in order to be independent. Her parents agreed. As a result, she came to Toronto as an international student in 2009 at the age of 16.

*Family interactions.*

Angel’s first aunt had absolute authority in this big family. She was someone with whom Angel had not had much contact prior to her arrival in Canada. Angel was afraid of talking to her aunt since she did not really know much about the aunt. When she was living in her aunt’s house, her aunt worked six days a week and had one day off on Thursday, a day on which Angel went to school. Thus, they did not have much time together to get to know each other. Sometimes when Angel came home from school late, her aunt cooked some food and brought it to Angel’s room where they had small chats. Most of the time, they did not see each other for weeks. Compared to the aunt, Angel had even less contact with her uncle due to his work schedule. “反正我觉得加拿大生活吧都是那种大家都要上班，上学，擦身而过，反正就可能一天只能见一面这样子，Anyway I feel that everybody in Canada needs to work or go to school, so we pass by each other. Anyway [we] probably only meet each other once a day.”

During the first month when Angel came to Toronto, she went out shopping with a group of new friends that she just met and came home later than normal. It was not abnormally late – just after 7 pm – but it did not fit the routine in the household. When she came home, her aunt
told her that she should not come home late without informing them. Angel felt upset since she had just made some new friends. She felt that her aunt should understand her social needs to have fun and relax. “我才来，我也需要朋友，而且我也不知道这里的文化，你不应该对我这么凶啊。I just came, and I needed friends. I didn’t know cultures here. You [the aunt] didn’t have to be so harsh to me.”

Angel was scared to talk to her aunt, particularly when she felt that there would be disagreements. Instead, she chose to talk to her grandmother or her mother. Both of whom ultimately suggested to her that the prudent course of action would be to follow her aunt’s opinions. Communication between Angel and her aunt only took place on big issues, for example, visa application, for which Angel asked for her aunt to arrange a time for help. Photo 2 and the text afterwards are a journal where Angel explained an incident between her aunt and her, further enhanced by the sense of frustration from ineffective communication.
Journal # 1
---Mid-autumn Festival

It was the second Mid-Autumn Festival that I have in Toronto. Doubtless, I am really want to spend the festival with my family. I mean, my parents. Most of my friends, they are so jealous of me, because I have aunt and grandmother in there which means I have my “home”, but in fact, I rather I’m alone in here like my friends. I know what happen to my aunt, and my mum always telling me, try to listen to your aunt because she has lots of stress, don’t get her angry. To be honest, I’m very scared her. The relationship between me and her was like the principal and student. She control every thing. I remember I asked her 3 times for go back to China. And she refuse me 3 times.

Even though I begging my mum to ask her. My mum is her older sister, I can tell, she was also scared my aunt.

I am really upset of that, my aunt can not understand how much I want to go home, and how much I miss my mum. All the things in her head is money and immigrant. She push herself too much, and she also push me. I don’t even have a chance to speak for myself.

Mid-autumn Festival is no meaning for me in here, even though I can eat lots of mooncake.
Angel shared a bedroom with her cousin of her second aunt. This cousin married a man in Toronto and later divorced him and moved to the aunt’s house. She did not speak much English and worked as a cashier at a Chinese grocery store in Chinatown. Her cousin had a profound influence upon Angel, and she did not want to live a life as her cousin’s.

来加拿大这么多年了还是不会说英语。她在中国城工作，看中国的电影和DVD。住在姑姑家。我不想像她那样。She came to Canada many years ago and still cannot speak English. She works at a Chinese grocery shop and watches Chinese movies and DVDs at home. She has to live at the aunt’s house. I don’t want to live a life like her.

However, even though she did not feel connected to her aunt and cousin, she felt that she benefited from being with them. Her aunt and her cousin explained to her Canadian holidays and cultural activities. Her aunt introduced her to a Christian church in which Angel was later baptized. Also, they all encouraged her to take more opportunities to use English, including talking to strangers, and adding friends on Facebook.

Angel helped her aunt with some house chores, in particular picking up or taking her two younger cousins, her aunt’s two sons, to school or various after-school programs. Since these two boys were born in Canada, they could not speak Cantonese very well. Angel had to communicate with them in English. She explored topics that she could use to initiate conversations with them, such as how to make a Chinese dish and why it was nutritious. She also watched cartoons with them. She envied the learning environment of these two young boys which was more diverse public school than her own. “就好像我大表弟, 我去接他放学，我看他跟那种Muslim的那样玩，我就觉得好羡慕哦，他可以跟那么多不同地方的人有那种交流. I picked up my older cousin from his school. I saw him play with those Muslim (kids). I really envied him. He can communicate with so many people of distinct backgrounds. ”

Feeling a lack of English practice at school, Angel set English as the main language for her computer in order to force herself to use more English at home. This was in contrast to most of her classmates who set their computer language as Chinese. “坚决反对设成是中文版，我就一定要把我中文调成英文的。就算很多东西我都看不懂我还是把它弄成是英文的.” (I) am strongly against the practice that we set Chinese as our computer language. I absolutely switched Chinese to English, even though I cannot understand some of the meanings.” Angel’s mother also suggested that Angel should not visit Chinese websites too often. Instead, the mother suggested that Angel visit English websites more often and watch more English movies. “然后我就会经常训练自己有可能就多看那些英文的.
Then I usually force myself to read more English.” She felt that she should manage to “戒掉说中文” quit speaking Chinese.”

**A matter of family interests.**
Angel was interested in Social Studies, History and English. She wanted to study Human Resources or Community Studies as her college major. However, her aunt suggested to her to take accountancy as her major since it would be easier to find a job and apply for immigration. This can help ensure the realization of her family settlement plan. Even though she did not like Math since she had encountered many problems with Math previously in school, she eventually chose Accounting as her major. In the interview, when the research asked her how she felt about her choice for the family at the cost of her own interests, she said, “我问我过在XX college 读书的朋友了, 他们说数学一点都不难。我能对付得了。I asked my friends at XXX College, they told me that Math is not difficult at this college at all. I guess I can deal with that.”

**School.**
Angel’s aunt chose the school in Toronto for Angel since this school was close to the aunt’s house. This was a private school located in downtown Toronto, close to food banks and shelters. All students were Chinese who came to Canada to finish their mandatory credits for a high school diploma, while the principal was Chinese. Most teachers were non-Chinese.

When she first came to the school, Angel was shocked by the demographics of the school since she was expecting a school of diverse ethnic groups. Most of the students were Chinese, 2-4 years older than her, who came mostly from northern China. As a Cantonese user, she had problems understanding her classmates’ northern Mandarin in the beginning but gradually got used to it.

Angel perceived her teachers as resources for English. She explored chances to use English with her teachers, actively approached them both in and after class, and imitated the way teachers talked. In a class with fewer students, she had the opportunity for more direct interactions by asking the teachers questions. During the recess, she explored topics to talk with the teachers.

首先从一些很简单，很 **basic** 的话题聊起，好像说“嗯，你今天 **lunch** 吃了什么？然后‘这个很有营养’什么的，这些很简单的话题慢慢地聊起来，就可以就可以变得更好。At the beginning, (we) started from some simple and **basic** topics, for example, ‘what did you have for **lunch**?’ and ‘this is very nutritious.’ (we) started from these simple topics, and gradually [our English] became better.
There were occasions when Angel made grammatical mistakes and was corrected by her teachers, yet she did not feel disadvantaged. Once in the class when one of her classmates introduced herself, Angel asked her “How height are you?” The teacher laughed at her in the class and later explained to her why it was not correct to say so. When asked why she did not feel embarrassed, she explained, “但是他们笑。他们不会让你尴尬。他们会用一种比较婉转，或者开玩笑的方式说‘嘿，你不应该这样说，很奇怪这样说。’”

**Peer network.**

Both Angel’s mother and she believed that moving to Canada meant a brand new start as well as a closure to the connections to China. The mother suggested that Angel cut off her connections to China and establish her social network in Canada, whether it be with Chinese friends or friends from other ethnic backgrounds. Angel was also convinced that a connection to social networks in China was detrimental to her full integration into Canada.

Angel actively explored opportunities to join social networks. She had an account on Renren.com which was a popular social website for Chinese adolescents -- both in and out of China -- to maintain the connection with her Chinese friends in Canada. In addition to friends from school, she also had a few Chinese friends who also studied in Toronto. She got to know them from blogs that they wrote online. When Angel read online blogs written by other Chinese adolescents and found them interesting, she usually left a comment. Gradually a friendship was formed from these online contacts. After a while, she met those friends in person for shopping or KTV. They chatted in English online and used either Mandarin or Cantonese for face-to-face conversations. She found that she only used Chinese with her friends from the school.

She was active in exploring other opportunities to expand her English proficiency. As suggested by her aunts, Angel was encouraged to talk to strangers and remained active on Facebook. At home, she always logged onto both web pages. She once had an experience with a white male around 30 years of age who asked for her phone number. She was wise enough not to give out her phone number. However, in a regretful tone she mentioned that she had fewer people asking for her phone number recently.

In addition, Angel registered for an ELL course at a private language school during a summer vacation. This school attracted international students from all over the world. She liked
the school and ELL class for this reason. Given the diverse nature of the students, she found that they were interested in talking to her. Most of all, she was the only Chinese student in that class, which catered to her expectation of overseas student life. “环境。。。就来自不同的国家，就觉得同学比较好。the class [is good]. [Classmates] are from different countries. [I] just felt classmates are better.”

Angel went to church weekly and was later baptized in October, 2010. During two summer vacations, she spent more than 200 hours volunteering in this church, tutoring Math, Social Studies and Chinese to younger kids who were primarily Canadian-born Chinese. When the kids had questions that she could explain properly, those kids usually said “never mind” and sought assistance from other volunteers. Angel took this opportunity to listen attentively to the questions and subsequent explanations and learn from the responses.

Angel felt that she felt more comfortable talking to older people who were the age of her teachers. She was scared to talk to the adolescents of her age group since she didn’t know the language used by her peers. “就本地的年轻人平常讲话都用那些当地的 slang 那种，然后我不会。Local adolescents tend to use a lot of local slang in their daily conversations, and I don’t know how to use it.” Since she couldn’t understand the casual conversation of her peers, she felt embarrassed and scared and did not engage in these conversations.

David: “Chinese is a hindrance”

David came to Canada at the age of 17 and had been here for 14 months at the time of the study. He lived with his mother in a high-rise apartment in a suburban area of the GTA. He was born in Beijing and spoke Mandarin only. He attended a public high school which was a few minutes’ walking distance from his home. He took IELTS test and got a 6.

Family.
A seagull family.
David studied at a top high school at Beijing prior to his family’s immigration to Canada. He came to Canada with his parents in October 2009. His father stayed for a short period of time to help them to settle down and then returned to his job in China.

After a short stay at the home of a friend of his father’s when they first arrived, David and his mother moved to the apartment where they have lived until the study (see Photo 3). The apartment building was located in a suburban area and most residents were from distinct and
varied ethnic backgrounds. The building was reasonably new and was located near grocery stores, cafés and pharmacies. There were many other apartment buildings in his neighborhood where David’s friends lived. David’s school was within walking distance from his apartment.

At David’s home, most of the furniture was temporary and plastic. A few second-hand chairs and a plastic table divided one corner of the room and served as the sitting area. A study table was located at another corner near the window for David’s study area. There were piles of books and handouts on the table, mostly from the school. There were books from the Johnson Institute for International English Language Tests (IELTS) preparation. The table was dusty, and it seemed that it had been a long time since the last cleaning.

David’s mother was a full-time housewife. She went to Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) to learn English while taking care of David. His father came to Canada once a year. David talked to his father online via video chat occasionally. However, due to the distance and the 12-hour time difference, connecting for conversations was difficult and he felt that he did talk to his father as much as he would have liked.

After the first interview at David’s home, he accompanied me to the bus station, making sure that I found my way back. Walking to the station, I asked him whether he liked his life in Canada. He said it was definitely better since he came to learn English, but it did not appear much different to the life at Beijing, only that he has fewer friends in Canada.

David appeared very comfortable in this area. Passing apartment buildings on both sides of a main road (see Photo 4), David kept introducing the buildings in which his friends lived. I asked him whether he had a lot of friends here. He agreed that he did but stressed that his friends were mostly Chinese who came recently to Canada. As a result, most of their conversations were in Mandarin rather than English.
In the interview with David’s mother, she complained that David listened to Chinese Pingshu\(^8\) too much and read too many Chinese novels. While complaining, the mother looked at David blamefully. Yet, David did not respond to this blame in a way obvious enough for me to observe. She stressed that the reason they came to Canada was to learn English, and it made her upset that David wasted his time on Chinese activities online. David did not mention those Chinese activities in our first interview and in our second interview I asked him why he did not mention this. His response was that he thought I was only interested in English activities, thus he did not feel it was related at all.

David did not tell his parents the difficulties he encountered in learning English. He was not convinced by his mother’s suggestions in terms of how to learn English better, “主要是我妈老推荐，就没准。It’s because my mother always recommended things that were not [necessarily] helpful.” When asked whether he gave his mother any suggestions, David said “就是让她写写东西。叫她看看我们学什么。然后也给她一点范文什么的，叫她看看. Sometimes I told her to write something, and showed her what we’ve learned. I also gave her some articles to read.”

**School.**

**Coming to learn English.**

David was a quiet student in class since he was not certain whether his opinions were right or not. Even though he knew that his classmates and teachers would not laugh at him for having a different opinion, he preferred to remain silent, “因为这一块我也不太确定我的想法对不对吧。Since in this field I am not sure whether my opinion is right or not.” Also, David felt that he gradually

\(^8\) Ping shu: A traditional form of storytelling in northern China, which tells mostly Chinese historical stories in ancient Chinese.
became more participatory during the year since he was more familiar with the school. “因为我还不够熟悉这个学校，现在可以讨论了。Because I was not quite familiar with this school, now (I) can discuss”

Both David and his parents believed that the purpose of immigration to Canada was to learn English. In our interviews, David mentioned a few times that it was only English that he needed to learn in Canada. “我来这儿主要就是为了学英语嘛，别的也没什么好学的。The main purpose that I came here is to learn English. I have nothing else to learn.”

During one interview, David looked tired and was less focused. When I asked him what happened, he did not say anything. Later, he mentioned that a teacher talked about something for almost one hour on that day and he still was not sure what it was.

I: do you remember any words relating to this?
David: 今天上午有一个英语课讲一个什么不要嘲笑别的词是b开头的，听别人解释，现在又忘了。This morning in an English class, (the teacher) talked about not laughing at others, something starting with a “b”. I don’t know what it is. Somebody explained, and I forgot it again.
I: Was it “bully”?
David: 就是bully那个是什么意思，老师？Yes, it was bully. What does it mean, Ms.?

Chinese and English.
At the time of this study, David was in Grade 12, which had a tremendous amount of English reading. To read Shakespearean literature, David first sought for the Chinese version in order to get a basic understanding of its contents. Afterward he read the English version to understand its language. In one interview, David brought another book and asked me what comments that I had regarding this book. I told him that I had never read that book before thus I was unable to make any comments. I offered to help him with the parts that he could not understand. He said that he had scanned the subtitles and felt that it was not difficult to understand the basic contents of the book. He was unsure how the author made his points and how the opinion was supported. “看这个（提纲）就知道怎么回事。From reading this [titles and subtitles], I know what it is about.”

Peer network.
Early arrivals.
David felt that it was easier for early arrivals to adapt to Canadian thinking and Canadian
culture. They would have more similar experiences to Canadian-born students and thus more likely to be able to have deeper conversations.

反转改变一个语言比较难吧。改变一个自己的思想，一个最深层的思想不太容易，尤其我现在也不是特别小那种，那种特别小的比较容易改。长大了之后就不太容易改 Anyway it’s difficult to change a language, and change one’s thinking, deep thinking, especially now I am not a very small kid. Those who came younger can easily change. It’s not as easily when [we] grow up.

He asked early arrivals for suggestions on how to learn English and they told him that they came early and did not specifically focus on learning English. They just remembered that they watched cartoons a lot. Thus, David watched cartoons that others mentioned as being important. However, the cartoons really didn’t interest him and he only watched them for a while. “就没那些兴趣。一周看一次就不错了。I am not quite interested [in cartoons]. It is enough to watch once a week.”

David felt that his Chinese background was a hindrance. With the Chinese cultural and linguistic background, he found it hard for him to have a deeper communication with Canadian-born adolescents or early arrivals. The differences that he had as a late-arrival – as compared to early arrivals -- are the differences in lived experiences. “有些背景知识不太知道。他们说什么不太了解... [I] don’t know much those backgrounds. I didn’t know much about what they were talking.” He believes that it was his issue that he should know everything as an international person.

**Earlier arrivals vs. later arrivals.**

David had a friend who lived in Boston, Massachusetts. This friend came to North America with his family one year earlier than David. It was David’s opinion that his friend’s English was better. He attributed part of this to the fact that his friend came to an English-speaking country earlier. I asked why he felt that his friend’s English was better. David explained that every summer, and sometimes winter holidays too, his friend went back to China and registered in an intensive English course offered by the headquarters of the Johnson Institute in Beijing. When asked whether his friend in Boston had ever attended any summer programs or summer camps in the USA, David was not aware of any that were available. Communicating in Mandarin via MSN, David constantly sought suggestions for learning English. David felt another friend of his, a first-year university student in China, had lower English proficiency than him. This friend planned to come to Canada one year later on an exchange program between the Chinese university and a Canadian university. When chatting, David told this friend the tips for
improving English, yet he did not tell his friend about his life in Canada.

It’s impossible that his English is better than mine. (He) doesn’t have that context. I’ve seen their writing tasks in their entrance exam…only sixty words [for the writing].

Other spaces.
Volunteering.
David had a few volunteering experiences. Once he volunteered for 20 hours in Canada Immigration Service Network (CISN), tutoring English and Math to younger children in a summer program. When asked how this opportunity helped his English, he said “not very useful, they were all kids, so there was nothing else to say.” As a result, he did not go there often. Another time, he volunteered at CISN, helping Mandarin-speaking seniors in a workshop. He felt good that his Mandarin could help someone in Canada. “I could help other by using my Mandarin. [I] felt good.”

Virtual space.
David had an account on both Facebook and Renren. The former is a social website globally while the latter is primarily for Chinese users. He was not very active on Facebook, while he remained very active on Renren where he wrote almost daily. Once, he wrote Chinese prose on Renren, expressing his feelings towards the coming fall and an uncertain future.

秋天又下雨了 The fall is raining again
云布满恒天,低,压得人喘不过气 Clouds are over the firmament, low, pressing people breathless
心情自然也压抑起来 My heart also felt dismayed
独自,独自雨中漫步; 寂静,寂静地无声 Lonely, lonely ramble in the rain; reclusively, reclusively keep silent
我更是无言 I am even speechless
看着飘飘落叶茫茫细雨缓缓落下, 有谁能不在这寂寥画面下慨叹呢 Seeing leaves on the wing and dripping drizzles slowly fall, who will not lament this lonesome picture?
秋天冷风来了 Comes the cold Fall wind
气流淅淅不断, 吹,糊的人张不了嘴. Continuously air stream patters, blasting, people can hardly open their mouth
动作也就僵硬一些 stiff gestures
惆怅,惆怅不知是否前进; 远瞻,远瞻前面的灯火 Melancholy, melancholy, feel uncertain whether to move forward; gaze, gaze lights ahead
路一片漆黑 dark the road
心中默默怀念定定心神慢慢忐忑, 有谁能在这进退窘中作出抉择呢 My heart silently yearns with settled mind yet slowly becomes unsettled, who can make a choice in this awkward
I showed admiration toward his writing skills and told him that very few adolescents of his age in Canada were capable of writing Chinese prose in such a quality. He did not appear encouraged. “中文我都用了很多年了，自然就比英文强点。在学校没有机会展示。‘I’ve used Chinese for many years. Of course my Chinese should be better than my English. I just haven’t had chances to show (my Chinese) at school.” He did not feel that this strength had brought him any sense of pride since it was not useful at all in Canada.

He believed that it was his Chinese thinking and his lived experiences in China that were responsible for his limited success with Canadian-born adolescents and early-arrival friendships. “整个背景需要改一下。[I need to] change my whole [Chinese] background.” In our interview, he mentioned many times that it was his Chinese background that needed to be replaced.

In terms of the future, David wished that his English in the future could be as good as “local” people so that he would not have any problems in communication. “希望能追上当地人，当地普通人的那种人。平常说话不是特别简单的句子，有一定思想，有一定词汇的。至少能讲清楚一件事，能写出来。I wish I could catch up with the local people, those ordinary local people, local university graduates. I don’t have to use very simple sentences; I can speak sentences that entail certain thoughts with complicated vocabulary. At least (I) can explain one thing clearly in both verbal and written forms.”

Ivana: “他们写不过我啊，所以还好。Their writing is not better than mine, so I’m okay.”

Ivana came to Toronto at the age of 17 as an international student in 2009. She had lived in Toronto for 16 months at the time of the study. Ivana first lived in a host family for six months and later lived alone in Toronto. She spoke a few dialects fluently, namely Cantonese and Hakka, which were incomprehensible to users of other Chinese dialects. She went to a public high school in Toronto. Ivana took an IELTS test and got a 7. She also took a COPE test, which is a language test for the applicants of the University of Toronto, and got the second top score at that time.

Family.
Coming to Canada: A decision of her own.
Ivana was born in Hong Kong and grew up at Shenzhen with her parents. Ivana and her parents had a very close relationship. Her family planned to immigrate to Canada as investor
immigrants but she felt that it would take too long. Instead of waiting for the results of their application, she wanted to come to Canada as an international student first. Her parents respected her decision, even though she had never lived independently before. With her parents’ support, Ivana contacted an agency and came to Toronto in 2009 as an international student. In Toronto, Ivana had one Chinese Character of her mother’s name, 安’ safe (see Photo 5), tattooed on her hand in Toronto.

![Photo 5 Ivana’s tattoo](image)

Ivana did not feel she had any problems in adjusting to the life in Toronto. She believed that it was an outcome of the education in the high school where she studied at Shenzhen. This school is widely known by its large number of students going overseas for university education. Importantly, this school had recruited a number of staff from overseas. They were responsible for teaching SAT preparation and other courses in order for students to go to universities in the USA or other English speaking countries. She felt that she just came a few years earlier than her classmates, but the culture and education in that school helped her to be familiar with the culture in North America.

Ivana chose the current high school from the TDSB website herself before coming to Canada. The immigrant agent recommended a school which recruited mainly international students from China to Ivana. She searched online for information about this school and did not feel that it should be a school that she should attend in Canada. Instead, she chose to go to a public school which appeared more Canadian to her. She was very satisfied with this school.

We school课程特别丰富。然后我们学校在体育和艺术特别优秀，拿特别多奖。...我们学校活动特别多。抽烟喝酒的没有，打架也基本没有。特别安全。这个学校经常有很多慈善活动，学校艺术表演也特别多。Our school has very rich curriculum, in particular its arts and sports programs. Our school has claimed many prizes and awards. Nobody in this school smokes, or fights on campus. It is a safe campus. It has many charity activities and arts performance.

**Residence.**

Ivana first lived in a hosted family where her host was a retired female high school English
teacher (Photo 6 is the house of the host family). This host introduced Ivana to resources near the residence, including the public library and church, places where Ivana constantly went. She attended the church with the host and volunteered on a few occasions even though most of the congregation was white Canadians.

The host talked to Ivana frequently, especially over dinner, regarding her life in Canada as a retired high school English teacher. Ivana felt that living in this host family was helpful for her English. “她讲话用的词都比较正式，礼貌的，不是很口头话的，确实学到很多. She likes to use formal and polite words, not vernacular one. (I) did learn a lot [from her].” However, Ivana moved out one year later, since she felt that the host tended to play a parental role in her life and she wished to be more independent.

Ivana discussed with her parents her plan to move out, and had a total support. She then moved to another residence where the landlord was an ethnic Chinese from Taiwan. She rented a small suite in this house which had a small kitchen and an individual washroom. In this house there were other residents, yet they did not communicate with each other. Every day when she returned from school, she went online in her room. Moving out from the first residence, Ivana
switched to another church adjacent to her second residence, where three languages were used for service: English, Mandarin and Cantonese.

**School.**

*My writing is better*.  
Growing up at Shenzhen, Ivana spoke Mandarin, Hakka and Cantonese. She learned a little Korean as well. Ivana was proud that she finished the majority of her education in China as she believed that this had helped her to develop good study habits. In addition, she felt that her solid knowledge of Chinese language helped her to learn English.

As a child who has received education in China, I have the advantages in writing, particularly in preciseness and orderliness. In terms of reading, I can also have developed a deeper understanding because of my solid Chinese background.

Knowing that my son was in an elementary school in Canada, Ivana suggested that I take my son back to China and have him complete his junior high education there so that he can develop similar good study habits.

Ivana registered in a course on social studies, a course in which most Chinese late-arrivals did not register. She received an A for the first semester. In this course, she felt that she was not active in speaking. In group work, she did not speak much, and nor did she feel that her group members cared. Her role in group activities was usually as note-taker. “其实这门课在讲的方面我可能没有 native 这么好，但是在写的方面，我可能比较细心，比较会找那种论点。Actually in this course I may not be as verbally eloquent as natives, but I am careful in writing. I know how to find those argumentative points.” When asked whether she felt any form of resistance in the class, she said, probably there was resistance in English class, because most of students in this class were white. In group discussions, they did not really want me to participate, so they just kept talking. (Yamin: how did you feel?) I felt okay because I prefer writing. Their writing is not as good as mine. So I felt okay.

The pride of her own background showed in her introduction to her Math class as well.

*Yamin: 你有什么时候在学校用中文比较多？Is there any class that you used more Chinese than English?*

*Ivana: 可能是数学课，因为数学课中国人比较多。而且，重点是因为白人数学没我们好，我们肯定不会跟他们...我们肯定跟自己...Math classes. Usually there were more Chinese students in the class. Moreover, white students were usually not as
good at Maths as us, thus we didn’t discuss with them on Maths problems. We definitely discussed with our own [people]…

**Peers network.**

Ivana is a pretty girl and taller than average Asian females. She likes fashion and wants to study Media Studies in university. On Facebook, there were always positive comments about her good looks and her sense of fashion. Her Facebook friends called her “学姐 school sister” which was a respectful way of addressing someone higher in Chinese culture. She liked both the school and teachers in her high school. On Facebook, she said, “when the exam is done...only miss the teacher but never the class itself (Jan., 28, at 10:09 pm)”.

As a president of the high school Chinese Student Club, she knew most Chinese students. Her role in this Chinese community was usually introducing the school to newcomers and organizing some activities. By the end of 2010, there were more and more non-ethnic Chinese students, as well as Canadian-born Chinese -- which were called “老外 foreigners” by her friends and her -- joining in this club since they were interested in Chinese culture. In a discussion on Facebook, her friends made the suggestion to use English in order that they might attract students other than just Mandarin-speaking Chinese. However, Ivana insisted on using Mandarin. Her rationale was that most newcomers from China would have a better sense of community with Mandarin due to their lower English proficiency. (From Facebook, Oct., 7, 2010)

Ivana was excellent in academic study. She applied to seven universities and was accepted at all of them. Eventually she chose one university in another province of Canada.

**Joe: A Mixed Dinner Table**

Joe came to Toronto at the age of 15 as an immigrant and had been here for 26 months at the time of this study. He became a Canadian citizen before I met him. His mother took care of him most of the time while his father continued to work in Beijing. Joe was born in Beijing and spoke Mandarin only. He studied in a private “old boys” high school which had mostly white students from upper middle class families. He had not yet taken any language test since he was only in Grade 11 at the time of the study.

**Family.**

*Family in the global age.*

Joe’s parents arrived in Canada four years before Joe and have developed certain
understandings about life in Canada. Joe came to Canada after he finished his junior high school in China as his parents wanted him to have a solid knowledge of Chinese language and culture.

His father completed his doctoral degree more than 10 years ago in China and had worked for a foreign-owned company for more than ten years before starting his own company. The company that Joe’s father owned had been playing a leading role in its field in China and was in competition with foreign-owned companies in the Chinese market. Joe’s family lived in a quiet and exclusive neighborhood. From his window, the Bird Nest, a well-known building at Beijing, is in the view (see Photo 7). Joe had frequent contacts with his father’s colleagues from different countries and communicated with them in English. His father constantly traveled to European countries and his mother was a full-time housewife, regularly traveling between Canada and Beijing, taking care of the father and the son.

![Photo 7  Joe’s Neighbourhood: Bird Nest](image)

Joe was told by his parents that he should have a better future than his parents because of his Chinese background and his experiences with English language and culture. Joe was only somewhat convinced and continued to struggle at times. In one MSN chat, he told me that having a Chinese background was a source of strength in this global age. Yet, in another chat, he told me “那个时候我不是这样看的。因为我父母老和我讲有中文背景会有更多的机会，我现在感觉有更多的选择。I wasn’t convinced at that time. Because my parents kept telling me that Chinese background should bring me more opportunities, now I felt that I should have more choices.” In the third interview, Joe said that he believed that he should be more successful than his father since his father began contacts with English culture after the completion of his doctoral degree. He started his experiences in an English context significantly earlier than his father, and therefore this should make him more successful.
Joe was the only one in the survey indicating that his parents’ English was superior to his, even though in a family visit I did not feel that his mother’s English was significantly better. The first interview was at Joe’s home, where his mother was also present. When asked which language Joe preferred to use for the interview, interestingly he chose English. He was the only participant in my study using English for interviews. The second and the third interviews did not take place in his home where his mother was not present. Our interview language automatically switched to Mandarin for those interviews.

School.

*In search for an “ideal” space to learn English.*

When Joe started his life in the GTA, his family bought a house near the school that Joe attended. Joe’s mother had a network in Toronto, most of which had late-arrival adolescents from China. They exchanged information and experiences in order for their children to have a better education. The first school that Joe attended had a comparatively larger population of Mandarin-speaking adolescents as well as a high ranking of academic performance. Joe’s mother listened to suggestions from her friends and decided to transfer Joe to another school.

有一个朋友说 ‘你想想看，孩子平时上学的时候，实际上课的时候，基本上都是老师在讲。你自己讲的时间很少。…中午吃饭那会同学在说点中文，那一天实际上就没有说什么英文。这个状态，时间一长了以后，英文就无法提高。’ My friends said to me, ‘think about it. When kids are in the school and in a class, it is always the teacher who talks the most. Kids don’t have many chances to talk. …During their lunch time, they speak to each other in Chinese. Literally, they don’t speak any English in a day. Being in this type of environment for a long time, they can’t improve their English.’

Based upon language criteria, Joe switched to another high school three months later, a private “old-boys” school in which the majority of students were white from middle-class families.

After Joe switched to his second high school, they sold the house and bought a condo in downtown Toronto for the convenience of transportation. The condo located near Lake Ontario with a nice view toward Centre Island. The residents in this building were ethnically diverse and there were few ethnic Chinese in this building.

Joe made concerted efforts to integrate into various English networks. During lunch time at school, he purposefully sat at a table where students from diverse linguistic backgrounds dined together. Even though he did not have much to talk about at this dinner table, he still preferred to sit in this “mixed” table since it extended his chances of using English. He admitted that he felt
more relaxed and happier to dine with Mandarin-speaking adolescents since there had more common topics. However, he felt that it was necessary for him to explore more opportunities to speak English in order to create an English context for him.

On those occasions when there was not a mixed table, he preferred to sit with people who could only speak Cantonese. As an adolescent from Beijing who spoke only Mandarin, he purposefully made more friends who spoke Cantonese but not Mandarin. Without knowing each other’s first language, English became the only language for communication which further served his purpose. When asked why he was so resistant to sitting with Mandarin-speaking adolescents, Joe said that he wanted to improve his English. In addition, he did not like the topics Mandarin-speaking adolescents talked about either, which were usually Internet games that he didn’t like.

In Grade 12, Joe became the president of the Language Club in his school. He initiated a few activities promoting the communication between different language users. A buddy system was established. Students interested in learning a different language were able to come to this club and request a tutor of similar age.

Uncertainty.

Joe felt that that he was a quiet student in his classes. He was uncertain of correct answers and was unsure whether he could express himself correctly. This school had an online forum on which students were encouraged to discuss questions in relation to school subjects. Joe felt more comfortable participating in an online forum where he could ensure that he did not make any grammatical mistakes while expressing himself. “我感觉发Email, 打完以后可以再读, 这样错误变得少一点。By sending email, I felt (I) can re-read after I finished writing. Then there would be fewer mistakes.”

Joe often felt frustrated when his marks were low because he didn’t know if it was his knowledge and performance in the subject matter that affected his grades or whether it was his English proficiency. For example, he was expected to write up a lab report for one experiment.

“我就是很头疼, 不知道是我写作的问题, 还是我实验做得不好的问题. I felt headache since I was not sure it was because of my English writing, or because my performance on experiment, wasn’t good enough.” However, he never discussed this issue with his teacher.

In this study, Joe was also the only one who wanted to have interview questions prior to the interview. He wanted to make sure he knew what questions would be asked so he could be
prepared to better answer. During our interviews, several times Joe asked me whether I was a person who liked changes. He said he did not like changes but he has had to deal with many changes in his life.

**Peer network.**

*Accent.*

Joe worried about his accent and felt reluctant to speak English in public. Later he felt relieved when he saw an Asian student speak with a strong accent and there was no particular reaction from his peers. “*There was a student in my Math class who just came from Hong Kong. And his accent was really strong, and when he answers questions, people like other students just patiently, patiently waiting for him to finish the answer*”.

The reason that he felt having an accent was problematic stemmed from his experiences in Beijing. As a child born in Beijing, speaking in Mandarin in a Beijing accent was considered a privilege, while speaking Mandarin with another accent was not.

“*cause I was thinking, if I was in Beijing, and people talk to me with (an) accent, I would not say discriminate him, but you know weird feeling.*”

**Not a real self in English.**

Joe stressed several times that he was not his real self because of his limited English. He felt that he could not use this language freely and felt restricted in his ability to communicate effectively. Had he spoken better English, he could have joined in more social activities and become more socially active. Compared to other late-arrivals, he felt that his English was better but he needed to read more. He felt frustrated that he had difficulty concentrating while reading. It had gotten to the point where he started to believe that he might have some concentration problems.

**Other spaces.**

*Sports versus reading.*

Joe likes sports: swimming, basketball, badminton, fishing as well as various other sports. His mother registered him in a life-saving swimming course at a YMCA branch in the first few months when he came to Canada. He did not pass the final test for his life-saving certificate at the end of the course. The coach explained to him the reason that he failed the test, yet he was

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9 The citations in bold letter were originally expressed in English by participants.
not quite convinced. Feeling incapable of defending himself, he left this course and did not register for any courses afterwards.

Joe’s school had a strong extra-curricular sports program. Joe wanted to join the school basketball team but failed in the first year. Even though he was already taller than other Chinese male adolescents of his age, he felt physically disadvantaged to adolescents of other ethnic backgrounds. He perceived this to be a major disadvantage in sports. Not being able to join the school basketball team, he joined the school swimming team instead, yet he still aimed for the school basketball team. In the second year, he became a member, and also the only Asian adolescent, in the school basketball team. He was very excited and put this news both on his Facebook and Renren. I asked him how he felt after being admitted in this team, he said he felt his English was better since he could understand what the coach said. Further, he made more friends from games and practices. A few months later, he succeeded in joining school badminton team. However, a few months later on a dinner with his parents at Beijing, Joe told me that he did not feel much change regarding the network of English use, even though he joined in the school teams.

Joe felt frustrated in terms of what to talk about and how to remain friends with English-speaking adolescents. At the end of the first interview, when my questions were all asked, I asked Joe whether he had any questions to ask. He asked me how to be friends with Canadian-born adolescents, and what topics were popular among them. He had learnerd some background knowledge of popular topics of local adolescents, including sports and music, so that he could join in a conversation. “I’ve never played football before I came to Canada. After I came here, after I tried football, it’s actually one of my favourite sports right now. And sometimes their topics is [are] just based on football. So...”

Joe does not like reading, neither does he like anything indoors. He felt it difficult for him to sit down for several hours reading. In preparation of TOEFL test, he felt that the biggest issue he has was reading, since he could not concentrate. During the study, he once was concerned that he might have hyperactivity which explains why he could not sit to read for a long time.

Justin: “我英语还是不错的。My English is good.”

Justin landed at the age of 18 with his parents as immigrants, and has lived in Toronto for
19 months. He lived with his mother, while his father constantly traveled between China and Canada. They bought a house in a suburban area of Toronto in 2010. Justin was a student of a public high school. He took an IELTS test and got a 6.

**Family.**

*A seagull family.*

Justin came from Jiangsu Province, an eastern province known by its long tradition of trade and value of education. Justin came to Canada in May, 2009 with his parents, under the category of investment immigrant. They first landed in New Brunswick. Feeling that they had more friends in the GTA, they moved to Mississauga 3 months later.

Justin’s father continued his business in China, flying to Canada a few times a year. Justin’s mother worked as a cashier in a Chinese grocery store in Canada. They bought a house at Mississauga in December 2010.

Justin’s parents had little knowledge of English. They lived in a Chinese community and shopped in Chinese grocery stores, to an extent that the parents did not feel that English was a barrier in that they did not need to use English much in their daily life. However, the parents urged Justin to use as much English as possible. The mother introduced Justin to some books that she had heard about from her friends.

Justin did not have TV programs at home, but they watched movies and other programs online. Justin’s parents usually watched Chinese movies and TV programs, yet they did not want Justin to watch with them. They urged Justin to watch English movies, visited English websites and other English programs.

The interview with Justin was held via phone so I could not see the physical environment that he was at. In the interview when asked how he used his language with his Chinese friends, he said “即使我的 partner 是中国人的话，我也会跟他说英语. Even if my partners were Chinese, I would still talk to him in English”, which was quite different from my observation of his language use at the Johnson institute. Later I realized that his mother was sitting right beside him in this interview.

**School.**

Both Justin and his parents believed that Justin should participate in more activities in order to improve his English. When Justin first came to Canada, his parents’ friends told him to use English as much as possible. He was convinced and made efforts to follow. “如果用中文说的话，会感觉不太好的. If I used Chinese, I would feel bad.” Later he gradually felt that it was
unnecessary in that speaking fluency would not impact on the application of university, “因为报大学只要六门成绩. Because it only needs the records of six subjects in order to apply for a university. ”

Justin stressed that ethnic density is an important factor in his English use. In New Brunswick, he felt he used more English since there were fewer Chinese peers (the Photo 8 was taken by Justin in 2009).

![Photo 8 Justin in New Brunswick](image)

While in Mississauga, there were more Chinese peers, and Mandarin was more convenient in expressing feelings. “现在渐渐习惯了说中文。因为 speaking 在报大学是比较忽视的一个环节。不是很重 Now (I) am used to speaking Mandarin [at school], in that speaking is comparatively an overlooked skill in the application for university. [Speaking] is not as important [as listening, writing and reading].”

Justin organized a literacy club yet did not succeed due to the lack of participants. While introducing his experiences in establishing a literacy club, he tried to pronounce the word “literacy” a few times with different intonations each time, and murmured to himself “是不是这么念? is it read this way?” When asked why he volunteered to set up a literacy test club, he said that he benefited from the literacy test club organized by the school. He felt that this club should be set up earlier. “因为学校 ESL 有很多同学，平时英文练习不够. Because there are many ESL students, (they) do not have enough practice on English.” Also, it would make his resume more competitive for the application for university.
Justin volunteered at a cultural festival, which was introduced by one of his Chinese friends. Justin used English in this festival, since most people in this festival spoke Cantonese which Justin could not understand. Thus English was the only effective language communication.

On the one hand, Justin felt that his English was not good since he could not fully communicate with the school. “我是没有融入它那个更大的圈子. I haven’t integrated myself into that bigger circle yet.” On the other hand, he felt that his English was good since he did not have many problems with school work. Also, oral English fluency is not a subject for university application, thus he did not have to worry about it. He felt that what he had done to improve English was enough, since he has watched TV shows, and read some English books.

Justin believed that English is important in Canada. In his future life in Canada, English skills took up 60%, while talents took up 20%, and emotional intelligence took 20%.

Other spaces.

My first impression.

I met Justin in a TOEFL preparation course. I usually gave them my email address so that they could email their writing assignments of the course to me. They also had my Messenger account in case they had any further questions from the course. Justin emailed me his writing assignment, and later we started to exchange a few emails regarding his writing issues. Whenever he met me at the Johnson Institute, as long as I was not teaching, he often happily greeted me “How are you, Ms. Qian?”

One day I was in the third floor of the Institute. I heard a happy and loud voice from the first floor: “Here I come, the Johnson Institute.” Wondering with my colleagues whose voice was this, a young and happy face soon appeared. It was Justin. Seeing me, he happily greeted me “Hi Ms. Qian, how are you?”

Kira: “Multiple Languages, Multiple Walls”

Kira came at the age of 16 and has lived in Canada for 44 months at the time of the study. She is from a minority group of China, Korean group (朝鲜族 Chao Xian), which uses Korean as the first language. She learned Mandarin as a school subject. She became a Canadian citizen before I met her. Kira lived with her parents in their house in Toronto. Kira speaks Korean with her parents, and Mandarin with her Chinese friends. She studied at a public high school in Toronto. Kira did not need to take any English language test for the application of university.
Family.

The history of family migration.

Kira was from Liao Ning, a province in the northeastern part of China, where she spent the majority of her childhood with her grandparents. Kira’s parents left for South Korea when she was 3, thus her grandparents had taken good care of her playing a parental role. She did not feel she has been less loved than other children. However, when her school had those activities when parents of other children came over and volunteered, she still missed her mother.

Kira’s parents stayed in South Korea for 10 years and then moved to Canada. When Kira started her high school in China, her grandparents suggested her that she should reunite with her parents in Canada. In order to re-connect with her parents as well as to receive a better education, Kira came to Toronto in 2007.

Kira’s mother was a full-time housewife while her father was a full-time driver for a traveling company. Kira has not had enough time to communicate with her father since her father was always working. In the first few months when Kira came, Kira’s mother was 3 month pregnant with Kira’s younger brother. However, it was a time that her mother spent more time with her. Just when Kira began to feel the connections with her mother, her younger brother was born. Thus, most of her mother’s attention was directed to Kira’s brother. Kira felt a sense of loss as well as jealousy, which had remained a few years until she watched a movie “唐山大地震 Tangshan Earthquake” in 2010.

In this movie, when both the daughter and the son were buried under two sides of a large cement slab because of an earthquake, the mother was asked by the rescue team to make a decision regarding which one she wanted to save first. The mother said both. The team insisted that she could only choose one due to that particular situation. The mother eventually chose the son. The whole conversation was heard by the daughter underneath the slab, who was later rescued without her mother’s awareness. Instead of reuniting with her family, this girl changed her family name, lived in an orphanage, and later moved overseas, purposefully disconnecting herself from her family. A decade later, she was reunited with her younger brother in a voluntary rescue task for an earthquake in China. Persuaded by her younger brother, she reluctantly came back to visit her mother. Upon seeing the daughter, the mother knelt\(^\text{10}\) down and apologized to her. At this moment, this daughter suddenly realized that she should not be angry at her mother, since it was her brother that her mother

\(^{10}\) Kneeling down is considered a cultural ritual in Chinese culture, which is usually done by younger generation to show respects and filiality to senior people on formal occasions. It is very rare that senior people kneel down to younger people in Chinese culture.
saved. When telling this story, Kira told me that she felt guilty of being jealous of her brother, since this is her own brother. She should not be jealous of the parental love that she did not have since it is her own brother who enjoys it. However, compared to her feelings toward her parents, she felt that she loved her brother more and had more attachment to her brother.

In the summer of 2012, after Kira completed her high school education and was about to start her university life, she planned to get a summer job as most of her friends did, but her brother became a major reason that she did not have many choices. Her mother took a part-time job, which left her a caregiver of her brother for certain hours of a day. Sometimes she needed to take her brother with her on occasions where she went out with her friends. However, she stressed that it is a part of responsibilities since she is the sister and she should take care of her brother.

Compared to her connections to her younger brother, Kira did not feel closely connected to her parents. One of the reasons she came to Canada was to look for parental love which had not been part of her life for more than 10 years. Yet, in these years in Canada, she did not feel she has found that love, thus the place in Canada was not a home to her. “我觉得每个人爱的方式不一样，我觉得我感觉到了。I think everybody loves in a different way. I think I felt it [the love].” Further, she did not feel the sense of belonging to Canada either.

*Kira’s mother: Linguistic Diaspora.*

Kira’s mother had worked in China as an elementary teacher for a number of years. Her experiences as a multi-lingual user convinced her that she could never understand any language fully. She felt confused as a multiple language user since she was not sure which language she belonged to. She perceived not being a local as a major barrier to a multiple language user. It became a main reason why she was convinced that her daughter would never be as good as Canadian-born children or early-arrivals. She felt that Kira had to work extra hard to be at the same level with those children.

“I总觉得她，在这边孩子怎么也不一样呗。自己妈妈怎么也能感觉到啊。I think she is anyhow different from kids who were born here. As her mother, I can feel it anyway.”

When asked why she believed that Kira’s English would never be as good since she did not know much English, the mother said her own experiences as a language minority had proved so. When she was in China, she learned Mandarin as a second language. As a teacher in Korean-dominant area, her Mandarin was better than her colleagues to an extent that her colleagues did not feel she sounded like a minority at all. However, when she came to a bigger city where the dominant language was Mandarin, she found herself less proficient than Mandarin users.
就像我们在国内说中国语也是，因为我们不是真正的汉族人吗，说中国话怎么也不如你们。因为我父母总说韩国语，所以我们说中国话就不如你们，没有你们说的那么好。所以我想她也是。

It is the same situation as we speak Mandarin in China. Because we are not real Han people\(^\text{11}\), we can never speak Mandarin as fluent as you do. Because my parents always speak Korean, our Mandarin is not as good as yours. I guess she has the same issue [as I have].

When asked how she felt living in South Korea as a Korean language user, the mother said she still felt foreign on that land. Although Korean is the dominant language in South Korea, the variety is still different from what the mother uses. “到韩国也不是。我们也不是100%的韩国语。[We] didn’t feel dominant in South Korea either. We don’t speak 100% Korean.” When asked how she felt living in Canada, the mother said knowing little English made her feel even less attached. “我有时候都不知道自己是不是中国人，还是韩国人，还是这里人。我自己都不明白。Sometimes I don’t know whether I am: Chinese, Korean, or here (Canadian). I myself am not sure.”

**Multiple language users.**

In daily life, Kira wrote notes in Korean, and spoke Korean mostly at home. She read many Korean literature works, yet identified herself as a Chinese. Kira did not regard the fact of being a user of three languages as a strength. The good part was that she could communicate with more people. Yet, there were disadvantages too. “如果你只学一种语言的话，你肯定能学得很好。但是三种语言一起学得话，全都是什么60%，70%那种而不是100%的那种熟练程度。If you just learn one language, you can for sure learn well. But if you learn three languages at the same time, you will become 60%, 70%, not 100% proficient [in each of the language].” She believed that being proficient in a language was to know all the words. Knowing more languages meant less time on using English, which she felt it was a hindrance.

Kira is a diligent reader. She reads many books in Korean since she knew a priest who had a large collection of Korean books in Toronto. This priest encouraged Kira to keep reading by loaning her books. Kira also likes to read English novels and books. She had a book club with her close friends, three Chinese girls at the same school. They went to a Toronto public library daily, and sometimes exchanged books with each other.

Kira felt that it is easier to talk to older people rather than younger people in Canada, since older people are more willing to communicate. She believed that her English was not good, and all

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\(^{11}\) The Han group is the largest and most dominant ethnic group in China, while the Korean group is one of 55 minority groups.
her friends’ English was better than hers. She also believed that early arrivals’ English should be better, since this group has developed a better understanding of Canadian society and culture. On the contrary, as a late-arrival, she came with her own culture and beliefs, which became a major hindrance for her integration.

**School.**

Kira is a quiet student in the class. Even though reading after school, she did not like her English class since she did not like the topics selected for the course.

“其实我不大喜欢他们讨论的话题。老师choose的话题都是比较mature的. 比如说sexual, those weird things, like the books about Utopia, not realistic. They [other students] don’t care [about the selection of those topics]. They talk a lot.

Actually I don’t quite like the topics they discussed. The topics that teacher chose were comparatively more mature, for example, sexual, those weird things, like the books about Utopian, not realistic. They [other students] don’t care [about the selection of those topics]. They talk a lot. ”

Other than the topics that Kira did not like for classroom discussion, Kira remained silent because she was concerned that her opinions were different from the majority of her classmates. Sometimes she felt that her opinions were right, however different from other classmates. “我的理解个样子，他们的理解是那个样子，所以呢就不敢发言了. My understanding was like this, and their understanding was like that. Then I did not have the courage to state (my opinions).” When asked why she did not feel proud of thinking differently, Kira said “但是他们是 majority 嘛. But they were the majority.”

Also, Kira believed that her English proficiency was another reason why she was quiet in the class. Although her classmates did not really pay much attention to her mistakes, and they also listened to her opinions, she still felt worried that she made mistakes.

With regards to her writing, Kira felt frustrated since she constantly had “awkward sentence” as a comment from teachers. For one writing assignment, she usually edited sometimes 10 times in order to get a better mark. However hard she tried, there were always comments as “awkward sentences”. She regarded it as a consequence of her ways of thinking, since she thought in her 1st language and translated into English in writing. On the other hand, her friend, who went to Australia at a young age and recently came to Canada, always got a high mark on writing. Usually she borrowed this friend’s writing and learned how it was written, mostly which she felt was simpler but clearer than hers.
Peer network.
Kira’s network was mostly Chinese, Korean or students from other places. During lunch time, she talked to both groups. In her spare time, she watched movies in three languages too. Kira tried to make friends with the local “white” kids when she just came. She greeted and expected a warm response, which she did not get. When asked for assistance in Math, she helped and expected it to be a beginning of a friendship, but it was not. She commented that her attempts to approach English-speaking adolescents when she just came were naïve. “刚开始很天真的就跟他们笑着要跟他们说话，他们就只会跟你搭几句话，然后就慢慢往后退呗。就不怎么你说话. I was very naïve then, smiling at them and attempting to talk to them. They only talked back in a few words, and started to step back. [They] just didn’t talk to you much.” Encountered the resistance from the majority ethnic group in this school, she stopped approaching this group. She commented that “而且有些文化我不喜欢，所以我也(不)稀罕跟他们. Some cultures I don’t like, so I don’t bother to be friends with them either.”

Kira had networks for Mandarin, Korean and English users, who either lived in China or Canada. However, they mostly chose to write in English when chatting online. “[We usually] write in English, and speak in Mandarin, because it is easier to type in English. [It is] also faster.”

Jamie.
Kira’s best friend, Jamie, grew up with Kira, while their mothers grew up together in the same village as well. As Kira, Jamie was brought up by grandparents, and came to Toronto at a similar time. Unfortunately, Jamie and her parents couldn’t get along, thus she decided to return to China. Worrying about Jamie, Jamie’s grandmother passed away during the time when Jamie was in Canada. None of Jamie’s relatives in China wanted to take care of her if she returned to China, since they believed that Jamie should stay in Canada with her parents. Nevertheless, Jamie returned to China and stayed at a boarding school. Ever since Jamie returned to China, Kira wrote to her frequently but did not get any response. Kira’s parents commented on Jamie’s choice as immature and inconsiderate, which irritated Kira. She felt that her parents did not understand Jamie’s situation and sorrow.

Other spaces.
Social networks via language use.
Kira’s home was in a Korean-congregated community, where she felt this area was like South Korea at night since the people who walked on the street after dinner all spoke Korean. There was a mall near their house, where the mother chose to meet me for an interview. While interviewing the mother at a food court in this mall, Kira’s younger brother of 3-4 years old, kept running around, and
coming in and out of a store. I showed my concern of the boy’s safety. The mother assured me that the place was like a second home to them, since they came here almost every day.

Kira stayed at home most of the time watching TV and sitcoms. In one journal (see the text below), she described one occasion she attended.

Later, I was assigned to sell raffle tickets with a 25-year-old looking girl. We went into the dining hall and began to sell tickets to the guests in the tables we were assigned. Since it was my first time, I just took care of the payments and the other girl did all the talking with those guests since she had been doing it for many years. What more surprised me was that she even knows some of the guests. I was kind of jealous because she can talk freely in English to those people, but I was more happy since I at least was given the chance to participate in such an event and I know that I will be like her many years later if I kept on volunteering in this kind of events. Although I was almost exhausted when I finished volunteering, I feel very good about myself because I did it!

Nov., 2010

Church.
Kira and her family are all Christians. Kira believed that a church is a place for religious practice rather than social connections. The church her family and she went to had a large number of international students, whose purpose of coming to the church appeared to Kira was not solely for religious practice. Kira chose to stay at home and watch a Korean church’s activities online.

Kira wanted to settle down in South Korea in order that she could make her contributions to this church and spread her religious belief to the world. Kira’s mother worried about Kira, in that she felt Kira stayed home for too much time. She wished Kira go to the church to meet more people. “我说你性格太内向了,出去多交几个朋友。到大的教会，英语班的教会闯一闯。她不出去。 I told her that you are too introverted. Go out and have more friends. [You] should go to a bigger church, and to have more friends in an English section. She won’t go out.” When we met at a later stage of the study, Kira said that her mother found a larger church out of Toronto, which she liked and went to more frequently.

Rachel: “I don’t care about English anymore.”
Rachel came to Canada on March, 2008 at the age of 16, and has stayed for 33 months at the time of this study. She lived with her mother in the second floor of a rented lofty condo. She spoke Mandarin with her Chinese friends. She took an IELTS test and got a 7.
Family.

The mother.

Rachel’s mother, Luo, was a professor and the head of a department in a Chinese university. Luo was divorced when Rachel was 6, and took Rachel to the USA as a visiting professor when Rachel was 13 years old, during which they lived with a host family. The host was a nice elderly white lady, talking to Rachel daily, which became Rachel’s first experience in North America.

Luo landed in Canada as a skilled immigrant when Rachel was 16. The purpose of immigration is for Rachel’s education. She planned to return to China after Rachel goes to university.

Initially, Rachel wanted her mother to rent a house with an English-speaking landlord, just like where they lived in the USA in order that she could practice her English. However, Luo did not feel comfortable living in such a setting. “就算住在西人老太太家里，你跟她一墙两隔的话，你也没有办法跟她交流多少。...我也不知道哪里去找去西人家里住. Even if we live in a western lady’s house, you don’t have much communication either, if you live in separate rooms…. I don’t know where to find [such a place] in order to live in a western person’s home.” Eventually, they settled down in the second floor of a town house owned by a Chinese landlord.

Rachel’s mother worked with a university in Toronto as a collaborator of a project, and supervised her graduate students on this project. She could not communicate verbally in English with her co-researchers in Toronto, however had no problem in reading, or listening to an academic discussions in her field. The professor at the Canadian university communicated with her in written forms: emails or notes, with which the mother felt comfortable. After the three-year project was completed, she planned to return to the Chinese university and resume her professorship.

Rachel’s mother does not like outdoor activities, in particular exploring a city with a map. Instead, she likes pre-determined traveling, where she does not need to explore transportation, accommodation or else. Living in Toronto for more than 3 years, she did not know Toronto much other than the places she worked and lived.

“她就说别人的妈妈都是带著孩子到处跑，我们来了都是她来带我。...反正我也搞不清楚. She [Rachel] complained that other parents took their children around, while at our home she took me around in a city since we came. Anyway, I don’t know much [about the city].”

Rachel’s mother felt that Rachel is like the father: carefree and social. She wanted Rachel
to live a life like her: being quiet and staying indoors. “她没有我的性格. She does not have my personalities.” Expecting Rachel to be an elegant girl, the mother introduced a magazine to Rachel, “Elegant Girls (Shu Nu 淑女)”, which the style and the content appears more popular in 1980s in China. “就是像这种中国的淑女啊，她从来不看的。Like this book, Chinese Elegant Girls, she’s never read it.”

The mother felt that Rachel’s English was not good enough for university study. “因为我平常就没看她好好的记单词, 读些比较那个的文学书啊，。。。她就是好动，开心，放松。I’ve never seen her memorize any English words, nor did she read literature. What she wants is fun, happiness and relaxation.” She felt Rachel should read more. “我希望她能够能够看这些，就是在地铁啊或者等人啊，她不看。I wish she could read more. Here people read everywhere: on subway or while waiting for people. She never reads.”

The mother and the daughter.
Rachel and her mother are very close to each other. Once on Rachel’s Facebook, she mentioned that she really wanted to eat hotpot, and her mother made her one. She wrote on Facebook “it was so good to live with mother”.

Rachel had encouraged her mother to use English on more occasions, but stopped since she felt her mother could not do so.

"我会说你就说啊，没关系啊，你不要怕，你就听啊，你不要指望我啊之类的。为什么不学呢，不背的。毕竟她是家长，我跟她说几遍，如果她不听我就算了。I encouraged her to speak [English]. It’s okay, and you don’t need to feel scared. You just listen. Don’t count on me. Why not just learn yourself and memorize? She is anyway the parent. I said it a few times. It’s fine if she doesn’t follow [my suggestions].”

Watching TV.
Rachel liked to watch TV. At home, she usually turned the TV on to watch Judge Judy and other Judges in that she liked the critical thinking in those programs. “他们那种 critical thinking 我也不知道为什么就喜欢看。那个台我就是开开就不换了. That type of critical thinking, I like to watch for no reason. I usually stick to the program when I turn the TV on”. Rachel also liked sitcoms, for example, Friends, Two and a half man. “这些都是比较 classic 的...而且有时候跟着听啊，笑啊，就很有意思。Those are classic ones. Sometimes (I) listened and laughed. It was interesting.”

There were some programs that she did not like, in that she felt a discussion show needs to have a conclusion, while the one she did not like did not have any. “没有一点意义。他也什么都不说。It’s meaningless. He (the host) did not say anything at all.”
Rachel did not like watching news, yet recently started to watch because of a class she was attending.

Teachers sometimes like to discuss some issues that I didn’t know at all. I didn’t like watching news at all. Because of those courses, I felt I was left behind. … I started to watch news channel a while ago. I wasn’t watching. I just switched to the news channel.

School.
Rachel defined herself as a bad student, since she had too many friends, and did not like studying. I asked her why being a social girl meant a bad student. She said that she had spent too much time on her friends, so less time was used for her study. She claimed that she was not interested in study at all, since she needed constant encouragement. Yet, she did not feel she received encouragement in her high school study. With every assignment, she had to spend significantly more time than other people, and most of the time she still could not be at par with others.

In terms of her English, Rachel commented “很多人会觉得我是 CBC，就是那种在那里生的。但是我要是没有想清楚马上就对话呢，几乎组织不了语言，就会很麻烦。Most people think I am a CBC [Chinese-born Canadian], like those people who were born here. But if I do not think thoroughly before talking, I can hardly organize my language. It’s really a problem.” Because of her English, she felt that she needed to work extra harder in order to obtain a good mark.

For every test, I need to read the textbook two to three times to underline and review those important points. For every essay assignment, I have to spend a whole night on writing, and find someone to edit it for me. I spend more time than other students. If my English were better, I would have only spent 10% time (of what I’ve spent) on study.

In one course, Rachel got the highest mark in the whole grade. When asked why she still felt that she was not good enough, Rachel said, “那别人就不知我是看了多少遍，还要查词，怎么写。别人看不到我多烦，只有我自己知道。Other students did not know how many times I’ve read, including looking up from dictionary, and [thinking about] how to write. Others didn’t know how frustrated I become. Only I knew.” She felt that she
did not care about her English before and started to realize that her English would not be good enough for her university study.

**Peer network.**
Different from the mother, Rachel is a very social girl who likes outdoor activities. She worked at Burger King since Grade 10 and made extra money for her social needs. She has many friends and is very active on Facebook. She does not have an account on Renren, even though most of her friends are ethnic Chinese.

In the first year in Canada, Rachel wanted to have an English context full of English-speaking adolescents. After the first year, she did not care anymore. “我已经在一个圈子里了，就算了，不用再跳出去了. We’ve already in the same network. I don’t want to get out of this network anymore.” She would not leave her Chinese social network for an English social network. To her, friends are people who like to stay together regardless of one’s background and language. She would not extend chances to practice English at the cost of her current social network.

At the time I met Rachel for this study, she was busy completing her high school and applying for universities. When asked her language use experiences in her network, she constantly mentioned “我现在不怎么太交朋友了. Now I don’t socialize with people as [actively] before”. There were many times she mentioned “以前 before then”, since she adjusted her life style due to the current school work, and stopped hanging out with her friends. She admitted that after she starts her university study, she will resume her previous life style: having many friends, and taking a part-time job.

She claimed that she did not like studying and did not care about her English. Rather, she only liked going out with friends and partying. When asked whether she had any friends from other ethnic backgrounds, she said there were occasions they all went out to a mall. Since those students were good students whose average GPA was above 90, she did not feel like talking to them. There was once a conversation between a student and her. In their conversation, she knew this student liked cartoons and animation. “我不感兴趣，所以谈不到一起去. I was not interested. So we had nothing to talk about.”

**Other spaces.**

*An episode.*
One afternoon around 3:30pm, I got a phone call from Rachel. She was at the St. George Campus of the University of Toronto, very close to where I lived. She asked me whether I could
come, since she needed my help to talk to an academic administrator regarding her English requirements. She was waiting for the administrator to show up at 4 pm., and she did not know what to say. I asked her where her mother was. I wanted to stress that even though her mother did not speak fluent English, the mother could still give her suggestions as a professor of a Chinese university. Rachel told me that her mother told her to deal with it herself. “她什么都不懂。她什么都不懂。”

I explained to Rachel the general requirements for English proficiency, and helped her to sort out what she should inquire about and in which way she should present her opinions to the administrator according to Canadian working culture. After a 20-minute phone conversation, she felt more confident to communicate with the administrator alone. After her conversation with the administrator, she called me back, thanked me and happily told me that the conversation went very well.

One week later, she received a letter from the University of Toronto saying that she does not need to take any English proficiency test since her residence in English-speaking countries has met the residence requirement. She called me and thanked me again. I told her it is her own communication skills that made this work well done. What I did is merely a brainstorming exercise. On the next day, she wrote on Facebook, “My mother said the lazy girl has her own luck.”

*The future in Canada.*

Rachel wants to be a TV hostess. She likes singing, dancing and hosting social activities. However, Rachel felt it is impossible for a linguistic minority to have this dream come true, who speaks English as a second language and has no solid local social network. The mother said, “如果喜欢的话你就从小在这方面去锻炼你自己，比如说公共场合去讲啊，你的语言要练啊。她这方面没有去练。我喜欢的话你就从小在这方面去锻炼你自己，比如说公共场合去讲啊，你的语言要练啊。她这方面没有去练。I encouraged her to practice speaking skills. You should practice more, for example speaking in public places. You need to practice your language, but she has never practiced that. ” In terms of the successful professionals in this field, the mother believed that “那些名人可能都是有人在帮忙吧。Those famous people probably have received supports from others.”

Feeling that it is impossible to become a TV hostess, Rachel wants to be a business woman. Her mother felt Rachel’s dream is too unrealistic.

我就跟她说女孩子在外面做生意不是很容易。我心里知道一个成功的女人后面肯定有男人帮忙。再一个呢，可能丈夫不会支持你的。你可能跟男人打交道，生意大部分都是男的。...她最近跟我设计的总有点不同。I told her that it is difficult for a female to do business in a society. I know from my heart that a successful business woman must have
males’ supports. For one thing, husband will not support you, because you need to have contact with other males. Business is a male-dominant world. …She recently [is going in a different direction] from what I’ve planned.

In an interview, Rachel asked me how it was like going to different places interviewing participants on weekends. I told her it was something that I want to do, thus I do not feel tired. I was actually very excited to meet them and listen to their stories. She responded “那你很 lucky 啊，你学的是你喜欢的东西。那有多好啊。You are lucky since you are doing what you like. That’s so good.”

Tony: “I want to find a comfortable place to live.”

Tony came to Canada as an international student in 2009 at the age of 19. His older brother was a second year university student in Toronto. Tony had lived in Toronto for 16 months at the time of the study. He was a full-time student at a public high school of TDSB in Toronto. He took the Certificate of Proficiency in English (COPE) test twice, and failed to pass the language test.

Family.
Migration for education: always on the move.

Tony was born and grew up at Wenzhou, Zhejiang province, a city known by its wealth and a long tradition of trade and migration. Tony’s parents owned a company which has brought forth a fairly comfortable life to the family, while on the other hand led him to a life of migration since childhood.

When Tony was in kindergarten, his parents just started their business, which had significant demands on time. Thus, it was mostly caregivers or relatives taking care of Tony. Since elementary school, Tony went to a boarding school in a northern city where he met his parents on weekends. During his elementary education, Tony had switched schools several times because of his family migration in China. Later, he went to another city for his junior high education. Coming from a city with a different Chinese dialect and family background, he was considered a different student compared to other students, who grew up together in the same city with most of their parents working as teachers or government officials. As a child from a business family, he felt that he was discriminated by his teachers, since teachers believed that a family in business is less educated. “作为生意人家的小孩，老师觉得我肯定是个坏小孩。As a child from a business family, teachers felt that I was definitely a bad child.”
Later he switched to a private school in Shanghai where his aunt lived. In Shanghai, he felt teachers were more open to students from different backgrounds. Tony stayed in Shanghai until Grade 9, when he started to question the purpose of education. “我当时在中国觉得我干嘛要上大学，好无聊呢。那么多人上，我也不需要。真正好的就那十几个。我也考不上。At that time in China I wasn’t sure why I should go to university. [It’s] so boring [to go to university]. So many people will go, and I don’t need it. There are only a dozen top universities [in China], none of which I thought I could get in.”

Feeling his life should become easier in North America, Tony told his parents that he wanted to go abroad. Since his older brother was already in Toronto, Tony came to Toronto in 2009.

Tony commented on his experiences of migration as follows,

因为在我的时候，每年也跑过很多城市嘛。去这边上两年，去那边上两年。后来我觉得生活那么多城市，就好像生活在一个点一样。...没有真正觉得说我是真正属于这儿的或者呆在这儿的。就像我来加拿大的一样，我还没有觉得我是属于这。我在加拿大的很舒服....我summer一定要回国或者说中国是我的家。就觉得这是个暂时地而已。...后来我就慢慢（觉得）不能再这样了。要打开一下。I have lived in many cities in China, usually two years in this city, and two years in another city. I feel that living in so many cities is like living at the same spot. ... I never felt that I’ve truly lived in any city; neither did I feel that I belonged to any of them. Just as I came to Canada, I still haven’t felt that I belong to here ... I’ve never felt that I definitely need to go back to China for a summer. [I] just felt Canada is a temporary residence. ... Gradually I felt I shouldn’t be like this anymore. I need to open up [my heart].

Parents.

Tony has a loose connection with his parents, in that he has not spent much time with them. Seeing other adolescents calling their parents daily or weekly, and talking for more than one hour every time, he admired such a close connection. “很多（我的）information，他们从我哥那里知道。因为我生活每天都一样。一个月打一次电话都差不多。My parents know most of my information from my older brother. Because my life is the same every day, calling them once a month (for me) is enough.” However, he did wish he could have a closer connection to his family. “（我周边的朋友）跟他们父母每天聊，说的话很温馨，很亲密，我很羡慕。They (his friends) talk to their parents daily. What they talk are very cosy, and very close. I really envy them for that.”

Tony explained why he did not have a close relationship with his parents.

当时我出来去外地读书，他们觉得我怎么这么叛逆，我觉得你们以前不管我，现在为什么又要开始管我。一直不管我，突然管我，我就很不舒服。因为我们很少聊嘛。I left home and studied elsewhere. They [parents] wondered why I became so rebellious. I felt
that you did not care about me before. Why now? They did not care about me, and then suddenly they cared. I didn’t feel comfortable, since we seldom talked.

In recent years, Tony’s parents become more established in their business, thus they planned to spend more time with their children. They came to Toronto more often, while Tony did not feel comfortable even though he knew his parents intended to strengthen the connection. Tony felt that it was too late to show love and care, since he has grown up. However, he did realize that he has a more comfortable life in Canada compared to other international students, because of his parents’ steady financial support. When other adolescents had several part-time jobs, and worried about daily expenses, he could have a large quantity of free time.

Tony said his parents have never suggested to him how to study. Rather, they were more concerned that Tony should live a decent life. “大部分的留学生的家长父母就希望小孩不要吸毒，赌博，弄别人怀孕等。Most parents of international students wish their children to stay away from drugs, gamble, and not to get girls pregnant. ” In a later interview, he said he realized from his parents’ friends that his parents are very successful in their field, but they just do not know how to be parents.

**The older brother.**

Tony’s older brother came to Toronto 2 years earlier, and was a student at the University of Toronto. When Tony came, his brother rented a condo near Tony’s high school, and the two of them shared the condo (see Photo 11). Tony’s brother took him to a church he had been attending for a while. Tony took ESL courses in this church once a week for a year and studied Bible there. Later they moved elsewhere and went to another church. Tony likes going to church since he felt people in church genuinely care about each other, regardless of their family background or residential status in Canada.
In the first few months since Tony’s arrival in Canada, the brother urged Tony to memorize more English words, and to use more English when possible. Toward the brother’s suggestions, Tony was very resistant.

因为我哥刚开始也说我。因为他来了两年，他知道怎么带我。过一年，我就不舒服，就觉得你为什么管我。At the beginning my brother also gave me suggestions. Since he had been here for two years, he knew how to lead me. One year later, I became resistant [to his guidance]. I wasn’t convinced by his guidance.

Tony did not identify the purpose of memorizing vocabulary and exploring chances of practicing English as a newcomer. “很累。我刚来而已，大家都知道我英文不好。（It is) very tiring. I just came. Everybody knows my English is not good.”

In retrospection, Tony felt that he should have followed his brother’s suggestions a few years ago.

“天天说英文的话，现在也不会那么累了。如果当时天天坚持写作抒发一下，现在也不会那么累。一两年不用中文，你也不会忘了中文。当时就不那么觉得。...当时就觉得自己，为什么要听你们这么做。就觉得大家都不懂自己。Had I spoken English daily, (I) would not feel tired now. Had I insisted writing (in English), (I) would not feel tired now. Not using Chinese for one or two years, you will never forget Chinese. At that time, I didn’t feel I should follow your advices [on learning English]. (I) just felt that nobody understood me.”

School.

*English use in Canada.*

At the beginning, Tony felt that his English writing was better than speaking. After a while,
he realized that his writing was not as good. “我刚来的时候，因为我的 grammar 用的很少。来来回回套几个句子就行了。后来发现我一写长句子就错。 When I just came, I used simple grammar and similar structures repeatedly. Later, I found I made mistakes when writing long sentences.” He felt that his grammar should be better than other ELLs, since that is what he has learned in China. “觉得慢慢就忘了(语法), 不知道自己在学什么。在 writing 上面就不知道。 Gradually I forgot [English grammar]. I wasn’t sure what I was learning, in particular in writing.”

Tony felt his life in Grade 10 was very relaxing since he did not feel any pressure due to his lack of participation. “因为 ESL, so there wasn’t much pressure [in the class]. (I) seldom talked. (I) just sat there for the whole class, and ended [my day].” When he started Grade 11, he felt English became more challenging. Moreover, English became a barrier in his school work. “这个是个工具嘛。... 你英文不好，学习，交朋友就会有阻碍。 This [English] is a tool… If your English is not good, [you] will encounter barriers in academic work and social networks.”

Tony avoids chances to use English in that “我能不交流就不交流的人。I am a person who will avoid communicate if I can.” He admitted that he tended to avoid using English when possible. Usually he would create an environment for himself to use Mandarin.

The church Tony constantly went to offers service in three languages, yet he mostly chose the Mandarin session, and sometimes Cantonese session since he speaks both languages. On occasions when English-speaking adolescent in this church approaches him, he usually avoids communicating with them, “因为我很害羞，... 不好意思去交流。 Because I am very shy, ...very shy to communicate.”

He believed that English could be gradually improved with his residence in Canada, which should not require deliberate efforts. “我原来觉得英文慢慢提高就好了。不要太勉强自己，不要急。现在觉得然后觉得不急的话，过几年还是这样。I believed that English could be gradually improved. So I don’t need to force myself [to learn English]. No hurry. Now I felt that if I don’t push myself, [my English] will not be improved several years later.” Tony realized that he should have been more active in learning English.

尽量克服。现在不要害怕。丢脸就丢脸一点...尽量去交流一下，说错了都没事。多说就好了。I should try to conquer (difficulties), and don’t felt scared now. If I have to lose face [while learning English], just lose the face. ...Try to communicate. It doesn’t matter if I make mistakes. It will be better with more practice.
**Purpose of education.**

Before coming to Canada, Tony questioned the purpose of going to university. As a child from a wealthy family, he was unsure why he should take a university education, even though mostly 70 to 80% of high school graduates could go to university.

In the first few months in Toronto, Tony sat in the class listening attentively. He wanted to study hard. Yet he gradually started to relax after he met other adolescents and felt no challenge from school work. In Grade 12, he worried why he had yet improved his English.

Afterwards, Tony became more willing to go to school, even though he still felt uncertain about his future in Canada.

Later, Tony felt that he needed to go to school, since he believed that listening to teachers’ talking was also an improvement. Tony believed that teachers are like parents, since they are growing too. Students should not wait for good teachers, and students have to grow themselves.

**Peer network.**

**Canadian-born adolescents and early arrivals.**

Tony felt that he has been despised as a late-arrival by adolescents who were born in Canada or came earlier, mostly due to different lived experiences. As a late-arrival, when he showed surprise at an issue that was common to these adolescents in North America, they would usually treat him differently. As a result, a sense of alienation occurs. He believed that as a late-arrival, he does not have to agree with different values and cultures, yet it is important to remain open.
在中国好了。花了这么多钱。Yet I’m willing to learn. You need to first know their culture and their life style in order to live here. Otherwise, (I) could have lived in China. (I’ve) spent so much money.

As an adolescent from a better-off family, his friends and he tend to purchase expensive brands, yet the Chinese society has controversial discussions toward this group and their luxurious lifestyle. This group is called “富二代 the rich second-generation ”, which is a negative term indicating their lifestyle. Tony expressed his perception regarding consuming expensive products.

有时候刚开始的时候我们喜欢穿名牌。...他们觉得很怪。他们会觉得所以又怎么样，所以你会成为谁吗？出国你穿得很破，但是如果你会交流的话，那会好很多。At the beginning we like to wear expensive brands. …They felt it strange. They would feel like so what? Will you become someone? In overseas, even if you wear inexpensive clothes, it’s even better if you can communicate [in English].

Late-arrivals and later-arrivals.
Most of Tony’s friends came to Canada either at the same time or earlier. He maintains close contact with his friends from the junior high school in Shanghai, who are in different countries for further education, for example, Australia, and France. Tony felt that he is closer with those friends than his parents. “一年见不到一次。一见到还是很兴奋。我们不会因为外在的变化而改变。...还是朋友。 (We) don’t see each other more than once a year. We are still very excited once we are reunited. Our friendship will not change because of those external changes. …we are always friends.”

Regarding the adolescents who arrived in Canada later than him, Tony did not have any interests in socializing with them. He felt later-arrivals think differently and are resistant to assistance that earlier-arrivals offer, saying “他们刚开始没有善意的感觉。...他们说话的逻辑性也不太一样。...我们这一届的跟他们下一年的不太一样了。觉得他们好社会，好现实，以钱来分朋友。They didn’t show friendly feelings. The logics in their communication are different [from ours] too. … We are different from them. I felt that they are more practical and material since they classify people by wealth.”

Seeing new-arrivals repeating the same mistakes, Tony felt obligated to help them as an earlier-arrival. “可是当我们去伸手要帮助他们的时候，他们的表情和眼神就好像‘干嘛，干嘛来管我’.” …我就觉得我也不差，我也是从哪里来的，我爸妈也是干什么的。But when we reached out to help them, their reaction was like ‘what? Why did you teach me? …I don’t felt that I am inferior to them. I am also from certain background [of socioeconomic status]. My parents are also [successful]. ”

Other spaces.
Tony spent a lot of time online, watching movies, playing games or visiting Chinese websites. Tony said he didn’t feel that he should watch English movies. “我觉得没有必要，干嘛要看？I felt it unnecessary. Why should I watch (English movies)?” Later he realized that there were many resources for him to improve English, for example, watching movies and TV programs. Tony found he gradually started to understand how English users use certain words, and how they made jokes from watching movies. “他们说的那种双关语，开玩笑的那个点我们有时候笑不起来。后来慢慢听就觉得‘哦，原来是这个意思。’ It’s hard for me to understand why those puns and jokes that they used were funny. Gradually I realized ‘oh, it meant this.’”

Tony felt it necessary to go outdoors in order to learn English, since learning a language included learning its culture and body language in communication. He felt that late-arrivals should not feel embarrassed by their English. “不要觉得这个年龄怎么像小孩一样，像幼儿园一样。... 只要几年以后你不再是这样的人就好了。不要是你刚开始的人就好了。Don’t feel that why (you speak) like a child at kindergarten even though you are an adolescent. As long as you are not the same person [with the same level of English proficiency] a few years later, it is okay.”

Tony did not feel that speaking a few dialects in China was an asset. As an adolescent who could speak Shanghainese, Cantonese, and the Wenzhou dialect, which Chinese language users of those communities could hardly communicate with each other without using a common language in real life, Tony did not feel proud of this strength. Instead, he preferred to speak English, even though there are many Chinese dialects used in Canada. “我们一直在找没有说英语的理由。... 加拿大是接受 multicultural，... 但是你知道要学会一种语言让你在加拿大生活比较舒服。We’ve been looking for excuses for not using English….Canada is a country of multicultural(ism), but you need to learn a language to make your life comfortable.”

He felt that speaking English could reinforce a sense of belonging, since English has become a global language of communication for people from various ethnic backgrounds.

现在我们看很多人都是外国人，非洲人，亚洲人。你不能在这里生活很多年还是觉得是外国人。后来觉得都是加拿大人，应该觉得都是有归宿感，这样才行。Now we categorize many people as foreigners: Africans and Asians. You can’t feel foreign after having lived here for many years. Later (I) felt that (we) are all Canadians. (We) should have a sense of belongingness. This is what is supposed to be like.
In concluding his learning experiences in Canada, Tony felt that his English should gradually become better, as an outcome of living in Canada. “刚开始的时候我觉得英语吧，现在反正住在这里，以后慢慢就会好了。At the beginning, I felt that my English should gradually be improved since I am living here now.” He felt that he should have been active regarding exploring chances to improve his English, instead of waiting for chances of language use to come. “等别人喂你的话，你怎么能。If you wait for other people to feed you, how can you [improve your English]?”

Travis: “我想学多元文化 I want to learn multi-cultures.”

Travis came to Canada an international student in 2009 at the age of 20, when he was already a first year university student in China. He has lived in Canada for 7 months at the time of this study. Travis speaks Cantonese and Mandarin fluently. He studied in a private school at downtown Toronto, where the majority of students were international students from Mainland China. Travis first lived in a school dorm sharing with his school mates. Later he rented a three bedroom house and shared with his friends. Travis took an IELTS test once and got a 7.

Family.

Travis did not know he was about to come to North America, until one day his parents told him that they had saved enough money for his study in North America. At this time, he just finished the entrance exam to university, the most demanding exam for high school students in China and was a first year university in China.

Travis enjoyed his time as the first-year university student in China with his friends. When his parents told him he could come to Canada to repeat one year of high school courses in order to study at a Canadian university, Travis was resistant. He did not want to repeat the life he just had finished as a high school student, since it was full of stress. His parents then resorted to his older brother, hoping Travis’ older brother could persuade him.

Travis’ older brother went to the UK when Travis was in junior high. Having been away from each other for around 6-7 years, Travis and his older brother still keep a close connection. His older brother completed high school and university education in the UK, and was completing his doctoral degree at the time of this study. Travis was more willing to take his older brother’s suggestions, compared to his parents’. The older brother called from the UK, and explained that studying in a new country could make him more competitive in the future in the job market, and broaden his perceptions. Convinced by his older brother, Travis came to Canada in 2009.
Travis and his older brother communicated with each other more often than with their parents. The older brother shared his life experiences in the UK with Travis, including how to live alone in a foreign country, and how to learn English.

Once, Travis was invited by a father’s friend for dinner. New to this city, Travis was worried that he couldn’t get back to where he lived, thus he thought of not going. He called his older brother and expressed his fears. His brother comforted him that it was very easy to find roads in North America and Europe, compared to Guangzhou. His brother suggested that he remember the street name where he lived, so that he could get home by a taxi if he got lost. Feeling relieved, Travis went to this family friend’s home and got back to his residential place safely.

Gradually, the conversations between them were more about how to learn English. Travis’s brother shared his experiences as an ELL in the UK, most of which Travis did not find useful, because his brother came to the UK at a younger age. However, he considered it as evidence of his brother’s care and family bond. In this regard, he did not reject any suggestions from his brother. Sometimes, Travis would give his brother some opinions regarding family issues. As the first son of the family, Travis’s brother has been under family pressure to establish a family and have a baby. Travis suggested to his old brother how to talk to females and attract their attention. His brother was not resistant to his suggestions either.

School.

The school in Canada.

The school at which Travis studied was the same as Angel’s. It was a Chinese-dominant school, of which the majority of staff and all the students were Mandarin-speaking Chinese. Having finished high school courses in China, Travis did not find courses at this school challenging. His goal was to improve his English and finish the mandatory credits for the high school diploma in order to be qualified for Canadian universities. He studied 5 days a week at this school, and spent his weekend at the Johnson Institute to prepare for IELTS.

Travis felt content with this school, only that the school had no space for sports. He believed that a school should have a large space for sports, but this school did not have any. Different from Angel, he had no problem with the high Chinese-ethnic density in this school. He felt that the purpose of this type of school was to provide bridging programs for students, who aimed to efficiently finish requisite credits in order to apply for universities in a shorter time. However, he did suggest that students should choose a more diverse school if they wish to fully
explore Canadian culture.

**Peer network.**

Travis maintained close connections to his friends in China, who were in 2nd year at the university at the time of the study. He felt their bond was strong enough to conquer the geographical and temporal difference, because they have experienced one of the significant events in their life together: preparing for the entrance exam for university in China which is full of challenges and hopes. Living in Toronto with a 12-hour jet lag, he found there was less common time for his friends and him to be online. However, whenever they were online, they would exchange a few words with each other. Sometimes when his friends needed a listener, he would “listen” to his friends on MSN. He said they could fully trust each other and share issues in their life.

Travis’ friends in Toronto were mostly from the school. They usually talked about movies, homework or their daily life in Chinese. Travis felt their life was very isolated from the broader society, thus they seldom talked about cultural activities in the GTA, of which they didn’t know much. During their spare time, they usually went shopping, and sang KTV\(^{12}\) in Chinatown. Also, they had a tendency of not sharing much about their lived experiences in China. Rather, they usually talked about was their life “現在 now” in Toronto. The text below is a journal Travis wrote on one Karaoke activity he had with his friends in Toronto.

\(^{12}\) KTV refers to Karaoke television, a form of interactive musical entertainment.
Travis got three offers from three universities in Canada. On one of our casual talks, he said he was making a choice. Reflecting his one-year life in Toronto, he felt he had changed a lot, most of which was about his attitude toward life and study. He was eager to share his growth with his friends in China.

**Other spaces.**

**Chances of Using English.**

Travis felt he did not use English enough in Toronto for two reasons. The first reason is high ethnic density of Chinese in the GTA. Toronto appears to him a city with a large population of ethnic Chinese. Speaking both Cantonese and Mandarin, he can access both groups of Chinese people, which makes his daily life very convenient. Thus, he doesn’t need to speak English in his daily life at all, even though he felt that ideally he should use more English. “因为我觉得这边的华人有点偏多, 特别是走到外面，看到华人，都不需要用英语了. I felt that this city has a large Chinese population. When we are out of school, we don’t need to speak English in communication with Chinese people.” Moreover, because of his tight schedules at two Chinese-dominant schools, day school and weekend school, he could not find any chances to speak English.

On one of our casual talks, Travis revealed his deeper feelings regarding using English in Toronto. He felt scared of making mistakes in using English, including having an accent, making grammatical mistakes and using inappropriate words. He is aware that such mistakes are
unavoidable in language practice, yet he cannot get rid of this fear. I asked him how he felt when he spoke English in Guangzhou, China, a city which has been encouraging students to use more English on campus, he said speaking English in Guangzhou and in Toronto are by nature different. While speaking English in Guangzhou is in essence speaking a foreign language, speaking English in Toronto is to integrate and gain recognition by English-speaking people. In this regard, making mistakes is in actuality different. Making mistakes at Guangzhou will not incur different social images while in Toronto it will. To enhance English skills, Travis constantly put himself in an imaginary situation where he could practice English with imaginary people in the scenario, so that he will not make mistakes when encountering a real situation some time later. “常常用来模拟出自己说错的场景，[I] usually simulate situations where I make [English language] mistakes.”

Travis regards Toronto as a place of people from multicultural and multilingual background. English is a tool to communicate with people from diversified cultural backgrounds, and to broaden his understandings of world cultures. He believed that as an English learner, he should not place one culture or one language above other languages and cultures. He believed that all the cultures and languages, including English, should be treated equally in this global era. As he explained in the interview,

Regardless of skin color and culture, it is fine as long as English is used as the language for communication when we are together. Most important of all, people should have mutual respect toward each other, and should live peacefully together. And you will learn more if [you know] more people from more diversified cultures.

Summary.
This chapter includes the narratives of the 10 participants, regarding their experiences of language use in and across trajectories. Even though they are all late-arriving Chinese adolescents studying in the GTA as full-time secondary high school students, their experiences varied greatly. Some participants had more issues in one space, while some had more issues in multiple spaces. Even in the same space such as school, core participants had different issues yet certain consistent themes emerged. Thus, the following chapters, Chapters 6 and 7 will present the findings of the cross-case analysis.
CHAPTER SIX: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS: MIGRATION AS SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

Introduction

This chapter, together with Chapters 7, presents the findings from my cross-case analysis. In this chapter, I will present the emergent theme of migration as symbolic capital, differentiating between: (a) migration for symbolic capital, and (b) migration and symbolic capital. The first section, migration for symbolic capital, discusses participants’ purposes for migration, and their future planning related to migration. This section also discusses adolescent participants’ vision of their language practice after high school (i.e., at university). The second section presents several significant factors that impacted participants’ language use at their current stage of migration in Canada. The participants in this study reported that they had decided to migrate in order to gain symbolic capital; however, findings also showed that their experiences after migrating to North America shaped their original perspectives on the symbolic capital they had envisioned, which impacted their subsequent decisions about migration within and beyond North America.

Migration for Symbolic Capital

Chinese immigrants usually come to North America for their children’s education (Xu, 2006). For the majority of participants in my study, adolescent participants and their family came to Canada for symbolic capital, in particular, to learn English and to pursue higher education in North America. While studies have found that Asian parents tend to have high academic expectations, because most of them have obtained a master degree or even a doctoral degree (G. Li, 2007; J. Li, 2009; MacKay & Wong, 1996; Xu, 2006), other research has revealed that Chinese adolescents experience conflicts with their parents because of such high academic expectations (J. Li, 2009). In other cases where Asian families have suffered a reduction in socioeconomic status (SES) since arriving in North America (J. Li, 2001), children’s academic excellence is regarded as a reward to the suffering. Considering these studies, it is interesting that the data from this research revealed that adolescent participants agreed with their parents that immigrating to Canada for a better education and better English was a good idea. In this regard, parents and core participants did not have conflicts regarding higher academic expectations. Furthermore, late arrivals are generally deeply rooted in Chinese culture which values academic performance, different from other groups such as early arrivals and Canadian-born Chinese (CBC). As a result of their shared migration goals and cultural values, adolescent
participants believed that going to university was the main reason why they came to Canada.

Interestingly, findings from this study also showed that the majority of participating parents were not insistent that their children be academically outstanding. This finding differs from their children’s expectation that they should be academically outstanding to make up for their parents’ sacrifice, a value that they had internalized from their prior experiences in China. Parents believed that when their children were struggling at school, their children should not put too much pressure on themselves, and should strive to be happy. The Buddhist parents in particular interpreted their children’s struggle as a sign that further migration was necessary in order to achieve consonance between themselves and their geographical environment. For example, Amanda’s mother did not regard university education as a mandatory criterion representing her daughter’s success because, although she herself had not completed high school because of poverty, she later became a successful businesswoman in China. While Amanda said that it was her responsibility to provide her parents a better life, Amanda’s mother reported feeling that their current situation was only transitional and their life would surely become better.

“你将来可以去美国，法国，回中国。我不要求你一定在加拿大。可能这个地方不适合你，跟你没缘，...人是一个鸟要飞的。...这个世界是这样的了。You can go to the USA, France, or return to China. I don’t expect you to definitely stay in Canada. Maybe this place does not suit you, and has no connections to you. Human beings are like birds, are destined to fly. …this is the world.”

**Migrating to Canada.**

My study found that participants’ mobility continued after higher education. Some decided to stay in North America, but a few indicated that they wanted to return to Asia. Studies have found that satellite or astronaut children stay in North America while their parents work in Asia. Usually this group is expected to return to China after graduation (Irving et al., 1998). Tony is a good example of this trend of migration after university. Growing up in a wealthy family, Tony wanted to know what a life in a different sociocultural environment was like, even though his parents did not urge him to study in Canada. Tony did not feel that he needed to go to university in order to get a job because of his family’s wealth. “因为我父母做生意，我没有需要去打工。拿个文凭说我是干什么系毕业的去打工什么的。Because my parents are doing business, I don’t need to work. (I don’t need) a diploma to apply for a job.” However, Tony still felt that he should go to university as a reward, and make the whole family honorable in front of family friends, since his parents had spent a considerable sum of money for his study in Canada. “你如果去个 college 也不是很好，因为自
己觉得面子上有问题……自己面子上和父母面子上。It won’t be very good if you go to a college,\textsuperscript{13} since you yourself will feel losing face…my face and my parents’ face.”

Interestingly, in this study, some participating satellite and/or astronaut adolescents were expected to settle in Canada. In most cases, compared to other groups of immigrants, international students are more likely to be granted permanent residence status in Canada after their graduation from institutions of higher education. Angel’s story is strong evidence of this trend. Her maternal side of family was from a small village. They faced discrimination and ridicule from the whole village for having only three daughters and no sons. Settling in North America – and becoming successful here – was important to Angel’s parents in order to prove their value to those villagers. Yet, to Angel, it was also important for her to have an independent life. In contrast to her older cousin who had accepted an arranged marriage and moved to Canada, Angel wanted an independent life. Thus, a university education became an effective solution to both problems, as it demonstrated their family’s value against a traditional male-dominant community, while also providing Angel with the opportunity to lead her own life. Yet, this plan did interfere with her choice of major for her college study (i.e., Social Studies or Accounting), and her interaction with her aunt’s family who was her custodian family in Canada.

**Migrating to university: Multiple languages, multiple spaces.**

When asked how adolescent participants envisioned their language practice at and after university, some participants believed that university would be different from high school, where language proficiency would not be the main factor determining their access to social spaces. Participants in this category believed that they could have networks of multiple language users at university because they would eventually become as proficient in English as they are in Chinese, enabling them to freely cross various language communities. Most of all, they wished that multiple language communities held an equal weight in their daily life. For example, Amanda felt that her English should have improved to the same level as her Chinese by the time that she entered into university. Thus, it would not matter whether she used English or Chinese more. “基本上我的英文达到一定水平以后，说中文也没关系。希望到时候可以平等。Basically when my English has achieved to a certain level, it doesn’t matter if I speak Chinese. (I) wish (both languages) could be equal.” She stressed that “没有说什么特别的种族。希望更多的朋友，说中文也没关系。最重要的是放大圈

\textsuperscript{13} When words are bolded in translated quotes, it is meant to represent those words that were said in English during the interview that was conducted in participants’ L1.
It does not matter [if I socialize with] any particular races or ethnics. (I) hope to have more friends. It doesn’t matter [if I] speaking Chinese. The most important thing is to expand social network. ”

In contrast, others believed that university would be the same as high school, where English proficiency and different interests in social activities were significant factors in determining their access to various social spaces. There are a number of reasons why this group believed that the disconnect between various social spaces would continue to exist. The first reason was that it was hard to cross sociocultural and linguistic trajectories. As a triple language user, Kira felt that her ideal language use in university was to have networks for three languages: Korean, Mandarin and English. “三个语种的朋友都有自己的圈子就很完美了 It is ideal to have networks of three languages.” She wanted to have many “foreign friends” (i.e., English-speaking counterparts), and to fully understand an English movie and English jokes. “他们有些人讲 joke, 他们都在笑，我就不知道怎么笑，因为不知道他们到底在笑什么. Some of them make jokes, and they all laugh. I don’t laugh because I don’t know what they laugh at.” Similar to Kira, David also wished that he could freely communicate with both language groups. “我可以跟中国人说中国话，跟外国人说外国话. I [wish] can talk to Chinese in Mandarin, and talk to foreigners in their language.” He wished that his English would be as good as English-speaking university graduates. “能追上...当地大学生毕业的那种人. (My English) can be as good as Canadian-born university graduates.” Nonetheless, he did express some confidence that he could express himself freely. “最起码能讲清楚一件事。At least (I) can explain one thing clearly.” While Kira and David both regarded English as representing a barrier to crossing into English-speaking spaces in North America, Travis regarded English as a tool for global communication. He perceived high English proficiency as a mandatory factor for leading a global life, thus English had to be a language for his daily life. “英语应该使用在生活的各个方面。English should be used in every aspect of my daily life.” He also reported believing that English should be the common language used for communication between speakers of different L1 languages who are from various language and cultural backgrounds.

Besides English proficiency, these adolescent participants believed that this disconnect continued to exist because of different interests in social activities. Joe wished that he could have respective networks for each language, and thought he should have friends of diverse interests: “就是想要干什么事情的时候，就有不同的人在一起. 我要打篮球的时候，有喜欢打篮球的朋友。要学习的时
When I want to do something, I can be with different people. When I want to play basketball, I have [non-Chinese] friends who like to play basketball. When [I] want to study, my basketball friends may not want to. [They] have different interests.” Similar to Joe, Justin also believed that routine social activities were going to shape his social spaces in university, saying: “会跟高中差不多。会很少用英文交流，除了作业用英语之外，课外还是会Mandarin为主。 (my life in university) will be the same as that in high school. (I) will very rarely use English. Although English will be used for school work, Mandarin will be dominantly used after school.”

Interestingly, some participants perceived going to university as representing a chance to leave their current Chinese dominant social networks and to build an English-dominant network. Ivana believed that going to a university would help her to leave her current Asian social network, since not all her Chinese friends in high school would go to the same university. She felt she should have more English-speaking friends and fewer Mandarin-speaking friends in the future, in that the new university environment would help her to break away from her existing Chinese network and allow her to enter into an English-dominant network. When explaining her reasoning, she highlighted that English was a basic tool for understanding and communication, and that having ‘good English’ would get her voice heard. To become better at English, it was important to her to understand fundamental rules of languages in general. Thus, a higher level of L1 was a positive factor for Ivana to improve English. “如果你掌握了一个语言的基本功，就不会有什么大问题了。If you have the fundamentals of a language, you won’t have big problems.”

Although my participants had visions of university as a multilingual space after class, they were aware of the nature of university as a monolingual social institution, just the same as the high school. Similar to other studies (e.g., Chen et al., 2003), some of my participants felt unprepared for the monolingual university curriculum and pedagogy. They were concerned that their English proficiency was not high enough for them to succeed in university. Adolescent participants regarded university as a monolingual space, because of the symbolic domination of English in the social institution (Heller, 1995). Travis predicted he would probably have some issues in his academic work in university, and that it would take him a while to adjust to the teaching pedagogy in any Canadian university. He believed that English was very important since university is a monolingual space where instruction is delivered in English. “如果英语差一点，会影响大学学习。 If (my) English is not as good, it would influence my study.” When asked
what they thought their language experiences would be like in university, Justin explained that he felt that English is generally important in North America. “毕竟是英语制国家. It is anyway an English-dominant country.” David also believed that his level of English would determine how he is recognized by his English-speaking peers and professors in his university. “要表达出来才算, 否则不知道你成功. It only counts when you express yourself. Otherwise (they) don’t know that you are successful.” Rachel also believed that English was a tool for success, saying “在这个英文社会, 还是需要这个语言让你更快成功. In this English society, only this language will make you successful faster.”

**Migration and Symbolic Capital**

The previous section introduced the focal adolescent participants’ purpose for migrating, and their perception of their future migrations. In this section, I report on their social relations and language use at home, a space that is immediately influenced by the values and purpose of migration. Other spaces, including school, the peer network and other spaces, are presented in Chapter 7.

**Language use at home.**

Similar to Curdt-Christiansen and Maguire (2007), this study found that adolescent participants were using several languages in their home, at times with different family members and for different reasons. Adolescent participants generally used their L1 to communicate with parents or elder relatives, and they usually used English with younger siblings who could not communicate effectively in their L1, as was also found in Gunderson (2007). For example, Angel needed to speak English with her two younger cousins since they could not speak Cantonese fluent enough to communicate. This created additional chances for Angel to practice her English. Like Angel, other participants also initiated the use of English at home to practice their skills. Some used English with their younger siblings to help them with a smoother transition to school. For instance, Kira started to talk to her younger brother in English in order to help ease his transition from a Chinese home to an English kindergarten. Some adolescent participants also chose to communicate in written English with their family members and during online interactions. Travis spoke Cantonese with his older brother who went to UK since high school and was completing his doctoral degree in UK; however, they used English in emails. When I chatted with participants online, they would mostly choose English. When we had a face-to-face chat, the language was switched to Mandarin. Parents also attempted to speak English with adolescent participants at home, yet their efforts often failed because of the parents’
limited English proficiency. As Kira’s mother said, it would take more time to get things done when they started speaking English at home, since Kira had to explain the meanings in Korean or Mandarin.

While the notion of translanguaging (e.g., Garcia, 2009) has been studied predominantly in the context of school, where bilingual or multilingual students make the most use of their linguistic resources for meaning-making in various discursive social practices (Garcia & Sylvan, 2011), findings from this study supported that home was also a space where family members used translanguaging in their daily lives (Gunderson, 2008). Therefore, it is evident that migration impacts adolescent participants’ language practice at home, where family members had varied linguistic resources because of migration history and perceptions of ideal language use in daily life. Participants’ migration history was also shown to impact their family relationships, which I present in the next section.

**A weak parent-child relationship.**

Studies have found that late arrivals communicate more with their parents due to a shared language and culture (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000; Ying, Less, Tsai, Lee & Tsang, 2001). In contrast to those findings, the late arrivals in this study did not necessarily communicate more with their parents, even though their L1 proficiency is normally higher than early arrivals and CBCs. On the contrary, home was at times a foreign place to these participants due to their complicated migration experiences. For example, many adolescent participants had lived apart from their parents since kindergarten, thus they had a very weak connection to them. In fact, home in this regard became a disruptive space full of tension and negotiation. In this regard, the lack of strong connections with family members created uncertainty and conflicts at home, as opposed to such conflict arising solely because of the family settlement plan or living status (Irving et al, 1998, 1999; Tsang et al, 2003; Walters, 2003).

In terms of astronaut or satellite children in this study, lack of communication between participants and their parents before they separated could account for the weak parent-child relationship, which is in contrast to other studies where the geographical distance was the determining factor (Bai, 1995; Irving et al, 1998). For instance, Kira had lived with her parents for the first three years of her life in China, and when she was reunited with her parents in Canada, she felt that they were in different worlds, saying: “反正现在在一起也没有太多的共同语言，就好像活在不同的世界。我的世界她不理解。她的那个圈子我也不懂。Anyway now there is not much common
language (between us), just like living in different worlds. My world she does understand; her world I don’t understand either.” Another participant, Tony, had been in a boarding school since kindergarten while his parents spent most of their time establishing their business. Born into a wealthy family, he did not have much time living with his parents. “当时我出来外地读书。他们觉得我怎么这么叛逆。我觉得…你们以前不管我，现在突然又管我。…我就不舒服，因为很少聊嘛。 At that time, I went to school in another city…they felt why I became so rebellious. I felt…you did not discipline me before, now suddenly discipline me…I don’t feel comfortable, since we seldom chat.”

Some adolescent participants lived with a custodian family. Angel lived with her aunt in Canada while her parents remained in China. Angel had not previously lived with her aunt, and was scared to talk to her since her aunt appeared easily irritated. At times when they had different opinions, her aunt simply told Angel to obey her decisions. Also, there were not many chances for them to talk due to the aunt’s busy working schedule. Angel sometimes complained to her grandmother who lived with her aunt’s family, and her grandmother would suggest that she try to “开心啲啦。Be happy”. When she told her mother this on the phone, her mother also suggested that she “忍一忍啦。住在人家家里，姑姑又是家里的老大，所有人都让着她。Be tolerant. (You) live in her house, and your aunt is the authority of the house. Everybody obeys her [decisions].”

Studies have found that astronaut or satellite adolescents tend to have better financial resources yet weaker language skills (Bai, 1995; Hom, 2003; Miller, 2003; Minichiello, 2001). In this study, there were no distinct differences between astronaut or satellite adolescents or adolescents living with both parents with regard to English skills and financial skills. Even though most adolescent participants in this study experienced certain family changes in the course of migration, their parents or custodians were found to be eager to share resources and learning strategies in order to provide them with a smooth integration. Those resources and strategies, and its sociocultural implications are presented in the next section.

Sociocultural guidance at home: Culturally-embedded resources and strategies. Parents as advisors.

My study found that parents were aware that their late-arriving adolescent children had encountered challenges, and that their most significant challenge was English proficiency. During the process of integration, parents in this study were aware that they needed to employ different parenting strategies to adjust to the realities of a Canadian society that is completely
different from their Chinese homeland, which they found to be challenging. Thus, not all of them expected their children to always obey their decisions, which is in contrast to some studies showing that Chinese parents are authority figures at home (J. Li, 2009; Qin, 2007; Shek, 2008).

At the same time, this study did find that shaming was used by some parents as a dominant strategy to push their children to excel academically (Chua, 2012; Lieber, Fung, Leung, 2006). Similar to other studies (e.g., Qin, Chang, Han, & Chee, 2012), this parenting strategy caused stress and conflict between participating parents and children. Most participants, even though they were academically outstanding, did not perceive themselves as good enough. This study also found that parents lacked resources related to parenting strategies for late arrivals, since Chinese immigrant families are comparatively isolated from the mainstream society because of language barriers.

Even though many studies have found that parents were isolated from the mainstream society (Miller, 2003; Ruiz-de-Velasco et al, 2000; Tsang et al, 2003; Xu, 2006; Yu, 1996), the findings of this study show that Chinese immigrant parents had more connections to Chinese communities, where they explored learning resources and strategies. Parents offered culturally-embedded suggestions and supports to their children that they had heard about from their networks in Chinese communities. For example, Chinese parents often explored resources in ethnic communities that they could use to help their adolescents’ English learning, such as hiring tutors, or giving extra homework (Gunderson, 2007; G. Li, 2006; J. Li, 2009; Louie, 2001; Miller, 2003). They registered their children in various supplementary educational organizations, such as tutoring schools, musical classes and sports programs, to make their children a “fully-developed” adolescent (J. Li, 2009; Zhou, 2009). Participating parents also used their networks to exchange experiences and resources, including the selection of an ideal high school, information on supplementary educational centers and tutoring services, as well as English learning strategies and materials. These networks consisted mainly of Chinese parents while some were parents of children from other ethnic groups. In this regard, parents in my study did not necessarily feel isolated because of their multiple networks in Chinese communities, which brought a different light to studies indicating that Chinese parents were isolated from mainstream society because of their English proficiency (George et al. 2004). However, even though parents were active in advising and guiding adolescents at home, the participating adolescents in this study were usually not convinced by their parents’ recommendation, since their parents’ English proficiency,
and their knowledge of North America were not as strong as theirs. For example, when Kira was explaining why she rejected her mother’s recommendations of English resources, she said, “其实我爸妈的情报也不是很有用的. Actually my parents’ information is not quite useful.” When parents’ English proficiency was obviously lower than that of their children, recommended learning strategies and resources appeared less convincing. Research has found that parents with higher or lower SES tend to employ different strategies and resources in assisting their adolescent child (Louie, 2001). In my study, SES was not a significant factor in terms of different strategies and resources, and in fact parents’ connection to the same-ethnic communities emerged as being more significant. When parents were more connected to the same-ethnic communities, they were more likely to be introduced to the same strategies and resources for a smooth integration, regardless of their SES. However, such sharing was not isolated to the parents only; some of the adolescent participants reported introducing resources and strategies to their parents as well, which I introduce in the next section.

Similar to G. Li’s (2006) findings, most Chinese parents in my study also believe in traditional pedagogy, (i.e., bottom-up memorization learning strategies), where learners acquire English mainly from memorizing basic language structures. Similar to J.Li (2009), participating parents encouraged their children to engage in bottom-up language learning, which consisted mostly of reading, writing and reciting. Each of the parents in this study urged their children to memorize more English vocabulary and read more books. Justin’s mother introduced him to English books, while David’s mother introduced him to different websites in order to enhance his listening skills. Amanda’s mother suggested memorizing strategies she had learned from her colleagues, which she believed could help Amanda to expand her vocabulary. Thus, parents in my study did not encourage their children to watch TV since it was considered to be a waste of time, even though adolescent participants believed it was an effective strategy to improve English.

Adolescents as advisors.

While the participating parents in my study played a guiding role in sharing their learning strategies and introducing resources for a smooth integration to English communities, adolescent participants also played a guiding role when they shared their strategies of using English with their parents. Home in this regard became a space where both parents and children took chances providing guidance while negotiating various sociocultural activities. Yet, while the parents’
suggestions were not always accepted by adolescents mainly because of their limited English proficiency, the parents did not employ those strategies or resrouces recommended by their children. This finding could be explained by the traditional Asian family dynamics, where parents are known to play a more authoritative role at home (J. Li, 2009; Qin, 2007; Shek, 2008). Contrary to previous research demonstrating parental resistance to altering their traditional Asian parenting styles (Shek, 2008), my study found that (a) parents were aware of the needs to adjust their parenting strategies, (b) showed more understanding of adolescent participants’ different sociocultural practices in North America, and (c) attempted to welcome their adolescents’ sharing and guidance. Even though the mere offering of sharing and guidance changed the parent-child interaction pattern that is typical of Asian homes to one where the adolescents became experts in certain fields, participating parents in this study were skeptical of this advice. Most of the advice and guidance centered on improving English, yet it revealed different beliefs on effective learning strategies and resources. Adolescent participants tended to recommend that their parents use more resources from English communities and from the media or the Internet. For example, Kira felt frustrated that her parents still spoke limited English after their long residence in Canada. She was disappointed that her mother could not communicate with her teachers during her parent-teacher meeting. After this experience, she never invited her mother to school meetings again. She suggested that her mother learn English from the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program, saying that her mother should learn English in order to communicate with her younger brother’s teachers and school representatives. Kira’s mother stopped going to LINC after a while, since she found a part-time job at a Korean restaurant. Joe also attempted to give his parents advice—he believed that watching TV was very helpful, thus he suggested to his parents that they should watch more TV. His parents were not convinced, and they did not like him watching TV at home either. Rather, they believed it was more effective to memorize vocabulary and to read.

Adolescent participants also encouraged their parents to initiate more social contact with ethnic communities other than their own, yet their parents were not convinced of the merits of this suggestion. Rachel encouraged her mother to be more courageous in using her English, and reported feeling that her mother should speak more English and memorize more words. “我会说你

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I said you (the mother) just speak (in English). It’s okay. You don’t have to be scared, just listen. You should not count on me. Why not learn (English), not memorize (English words)?” Like the other parents in my study, Rachel’s mother did not follow her suggestions either. Instead, her mother relied on Rachel for verbal communication in order to complete daily life tasks.

In addition to recommending improved English proficiency and cross-ethnic communication, some adolescent participants offered advice to their parents on improving specific English language skills. Ironically, their recommendations were often the same as their parents’; however, they were also linked to resources and/or skills they had learned from school. For example, David suggested that his mother write more and that his father memorize more English words – advice he had received at school. He also introduced his mother to writing pieces which he used at school. Similarly, Amanda had issues with her pronunciation at school. While attempting to use English at home, she became focused on her mother’s English pronunciation, and tended to correct her mother’s pronunciation frequently. However, she subsequently reported that her mother became resistant to her advice, saying, “有时候我教她怎么读, 反正是纠正她的读音。我叫她再读一次, 她就不会说了。她从来不会读第二遍, 不知道为什么.” Sometimes I taught her how to read, anyway just correcting her pronunciation. I asked her to read again, but she wouldn’t. She will never read the second time. (I) don’t know why.” The mother did not explain her resistance to Amanda’s correction in her interview either.

While adolescent participants shared resources and strategies with their parents, hoping their parents could improve their English proficiency and understand new forms of learning such as learning English from the media and the Internet, they also regarded their residential neighborhood as being a negative factor in their integration, which I introduce in the next section.

**Residential place.**

The ethnic density of a residential neighborhood has been found to be a significant factor shaping ELLs’ English practice in daily life (Miller, 2003). Findings from this study showed that late arrivals regarded high ethnic density of Chinese people as a negative influence on their English practice and social networks. While living in an area with a high ethnic density of Chinese people, adolescent participants felt that their home was disconnected from English communities, and thus disadvantageous to their integration into the English-dominant society. Rachel and her mother rented a two-bedroom subunit of a three-floor owned by a Chinese
landlord. One floor was lived in by the landlord and another floor had been rented by another Chinese family. Rachel requested several times to her mother that they move to a house owned by English speakers, but her request was rejected because her mother did not know where and how to do this. When asked how Rachel felt about her home with regard to English use, she commented, “家里？ …(sniffed) 家里我妈都不说英文了. Home? …(sniffed) At home my mother does not even speak English.” She felt confined to this environment since Chinese was the only language in her daily life.

David also commented that he viewed his home as a place disconnected from English use, saying: “家里汉语用的比较多。还有就是没有那个环境, 跟中国一个环境. At home (we) use Chinese more. Moreover, (we) don’t have that context, (it’s) the same context as it is in China.” Kira and her mother shared the same perspective - speaking Korean, Mandarin and English, Kira felt disadvantaged since she believed simultaneously maintaining three languages, and not mastering any of them, was the reason why she felt she was not competent in any of them. This perception resonated with her mother’s perception. In her interview, Kira’s mother stressed that Kira was a trilingual learner, and needed more assistance to master English.

Other than a high Chinese ethnic density in residential neighborhood, participating adolescents and their parents all regarded a late age on arrival (AOA) as being a significant disadvantage to successfully integrating into English communities, which I present in more detail in the next section.

**Late age on arrival as a disadvantage.**

My study found that both adolescent participants and their parents believed that coming late to North America was a negative factor that influenced their English practice as well as their social integration. Thus, both late arrivals and their parents made efforts to increase chances of English language use and expand English networks, which is different from some studies indicating that ELL adolescents and their parents insist on L1 practice at home and are reluctant to adapt to North American sociocultural practice (e.g., J. Li, 2009; Miller, 2003; Qin, 2007). My study also found that parents or custodians of the core adolescent participants perceived the use of the Chinese language in North America as being a hindrance to improving English, even though the language for communication between parents and adolescents was observed to be mainly Chinese. This is different from studies on parents of early arrivals who are commonly more concerned with their child’s L1 proficiency and their connection to the sociocultural
practices of their home country (Xu, 2006).

Furthermore, both parents and late arrivals regarded their higher L1 proficiency as being detrimental to integration, even though current studies have found that a higher L1 proficiency indicates a higher cognitive development compared to early arrivals with lower L1 proficiency (e.g., Cummins & Swain, 1986; Roessingh, 2008). Similar as Knafo and Schwartz (2001), parents of late arrivals in my study encouraged their child to be more active in English practice, as such practice can help them to obtain ideal symbolic capital for their child’s future life in North America. However, studies also found that parents’ encouragement tends to be more general instead of specific strategies to improve English practice (Louie, 2001).

While I introduced some of the culturally-embedded resources and strategies that parents shared with late arrivals in detail in the previous section, my data showed that late arrivals devised strategies of their own in response to their perception that their late AOA was a disadvantage. For example, participants reported using their L1 to help their L2 reading and comprehension. Both David and Rachel read the Chinese version of Shakespeare literature to be familiar with the plots before proceeding to read the English version in order to understand the language. This strategy had two important implications: (a) their English was not proficient enough for them to understand Shakespearian literature; and (b) their more developed L1 helped them to quickly understand English literature. Even though the core adolescent participants’ attributed their comprehension of English literature to their more developed abilities in their L1, they did not perceive it to be an advantageous practice. Rather, they all stressed problems they had encountered because of their limited English proficiency, and they believed that having a highly developed L1 actually contributed to them experiencing more sociocultural difficulties. This contrasts some of the existing research that posits higher L1 in a more positive light (e.g., Cummins, 2009; Roessingh, 2008), and corresponds to research findings showing that late arrivals experience higher stress in acculturation, when compared with early arrivals (Kuo, 2001). In other words, while late arrivals in this study attributed their higher academic potential to the advanced development of their L1 and general cognitive skills, in most cases, they did not consider their higher L1 background to be advantageous in social activities with English-speaking groups. They considered their late arrival status to be a disadvantage since it brought more challenges to acculturation and socialization (e.g., limited English proficiency and insufficient knowledge of North America). Furthermore, late arrivals in this study believed that
they would not be able to smoothly cross various spaces unless they removed their non-English background(s). Similar to Garnett’s findings (2010), English proficiency and the language that participants preferred to use for daily communication were perceived as factors dividing language users. David, as a late arrival, believed that the linguistic, cultural and historical differences between him and his peers were too significant to overcome. He felt compelled to eliminate these differences so that he could successfully integrate into the English world. On the whole, adolescent participants believed that, as late arrivals, they had developed strong Chinese cultural affiliation from a longer residence in China. In contrast, early arrivals and CBC are more immersed in Canadian culture, and have often not developed a full understanding of Chinese culture. Thus it is easier for these two groups to communicate with English-speaking counterparts.

Although the majority of participants believed that their late AOA was a disadvantage, one participant (i.e., Ivana) believed that coming late was actually an advantage to her academic study and English language use. As a late arrival, she had developed a solid knowledge of the Chinese language which she saw as helping her English practice, and also as the main reason that she excelled in her academic studies.

**Summary and Discussion**

This chapter presents the cross-case analysis findings showing the dialogic relationship between migration and symbolic capital. Not only did symbolic capital represent the original purpose for migration, participants’ perceptions of and experiences with different forms of symbolic capital changed after they migrated to North America, which further affected their subsequent migration decisions (i.e., from the past to the present and looking to their future). The majority of late arrivals in this study were voluntary migrants who came to North America for symbolic capital, including better English and a better life. Some came to settle down permanently in North America, while others spoke about how they were planning to migrate within Canada, or to other locations such as back to China. Along this continuum, late arrivals believed that the disconnect between different social spaces was going to continue to exist because of what they considered to be insurmountable sociocultural and linguistic differences between them and English spaces.

Findings from this study resonate with the theoretical stand that the study of language use should not be isolated from the study of power. Considering language as symbolic power, these
findings highlight the differences in how we interpret the world and how such differences are “…implicated in relations of power” (Giroux, 1993, p.368). This is not only manifested in sociocultural and linguistic practice in and across multiple social spaces, but also in family migration in the past, the present and the future.

These findings also highlight how the weight of symbolic capital and migration shapes sociocultural and linguistic practice at home. Rather than being a reliable, central place for L1 sociocultural practice, the home is also a contact zone where parents/custodians and late arrivals make different decisions on the choice of languages to use at home. In particular, the home was positioned differently by parents and late arrivals due to (a) the sociocultural practices at home, including parent-child interaction and different opinions about effective learning strategies; (b) the geographical environment of monolingual home residence; and (c) late AOA. This positioning of the home environment reflects the powerful force of language as symbolic power on ELLs’ perception of L1 and dominant symbolic capital, including temporal, spatial and relational aspects of social groups. In other words, language as symbolic capital not only impacted participants’ language use in social institutions such as schools and working places (Heller, 1995), but it also impacted their linguistic and sociocultural practice at home. Furthermore, language as a symbolic capital shaped their sociocultural advice and guidance patterns at home. Rather than being a stable space for the transmission of L1 sociocultural practice from parents to children, participants’ homes became a contested space because of the temporal, spatial and sociocultural distance between L1 and the dominant symbolic capital. More specifically, parents’ or custodians’ L1 sociocultural practices (e.g., their culturally embedded learning strategies, and successful social experiences in the work place) were questioned or challenged by their children. Late arrivals’ practice of L1 language and sociocultural activities were not encouraged at home.

Languages are social possessions (Gee, 1990), while both when and where to have access to them become significant factors to ELL late arrivals. Both adolescent participants and their families considered late age on arrival and Chinese-dominant neighborhoods as being negative factors indicating further temporal and spatial distance from the ideal symbolic capital (i.e. social possessions). Even though a late age on arrival and a Chinese-congregated residence have the potential to foster deeper roots in L1 sociocultural and linguistic practices, both the late arrivals and their parents/custodians did not perceive these as being positive factors because one of their
primary migration purposes was to learn English and access the dominant symbolic capital. Thus, both temporal (i.e., AOA) and spatial aspects (i.e., residential neighborhoods, home space) represent important factors that have the potential to significantly influence social inclusion and/or exclusion, and access to the dominant symbolic capital.

Language as a symbolic power also impacts participants’ investment in target language use at home. Although some participants spoke multiple languages, they did not see themselves obtaining symbolic power since those languages did not have the same symbolic weight as English. Both parents and adolescent participants had symbolic and material investment. Parents expected their late-arriving adolescent children to invest more in English, to obtain ideal symbolic and social capital, whereas adolescent participants were found to have selective investment in developing English skills.

In summary, the findings introduced in this chapter represent a possible contribution to the existing theoretical literature on theories of language as symbolic capital. Firstly, high L1 proficiency is not always a positive factor. Secondly, the influence of home shapes late arrivals’ access to symbolic capital, and their investment in English. In particular, findings show that the language preference at home reveals the power of symbolic capital, which does not only take place at home, but also in and across other spaces, which I explain in further detail in Chapter 7.
CHAPTER SEVEN: SOCIAL RELATIONS, ACTIVITIES, AND SOCIAL SPACES

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the findings from my cross-case analysis, focusing on the themes of social relations, activities and social spaces beyond the context of the home, which was covered in Chapter 6. This chapter has three main parts: (a) participation in classes, (b) social activities in social spaces, and (c) the Third Space.

Participation in Classes: “Their” Class and “Our” Class

The cross-case analysis findings showed that the late arrivals in my study referred to English Literature classes or classes on Social Studies as “their class” and core classes (i.e., Math, Chemistry and Physics) classes as “our class”. Existing research has shown that these kinds of perceptions of affiliation to a class in school can impact learners’ participation (Leger & Storch, 2009) and their perceived proficiency (Martin-Beltrán, 2010), where social practice in daily life positions attributions of proficiency, further impacting ELLs’ participation and social networks. In this section, I present the perceptions of affiliation and attribution of proficiency that emerged from my Chinese participants within the social space of school.

Quiet students and active students.

Quiet students.

Perceived as model minority, Chinese late-arriving immigrant adolescents have been found to experience stereotyped-bias in school curriculum and pedagogy (Chau, 1996; MacKay & Wong, 1996). They are usually identified as a quiet group in classroom participation yet excellent in academics (G. Li, 2008). Participants in the present study reported being silent in class, and offered several reasons for their actions in this regard. In line with findings from a study conducted by Alford (2001), Kira attributed her silence to the fact that she lacked the critical thinking skills essential for class discussion, and reported that she did not know how to engage in activities that required critical thinking as these were not taught in her school curriculum in China. “在初中我们不会研究一个文学作品怎么去分析，然后就再写作文，但是刚来这里他们这儿就开始习惯了那种东西，然后我就完全不理解。In Junior high, we did not analyze on a literature and write an essay. But when I just came here, they’ve used to that type of practice. So I totally don’t understand.” Other participants reported lacking the historical and cultural knowledge of events being discussed as being another reason for their silence (Duff, 2001; Frańquiz, & Cinthia, 2011).
Late-arriving adolescent participants in this study felt that they did not have enough cultural, social and historical knowledge to actively participate in class discussions. As Justin said, “我不了解加拿大的文学，理解不足以作评论。(I) don’t have sufficient understanding about Canadian literature to an extent that I can make a comment.” In addition, different from early arrivals (CACF, 2012), late arrivals in my study seemed to distance themselves from this symbolic capital as a way to avoid feeling failure and frustration.

Similar to Roessingh and Field (2000), English proficiency also emerged as a significant factor that contributed to participants being more silent in class (Pon, Goldstein, & Schecter, 2003; Roessingh & Field, 2000). Oftentimes, classroom activities require complicated language skills, thus late arrivals cannot fully participate because of their limited English proficiency (Leğer & Storch, 2009). During their interviews, adolescent participants often voiced that they did not feel that their English was good enough to participate in verbal discussion in class. As well, some adolescent participants reported feeling concerned about their accent in English. For example, Joe felt very self-conscious about his accent in English. Then he described a scenario in the class when another newly-arrived Asian student spoke with a stronger accent, and he discovered that his white upper-class classmates were not concerned about this stronger accent. Even though he felt relieved that his accent was not problematic, he was still hesitant to participate because of his perceived deficiency in grammar.

Although many participants felt hesitant to participate in the class activities that were at their disposal, some participants indicated that there were in fact insufficient chances for them to participate in the class. They felt that it was because some teachers tended to talk most of the time, as Joe pointed out when he said, “beside asking questions, there were not many chances for me to talk with my classmates.” As Amanda described in an interview, in her English class, her teacher read nine pages of a story to them and then asked them some questions. Tony also pointed out that he could sit in a class without ever verbally participating. Interestingly, classroom seating was also identified as an aspect of the classroom that impacted participants’ participation in class. Kira reported that she would like to have discussions with students sitting beside her rather than those sitting on the other side of the class. To her, talking to someone sitting across the class was essentially like talking to the majority of a class, and talking to a

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15 This sentence is in bold because it was originally expressed in English in the interview and not the participant’s L1.
student sitting beside her was like talking to her close friends. Thus, although she appeared quiet to the majority of the class, she constantly exchanged her opinions with students sitting beside her.

In addition to the aforementioned factors, some participants talked about how being excluded from group activities in classes dominated by English-speaking students contributed to their silence. As Ivana and Amanda reported, they did not feel included in group work because they were not invited by their English-speaking counterparts to verbally contribute to group discussions. Amanda stated that “they [English-speaking counterparts] knew you only came to learn English”. As a result, they could not find people to talk to during interactive classroom activities, a similar experience to ELLs’ in Chuang’s (2010) study. Research has shown that late-arriving adolescents commonly experience such as response from peers at school (J. Li, 2009), and that sociocultural misunderstandings between late arrivals and their teachers and peers can also negatively impact their class participation (Chuang, 2010). Gagné and Soto Gordon (2012) also found that, in addition to English proficiency and lack of sociocultural knowledge of North America, ELLs tend to emphasize their personalities when talking about their social interactions with English-speaking people. The adolescent participants in my study also believed that it was because of their quiet personalities that they did not actively participate in class activities. For example, Kira stressed that it was all her fault for being a quiet student in the class, saying it was because she was too shy. Tony also emphasized a few times that his lack of participation was due to the fact that he was too shy to communicate. However, in a class at the Johnson Institute where I met Tony, I observed that he was a very active student who was keen to talk to me and to other adolescents.

In line with other studies focusing on ethnic minority students (Andersson, 2003; Duff, 2002; Pon, Goldstein, & Schecter, 2003; Taylor, 2006), one of the most significant reasons that participants offered to explain their silence in class was the dynamics between the majority and minority groups in their class. Pon, Goldstein and Schecter (2003) pointed out that Asian ELL late-arriving adolescents experienced “double binds” in classes, where they were expected to follow contradictory norms when using two languages (i.e., English and Cantonese). My study found that, when nearly all students in a class are from a dominant background, it is not uncommon for the minority to stay silent when their opinions differ from the majority. The adolescent participants in this study reported that they tended to feel an urge to keep silent when
they had opinions that were different from adolescents in the dominant background. From the adolescent participants’ perspective, having different opinions represented a disagreement with the majority. In particular, when talking about classes about the mainstream’s history and literature, participants were less likely to disagree with the majority, since they did not feel they had the right to disagree. In fact, adolescent participants tended to equate having a different opinion with having a wrong opinion. For example, Joe and David said that they would rather keep silent than share their different opinions because they were not sure whether those opinions were right or not. Also, some adolescent participants did not just keep silent, and seemed to internalize the belief that it was their “problem” that they thought differently from dominant students. Kira believed that she had a problem with her ability to understand since she usually thought differently from her English-speaking counterparts. Usually she did not participate when her opinion was different from the opinion of the majority in a class. When I asked Kira why she did not feel proud that she had a different perception of a literary piece, she said “但是他们是 majority. But they are the majority.”

Although participants were silent at times in class, data also emerged showing contexts where they were more active. I describe the data related to this trend in the next section.

Active students.

While ELL adolescents in this study were more likely to be quiet in some classes, they were also found to be more active participants in online activities and core classes (e.g., Math classes and Chemistry Classes). Similar to Lam (2006), the ELL adolescents in this study were found to be more active in online communication, and also reported being more willing to participate in writing as opposed to orally. For example, Ivana considered herself to be a quiet student in the class because she felt she was not as verbally eloquent as her English counterparts. However, she did not feel as frustrated when she wrote, as she excelled in argumentative writing. She actually reported getting the highest mark in a course because she knew how to express her opinions in written form, which she attributed to her strong background in Chinese language and literature. Other than getting high marks for writing, some adolescent participants also said they preferred writing since it allowed more time for grammatical and spelling correction. For example, Joe reported that he felt more comfortable participating in a class online form specifically because he could have enough time to correct his grammatical mistakes.

Although efforts have been made to link language learning to mathematics, sciences or
other courses that late arrivals are usually good at (Duff, 2001; Roessingh & Field, 2000), and to document the benefits that these students experience from such attempts at language learning (Chen, 1996; Soto Gordon, 2010), studies continue to show that this group feels socially isolated at school (Chuang, 2010; Derwing et al, 1999). Considering these findings, an interesting theme that emerged from my cross-case analysis was how participants perceived their different classes at school. Adolescent participants consistently referred to Math or relevant core classes as being “our class” since they generally excelled in these courses. They felt the English used for these core classes was easier than the English used in other courses such as English Literature or Social Studies, saying that there was less emphasis on grammar and an absence of slang, and more emphasis on concrete facts. In essence, they felt that they could participate more without being concerned about language mistakes. For example, Tony felt that the English used in Math class was comparatively simpler. It was usually about an equation or an answer which did not require complicated grammar and sentence structures. “数学,你要用英语的话,不需要修饰啊,不需要用很美的去表现,就是很简单的一句话。For Math, if you need to use English, you don’t need to use metaphoric expressions. You don’t need to use complicated words. It just needs a simple sentence.”

In addition to the English used across different classes, dynamics between the majority and minority groups in core classes were different from classes of English Literature or Social Studies. In core classes, Chinese students became a group that other students would seek advice from when they encountered difficulties in those courses. The notion of majority changed from being a member of the dominant ethnic group to being an expert in the subject matter under study. Being a majority in this way in such classes made adolescent participants feel that they were more active participants. This study found several reasons why this group was more likely to excel in these core classes. Most adolescent participants in this study had experienced rigorous education before they came to Canada, particularly in classes focusing on Math, Chemistry and Physics. Because of the transition from the Chinese school system to the Canadian school system, most participants were made to repeat one more year in Canadian high school, which meant that they had to repeat an additional year of study of core subjects as well. This repetition gave them more of an advantage in core classes. Also, selecting these core courses was commonly perceived as an effective strategy for getting higher marks when applying for university, thus there were often a higher percentage of Chinese students in these classes. In these situations,
ethnic Chinese students become the majority group that excels above other groups of learners in terms of their academic advancement in those subjects.

It has been shown that when ELLs used L1 for context-reduced activities, they are making up for their limited English proficiency, therefore it has been recommended that ELLs should be encouraged to use L1 in academic related activities (Cummins, 2000; Liang, 1999). However, adolescent participants in my study did not feel that they needed to use L1 to compensate for their deficiency in English. Rather, they used their L1 as a tool to express their superior knowledge of the content and to show their dominance in the core classes. In other words, they attributed their success in these courses to their advanced knowledge of the content, and to the fact that they did not need to discuss core content with their English-speaking peers in English. Rather as Ivana pointed out in her interview, they could succeed by only communicating with their “own people” in their “own language”. Thus, they usually discussed these subjects in Chinese with other Chinese classmates in class, since students from other ethnic backgrounds would not be able to follow their discussion.

Despite this confidence, adolescent participants reported feeling confused about the evaluation and assessment of their assignments for these core courses, since they were not always sure whether they were being evaluated based on their understanding of the content course or their linguistic presentation of their understandings. For example, Joe felt puzzled by the marks he was given on his chemistry lab reports, saying that he was not sure whether he was being evaluated based on his English writing skills or his performance during the lab experiments. David also talked about having difficulties with his Chemistry school work, in that he knew how the work should be done, yet he could not express his understanding well in English. “中国都学过那些原理什么的，就表达不出来。I’ve learned those theories in China, but I just cannot explain [them in English].”

In summary, adolescent participants in this study viewed classes of English Literature and Social Studies as “their” classes, and core classes as “our” classes. While many complicated factors emerged as contributing to varied levels of engagement, the dynamics between the majority and minority groups seemed to be the most significant factor influencing participation in the two types of classes. Such dynamics in this study were shown to shape, and be shaped by, the background knowledge required in the courses, required English proficiency, ethnic density in the courses, and peer interactions. The dynamic interaction between participants and their
teachers also emerged as a factor influencing their participation at school, which I talk about more in the next section.

**Teacher-student interaction.**

Studies have found that not all teachers feel they were prepared to teach ethnically diverse classrooms (Luca & Grinberg, 2008), and in some classes, that the stereotypes and biases they exhibit lead to increased difficulties in students’ adjustment and transition (Chuang, 2010; Derwing et al., 1999; McKay & Wong, 1996; Xu, 2006; Zhou, Peverly, Xin, Huang & Wang, 2003). In the present study, adolescent participants felt that they were being mistreated by their teachers because of their limited English proficiency and Chinese sociocultural background. For example, Amanda described an incident in her English class when she mispronounced a word and was laughed at by her English teacher in front of other students. “他就哈哈大笑。然后他就说‘大家不要笑’。真的没有人在笑。那些白人都在自己聊天。就只有他自己在笑。He laughed out loud. Then he told the other students ‘you shouldn’t laugh’. Nobody was really laughing. All those white students were chatting. It was only him laughing.” After the class, Amanda felt that she needed to talk to someone in order to release the stress, and ended up talking about what she had just experienced with an immigrant teacher who had come to Canada at an early age. This immigrant teacher shared with Amanda her experiences as a linguistic minority.

Some participants also reported that their teachers would make inappropriate jokes to them and other ELL adolescents in their class, which further alienated this group of learners from the dominant students. Tony, one participant in this study, said sometimes his teacher would make some comments in an ironic tone. “他们会变相的讽刺你，你听得懂的。They will make fun of you ironically in a subtle way. You can understand it.” When asked what types of jokes made him uncomfortable, Tony said his teacher would joke about being “made in China”. Although some research has shown that teachers have misunderstandings about ELL adolescents’ sociocultural background (Chuang, 2012), Tony felt that these types of jokes were discriminating because he was from China, and that he also felt they were intentional because it seemed like the teacher wanted to make fun of him.

In contrast, some teachers and educators managed to provide an inclusive learning environment for the participants in this study, which coincides with existing research documenting how teachers and educators have challenged dominant discourses and acknowledged existent counter-discourses (Chau, 1996; Chen, 1996; Duff, 2001; Gagné, 2008;
Soto Gordon, 2010; Roessingh, 2006; Watt & Roessingh, 2001; Watt, Roessingh & Bosetti, 1996; Xu, 2006). For example, Travis felt that because the majority of students in his school were international students from China, his teachers created more chances for students to participate by speaking English slowly using a simpler vocabulary so students could follow and participate, and by pushing students to use their English by including ‘group discussion language’ as a criteria for evaluation in their classes. Participants often referred to those teachers who adopted inclusive practices in classroom teaching as being a “nice teacher”. Angel said that she liked her English teacher because this teacher taught the class with a lot of jokes. When Angel mistakenly asked her classmate “how height are you?”, the teacher laughed in a friendly manner and then explained to her why this was not a correct way to say what she wanted to say.

Interview data showed that teachers encouraged ELLs’ to use their first language in class and among peers, which other studies have maintained works to facilitate ELLs’ cognitive development and academic advancement (Cummins, Giampapa, Cohen, Bismilla & Leoni, 2005; Goldstein 2003). My study also found that there were teachers encouraging ELLs to use their first language in ESL classes as well as core classes, and that adolescent participants felt that this benefitted their learning. For example, Angel singled out her chemistry teacher because this teacher allowed them to use both Mandarin and English for group discussions. Coupled with the findings from the previous section, this data suggests that the use of L1 in the core subject classroom can help students to access dominant knowledge but also help them to express their expertise in the content under study.

In summary, teacher-student interaction significantly impacted late arrivals’ participation in class activities. In the next section I discuss findings related to social activities in multiple social spaces beyond the classroom.

**Social Activities in Social Spaces**

Hadi-Tabassum (2006) pointed out that the sociocultural activities that conventionally occur in a geographic space lead to the creation of multiple social spaces with different symbolic meanings. In this study, school was divided into several different social spaces on the basis of conventional activities in certain geographical places. Adolescent participants travelled across various geographical places to access multiple social spaces in order to practice their English and establish English networks. However, as the following section shows, crossing multiple social spaces is a very complicated process for these participants.
ELL students simultaneously felt torn between their membership in L1 and L2 groups by switching between L1 and L2 at school (Liang, 1999), but they also showed their ability to appropriate spaces in school for their own language practice (Malavasic, 2007). For example, generally speaking, the cafeteria was considered to be a place for socializing with the same-ethnic group, while the library was a place with opportunities to socialize with adolescents from other ethnic backgrounds. Some participants attempted to maintain their connections to both groups, while also striving for membership in English communities (Liang, 1999). Findings from this study showed that participants often attempted to change their social routines while in the same geographical place (e.g., the cafeteria), in order to gain access to a different social space. This dynamic emerged throughout my data, where participants consistently attached different symbolic meanings to the same geographical place.

“Doing things together”: Different people and different geographical spaces.

Peer divide is a significant issue in late-arriving ELL adolescents’ integration (Duff, 2001; Miller, 2003; Minichielo, 2001; Soto Gordon, 2011; Gagné & Soto Gordon, 2012). Encountering the peer divide, some ELL adolescents chose to socialize with the same-ethnic group with the same L1 (Duff, 2001). This finding resonates with the findings of this study. Furthermore, findings show that such peer divide does not only happen between Chinese adolescents and adolescent from English-speaking counterparts; it also happens within the networks of Chinese adolescents. Social divide also exists between early arrivals, Canadian-born Chinese and late arrivals, which I talked about at length in Chapter 6. While the previous chapter discussed how adolescent participants and their parents explored resources and strategies at home and in Chinese communities that attempted to solve the disadvantages of “coming late”, this section discusses strategies that were employed by adolescent participants to cross the social divide at school. One main strategy was “doing-things-together” and/or “avoiding-doing-things-together”. Generally, adolescents were found to be exploring opportunities to do things together with target language groups, while also avoiding doing things together with Chinese and/or English-speaking groups with whom they do not want to socialize.

In term of things that they were doing, adolescent participants expressed eagerness to explore more opportunities to practice their English. The majority of participants had registered for after-school clubs, tutored English-speaking counterparts on Math and related core courses, and had meals with target language groups. For example, David joined a number of school clubs
because he felt that those clubs provided chances to talk to other people in English. "如果没有这个机会，平时没有什么机会跟他们玩玩，对英语有用会的英语可以多练一下。 Without this chance, (I) don’t have any chances to play with them [English-speaking adolescents]. (It’s) good to improve English. (I) can practice English more if I know.”

Similar to Ochs and Shohet (2006), mealtime was also regarded as an important occasion to improve sociocultural practice. Findings revealed that mealtime was an important social occasion for ELL adolescents to consolidate their social network. During school lunchtime, some chose to have lunch with other Mandarin-speaking adolescents, since this was an important social occasion to strengthen their L1 network. In contrast, others chose to shorten their lunchtime with Mandarin-speaking peers, and instead explore chances to socialize with English-speaking groups. Taking Amanda as an example, she purposefully sat with her Chinese friends and finished her lunch in 20 minutes. She then went to the school library to tutor Math and seek opportunities to socialize with English-speaking adolescents.

Similiar to Amanda, Joe purposefully avoided sitting with his Mandarin-speaking peers at the school cafeteria, and instead sat at a “mixed table” comprised of a group of people from diverse backgrounds. When such a mixed table was unavailable, he still preferred to sit at an empty table and wait for others to join in, or he would choose to sit with Cantonese-speaking adolescents, since they then had to use English in order to understand each other. 16

Based on Joe and Amanda’s experiences, it is evident that the cafeteria was a place where many students of the same ethnic or cultural backgrounds shared social activities; however, it was simultaneously a place where some participants found opportunities to network outside their normal social spaces. Since networks were often defined by language and ethnicity, it was easy for some participants to avoid socializing with peers from the same network. In the case of the cafeteria, participants changed their social routines within the same geographical place in order

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16 Cantonese-speakers and Mandarin-speakers can’t communicate with each other by using their L1 only.
to gain access to a different social space. In other words, these findings show how participants attached different symbolic meanings to the same geographical place.

Social image has also been found to impact social interactions (Harklau, 2000). Adolescent participants in my study took advantage of their socially recognized competence to extend their social networks. As Asian students are usually known for their excellence in core classes, it was not uncommon for participants in this group to be approached by other groups’ asking for assistance in these classes. While this may be a stereotype, this socially-recognized competence fostered one strategy for ELL students to socialize with native and non-native English-speaking adolescents and practice their English, by helping English-speaking peers with their Math.

**English as a determining factor for doing things together.**

In contrast to the preceding section’s findings, some adolescent participants regarded English proficiency as the determining factor for doing things together and/or avoiding doing things together. Some participants believed that they were not able to do things together with English-speaking counterparts because of their limited English proficiency. This perception was evident in the choices adolescent participants made when volunteering in the community. They reported feeling that English proficiency was a prerequisite for volunteer work that involved more interaction, and believed that volunteer opportunities with more communicative responsibilities were jobs for “them”, their English-speaking counterparts. Thus most late arrival participants chose “silent” work, or work requiring less talking, like Joe, who’s first volunteering assignment was setting up tables and his second volunteer activity involved was planting trees. When asked why he did not choose volunteer work with more chances of talking, Joe said “因为我讲英语不是很好，可能他们会把这个机会给其他人，给当地人这种。I think my oral English is not so good. Maybe they will give this chance to other people, to Canadian-born.” Similarly, Tony helped wrap up Christmas gifts at the Eaton Centre, a central mall in downtown Toronto. The reason that Tony chose this work was because it was easy and did not involve much talking. Tony said some of his friends looked for work with more chances to practice English, but he preferred easy ones. Although volunteering is regarded as an effective approach for immigrant adolescents to integrate into society (Tong, 2010) and to regain social and cultural capital lost in integration process (Handy & Greenspan, 2009), findings from this study show that when adolescent participants’ choice of volunteering is based on their self-evaluation of English proficiency, volunteering is not an effective approach to integration.
In addition, findings revealed that participants’ evaluation of their volunteering experiences was also dependent on the age of people with whom they interacted and how they connected this experience to their L1 sociocultural background. In other words, it was the “doing-things-together-with-whom” standard that they applied to evaluate their volunteering experiences. Some participants did not view their volunteering work as being meaningful if they talked mostly with younger children, while others considered their volunteering experiences helpful since they talked to people at a similar or older age. For example, David perceived one of his volunteering experiences at an immigrant settlement center to be valuable since he could help senior people by using his Mandarin. In this regard, his volunteer experiences connected his prior experiences and his L1 to adults in current society, which he felt positioned him as an adult with a recognized L1 background.

**English as the determining factor in course selection.**
Similar to J. Li (2001), adolescent participants and their parents in this study tended to choose science-related careers as a result of their marginalized positions in Canada. Such marginalized status was believed to be the result of limited English proficiency and limited social capital. As Joe’s mother said, as an Asian ELL male adolescent, even though Joe liked sports and other social activities, only a Math and Science-related career was an area leading to higher possibility for success, since this was an area where technical proficiency is more important than English proficiency.

It is important to note that these findings do not suggest that late arrival adolescents felt restricted by having to follow Math and Science-related fields in university. Although they excelled in core subjects, they all claimed that they were interested in other fields as well, such as English Literature and Social Studies. However, as late-arriving linguistic minorities, they did not feel that their English proficiency was always good enough for them to obtain ideal marks in these classes. As a result, this group chose core subjects in which they were more likely to excel.

**Summary and Discussion**
This chapter identifies factors impacting adolescent participants’ perceptions of social space, and the strategies they employed to gain access to different social spaces. The findings support the nature of social spaces as being fluid and dynamic. Social spaces were found to be full of complicated language use, social networks and activities. Findings of this cross-case analysis also revealed that adolescent participants positioned themselves differently with different classes for several reasons. For example, they regarded core classes as “our” classes,
and English Literature as “their” classes. In order to have access to ideal social spaces, participants invested in improving their English proficiency and obtaining social capital by engaging in various activities. They explored chances engage in the same social activities as their native and non-native English-speaking peers. They were also found to be strategically maneuvering between different social spaces in order to access what they considered to be ideal symbolic capital: English language proficiency and sociocultural practices.

Still, some participants believed that their limited English proficiency restricted their ability to become invested in English language and sociocultural practices in and across multiple social spaces. For example, they chose volunteering work requiring lower or no English proficiency. Thus, not all participants strived to invest themselves in English-dominant social spaces. Instead, some adolescent participants created Third Spaces for a hybrid language use and sociocultural practices in order to have a space in which they were not seen as deficient. This study found that a Third Space emerged not only from sociocultural activity in one geographical place like the classroom (Benson, 2010; Gutiérrez, 2008; Hadi-Tabassum, 2005; Wallace, 2004), but it also emerged beyond the geographical space of the classroom. Participants’ investment in Third Space language practices demonstrates their resistance to the dominant symbolic power.

Considering the findings from Chapters 6 and 7, social spaces should be characterized as being dynamic and fluid spaces of (a) language use, (b) social networks and (c) social activity. In my conceptual framework, I stress the need to recognize the dialogic relationship between these three interdependent elements of social spaces. Each social space should be considered to be more dynamic and fluid because of its internal complexity as well as the complexity introduced from other spaces. In particular, school was found to be a site of multiple social and geographical spaces as opposed either being characterized as (a) one social space embedded in multiple geographical spaces, or (b) one geographical space containing multiple social spaces. In this study, adolescent participants practiced different sociocultural activities in and across multiple geographical and social spaces.

While some adolescent participants perceived English proficiency as the determining factor for social activities, they chose to socialize with Chinese-speaking peers since their English was not good enough to socialize with English-speaking peers. Another group believed that social activity (i.e., doing things together) was a primary strategy for improving their English. Thus, doing things together, and/or avoiding doing things together, was a main strategy
that late arrivals employed to learn English and to expand social networks. When both their English proficiency and social activities (i.e. doing things together with English-speaking people) did not enable them to obtain ideal symbolic capital, a Third Space was formed for a hybrid use of languages, where their social relations and activity were recognized.

Three factors - language use, social activities and social networks - characterized how adolescent participants moved within and across social spaces. Yet, it should be noted that such border-crossing is not neutral. Some spaces appear more ideal than others because of symbolic power. Thus, participants invested more in various activities to obtain access to those social spaces, a process involving negotiation, consolidation or sometimes resistance to symbolic power and investment.

The findings presented in this chapter represent possible contributions to the existing literature on social spaces and Third Space. In the next chapter, I discuss all of my findings using my Critical Multiple Social Space Model lens, and propose four different ways in which adolescent participants positioned themselves, and were positioned, within and across their fluid and dynamic social spaces.
CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION: BORDER-CROSSING AND LANGUAGE IDENTITIES

Introduction
In Chapters 6 and 7, I presented the findings related to adolescent participants’ language use experiences in and across multiple social spaces. In this chapter, I discuss how participating adolescents self-positioned, and were positioned, within and across multiple social spaces using the theoretical lens guiding this study, called the *Critical Multiple Social Space Model*. To conclude, I discuss the theoretical implications of my findings.

Border-crossing Experiences and Language Identities
Considered collectively, the findings from this study show that ELL adolescents’ border crossing and language identities are complex. Through the lens of my *Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model*, I attempt to organize adolescent participants’ English language use within and across social spaces into four categories (as shown in Figure 10): (a) English as an indicator of “local” social network; (b) English proficiency as an indicator of acculturation; (c) English as a tool to access school curriculum; and (d) English as essential capital. Figure 10 introduces the main findings that support each of these categories, and in the following sections, I discuss the theoretical notions associated with each of the categories in detail. Each of the subsequent graphical representations of each category (i.e., Figures 11 through 14) is manipulated to reflect the significance of social spaces (as indicated by the size of each social space), and language as a symbolic capital (as indicated by the language of the border). Although these categories seem static, participants did not fit neatly into only one category. Rather, their language use and border-crossing were more complex and often aligned with one or more categories because of the dynamic sociocultural nature of language use and the fluidity of language identities.
**English as an indicator of “local” social network.**

Shown in Figure 11 *English as a local network*, adolescent participants who fit into this category considered their social space a part of “local” English space, even though it was a Chinese-dominant social space. In this category, the space of the Peer Network was in the center since the social activities with peers were more significant. In contrast, the spaces of home, school and other spaces were more distant since the social activities in those spaces were less significant. The English outlining implied the perception of this category that an English-dominant broader social space determined the nature of their social space. Although dominant in Chinese sociocultural and language practices, participants regarded all social activities occurring in this social space as local because the broader social space was English-dominant North America.

Adolescent participants who fit into this category believed that it was important to establish a local social network in North America by crossing multiple spaces. Such crossing was shaped by their conscious choice of social groups in daily life. Although some studies have shown that staying with the same-ethnic peers (i.e., Chinese peers) in North America may appear to be “not integrated enough” (Duff, 2001; Minichiello, 2003), participants in this category believed that having a social network in North America, even if it is mostly made up of the same-ethnic groups, represents a successful integration into the Canadian society.

As Figure 11 shows, adolescent participants believed that the geographical space mattered
most for their integration. For them, integration into the “local” (i.e., the North American) network was defined by geographical environments. The local social network in this category was understood merely by geographical features, as opposed to the notion of local network representing a particular racial ethnic sociocultural practice (J. Li, 2010; Siraj-Blatchford, 2010).

When the broader sociocultural space was an English-dominant space in North America, (as indicated by the “English” outlining in Figure 11), participants in this category believed that they were fully integrated and had gained access to English-dominant spaces, even though their social spaces appeared to be mostly comprised of a network of Chinese people speaking Chinese.

The same-ethnic network in North America represented a local social network to the adolescent participants in this category, because the sociocultural practices in this local social space were seen as being distinct from their home country (i.e., China). In this social space, they shared their experiences, and provided support to each other. As Angel introduced, her all-Chinese network in North America represented a local social space for her since the sociocultural practices related to the life in North America.

“在国外一个人，我觉得朋友很重要。我们可以一起聊天，就好像果那样跟我诉苦啊。因为她
Being alone overseas, I feel [my Chinese] friends [here] are very important. We can chat together. Just like Guo grumbled to me. Because her life at school was difficult, she grumbled (about it) to me. I failed IELTS test a while ago, I grumbled (about it) to them. And then they gave me encouragement.”

Interestingly, findings showed that this type of local network extended beyond North America to include traditional English-speaking communities like Australia and New Zealand. At least one of the official languages of each of these countries is English with a majority of the population being native speakers of English. My participants’ perceptions of local networks reflect Canagarajah’s (1999) discussions on English-speaking countries regarding their sociocultural history with the English language and related power relations. He defined native English speakers of these countries as representing the “central communities”, and non-native English speakers in other countries as being on the periphery where English is used as post-colonial capital. Participants in this study perceived their networks in English communities as being local, where their sociocultural practices were more like the dominant English language and sociocultural practices, and more divergent from their home country. For example, Tony had a number of friends from a boarding junior high school in China with whom he had maintained a close relationship. When Tony came to Canada for further education, his friends were in other English-speaking countries for further education as well. Despite the geographical distance, he felt a strong connection to this group of friends.

“我觉得我们分开，但是我们还是在一起生活。有的去了澳大利亚，有的去了法国。一年见不到一次，一见到还是很兴奋。我们不会因为外在的变化而改变。...还是朋友。I feel even though we are apart, we are still living together. Some went to Australia, some France. We don’t see each other more than once a year, yet we are still excited seeing each other. We don’t change (our feelings) because of our physical change. (We are) still friends.”

Findings also showed that participants believed that it was less important whether English was the main language of their local space, and more important that those in their local social network were all migrating, either within North America or in other English speaking countries. Living in English-speaking countries and experiencing those difficulties and challenges, adolescent participants considered themselves as being part of a different group than their adolescent peers in China, as they were adjusting to sociocultural and linguistic practices, and the local practice of central English communities (Canagarajah, 1999).
Findings showed that participants employed a range of strategies to broaden their social network, from accessing online spaces to networks in a physical geographical environment. For example, Angel went online and read blogs written by ethnic Chinese currently living in Toronto. When she found a blogger of a similar age, she left comments on the blog. Gradually they became friends, and occasionally went to Karaoke together. Also, she felt those programs in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) were effective resources to extend her social networks. She registered in a summer ELL program at another school in order to meet more people. Overall, findings showed that as long as the network was in the physical geographical space of North America, participants considered it to be a local network. In this local network, they did not talk about their previous experiences in China, since they did not believe that those experiences were related to the here (the North America) and now (the current experiences). For example, Travis and his friends in Toronto only talked about life now and into the future in North America, despite the fact that they did so in Chinese. Furthermore, in contrast to actively expanding their social spaces in North America, they deliberately decreased contact with friends in China since they believed that the networks in China represented an “old” culture. This practice of “leaving-life-in-China-behind” was a common practice amongst the majority of adolescent participants in this study.

Language practice in this local network was also quite complex. Findings showed that participants often code-switched in different ways in their daily life. For example, Kira and her friends wrote to each other in English, and spoke Chinese in face-to-face communication. Ivana felt that she gradually spoke more English as a result of her increasing experiences in English-dominant school curriculum. When she needed to discuss non-core school subjects (i.e., English Literature and/or Social Studies) with her Chinese-speaking friends, they had to switch to English for terms and contents. Even though the switching was mostly related to course terms and phrases, Ivana regarded it as an evidence of improvement on her English proficiency.

Overall, the majority of participants believed that this code-switching had improved their English since they had started to use more English words in their conversations with peers in their Chinese-dominant network. Yet, some participants realized that they still did not have enough face-to-face opportunities to practice their English even though they had these “local networks”. Some explored English resources from the Internet or the media, like Travis, who simulated English conversations with English-speaking people so that he would not make
mistakes when he later encountered an actual conversation in real life. Angel also switched the language of her computer to English, and remained more active on English websites.

In summary, findings showed that many participants stressed the geographical feature of their social spaces, and believed that being geographically in English-dominant North America meant having gained access to English social spaces. Adolescent participants also stressed the role of their L1 and sociocultural practice within and across multiple social spaces, which emerged as a second category used to organize my findings.

**English as an indicator of acculturation.**

Similar to the first category, this category, shown in Figure 12 *English as an indicator of acculturation*, has an English exterior implying that adolescent participants believed they were in an English-dominant broader social space. Yet, participants considered their L1-dominant social space as significantly different, and an insurmountable barrier to cross in their daily life. Findings from this study revealed that many adolescent participants believed that English social spaces represented social spaces of different thinking and expressions. They felt that such differences were inevitable consequences of the various sociocultural and linguistic practices at play in those spaces, and described how it was difficult to surmount such differences. Interestingly, they perceived such insurmountable difference as not only existing between Chinese-speaking people and between native and non-native English speaking people, but also within Chinese communities (i.e., late arrivals, early arrivals and Canadian-born Chinese). As Figure 12 shows, late arrivals believed that while living in an English-dominant society, which is presented by an English-only exterior in the figure, their first language and different sociocultural practice stood out as significant factors differentiating their social spaces from English spaces. Similar to Kuo and Roysircar (2004), based on these findings, I would suggest that age on arrival (AOA), coupled with the linguistic and sociocultural practices at play in their immediate spaces were the main factors causing the acculturation differences. My late arrival participants believed that a late AOA shaped their linguistic and sociocultural practice in daily life, which led to social inclusion and exclusion from English spaces: peer divisions (J. Li, 2009) and disengagement in school activities (Iddings, Christina & Katz, 2007).

Even in the same-ethnic group, adolescent participants did not regard themselves as being in the same group as Canadian-born Chinese (CBCs) and early arrivals, although they were all regarded as being part of the Chinese community by non-Chinese communities. The majority of
my late arrival participants were found to be more likely affiliated with other late arrivals from different backgrounds that came to North America at a similar age. For example, David’s Chinese and non-Chinese friends were mostly those who came to Canada at a similar time. Participants believed that mastering the English language and sociocultural practices of North America should be a natural outcome of living in North America. Specifically, after living and studying in Canada for a certain period of time, they believed that their English proficiency would naturally improve and that they would adopt more English sociocultural practices in their daily life. Yet, they believed that no matter how long they had been in North America, they would always be different from early arrivals and CBCs. Therefore they stayed in social spaces dominated by late arrivals. For example, Tony felt detached from early arrivals, even though they were also from China, since he felt his sociocultural practices were significantly different. Similarly, David felt incapable of joining in peer conversations with early arrivals, when early arrivals talked about movies that they had watched at a young age but that he had never seen. Sometimes he went home and watched those movies in order to get background information, but reported that he never really got a chance to demonstrate his new knowledge, as those movies were usually not discussed again. Gradually he lost interest in watching movies for that purpose.
Similar to David, Joe had difficulties in gaining access to early arrivals’ social spaces, since most of the students had known each other since Grade 6 and had shared many social activities in which Joe had not participated. On the whole, these findings suggest that late arrivals felt that coming late meant that they were on the outside of early arrivals’ social spaces.

What made these differences seem almost insurmountable was the fact that adolescent participants reported feeling frustrated that they could not use their English to express their deepest thoughts or show their true personalities. In fact, limited English proficiency and the tendency to link their existing language and sociocultural practice to the Chinese language were both perceived as significant factors that divided them from their English-speaking counterparts. Similar to Garnett’s (2010) findings, most participants in my study believed that they were not able to smoothly cross multiple social spaces unless they removed their non-English backgrounds. David, as a late arrival, said that the difference between his linguistic, sociocultural and historical background and those of the English-speaking majority was too significant to overcome. Compared to early arrivals, he felt that it was impossible for him to overcome these differences in order to integrate into English spaces. “反正改变一个语言比较难吧。改变一个自己的思想,一个最深层的思想不太容易,尤其我现在也不是特别小那种。Anyways it is difficult to change a language. It’s not easy to change one’s thoughts, deeper thoughts. In particular I am not a young kid anymore.” Another late arrival, Kira, felt frustrated that her writing was always full of teacher comments such as “awkward” and she believed that these were due to her different thinking from Korean and Chinese backgrounds. No matter how many times she proofread her writing, these comments persisted and she felt incapable of improving her writing. “我觉得我表达得挺清晰的。他却说awkward. 把那个弄没了。就想跟外国人在同一个角度上想事情，我觉得我做不到。很像中国人。I felt I expressed with a great clarity. But he commented on the places ‘awkward’ where I felt it was written clearly. (I) wanted to think from the same perspective as foreigners, but I can’t. I think more like a Chinese.” Compared to her best friend who migrated to Australia at a much younger age, she felt she still wrote differently, and her friend’s writing was always clearer.

Most participants did not perceive their status as a multilingual as being advantageous. On the contrary, speaking multiple languages was regarded as leading to multiple barriers for practicing English and developing their English language and sociocultural practices. For example, Kira spoke Korean, Mandarin and English, yet she felt frustrated as a triple language user. Although she was popular in her Chinese peer network because of her knowledge of
Korean pop culture and its status among Asian adolescents, she did not perceive speaking three languages to be a strength. She believed that the more languages a person spoke, the less time they had to spend on each language, which inevitably led to a superficial understanding of each language and culture, and more barriers to accessing each of the social spaces affiliated with that language.

In the previous two sections, English was posited as being a useful tool across multiple social spaces. In the next section I show how some late arrivals in my study singled out English as representing symbolic capital in only some of their school activities, and at times were excluded from classroom activities because of their limited English proficiency. In response to this exclusion, they purposely limited the role of English in their lives, and instead of feeling deficient, they redefined themselves within multiple social spaces using their L1 peer networks.

**English as a tool only for accessing school curriculum.**

Figure 13, *English as a curriculum tool*, uncovered the social space of this group as a L1-dominant sociocultural and language practice space. This social space centered L1-dominant peer network, and L1-dominant home and other spaces in the closer periphery. In contrast, school was positioned as more distant. English language and sociocultural practices were limited to the school curriculum only. The social space in this category was surrounded by a multilingual outlining, implying the less significant role that English sociocultural and language practice played in this category. The social space of the L1-dominant peer network, home and other spaces was the preferred L1 sociocultural and language practice space, while English was regarded as a tool to access school curriculum and achieve academic excellence.

As the title of this category implies, there was a common belief amongst some participants that the English space represented a space that should be disconnected from their L1 space. These adolescent participants perceived English only as a tool for excelling in certain school subjects, and that English was not essential in their daily life in other social spaces (as shown in the multilingual border in Figure 13). As long as they were succeeding academically, the majority of these participants did not feel it was necessary to engage in more English practice in multiple social spaces.

When participants’ academic performance met both their parents’ and their own expectations, they did not appear to make any kind of deliberate effort to adjust their language and sociocultural practice in other spaces. In core courses, these late arrivals participated actively
and used their L1; whereas in English Literature and Social Studies classes, they remained silent because they couldn’t effectively communicate their ideas in English. They referred to these core courses as “our” classes (i.e., where they succeeded the most), and English Literature or Social Studies classes as “their” classes (i.e., where they had to adapt their practices and improve their English). To be academically outstanding, they tended to choose core courses because they perceived those courses to be easier for achieving their academic goals. They were most likely to feel positive about their language use in other social spaces since their academic performance was good enough to handle such academic work, and consequently to apply for university. Not long after Justin had arrived in Canada, he was told by his parents and family friends not to use Mandarin, and that instead he should try to use English as much as possible. He understood the rationale for this suggestion, but he found it was easier to use Chinese when living in a city with a large number of Chinese communities. When he found himself using Chinese more frequently than English in daily life than he had expected, he felt uneasy but was soon relieved when he realized that his English was good enough to understand class instruction. Most of all, he realized that that his English speaking skills were not a skill that was evaluated for admission to university. Similar to Justin, Tony felt that his English proficiency was satisfactory, in that he

*Figure 13 English as a curriculum tool*
only needed listening and writing skills at school and had not experienced any problems following the classroom instruction. Thus, it did not matter whether he could speak fluently or not. As Tony said, he felt confident that he could sit in a classroom for a whole day if no presentation was required, and felt no urgency to explore resources for improving his English.

Considering the findings in this category, school was characterized as a space that was divided into multiple social spaces, but participants did not feel compelled to gain access to all of the English social spaces. As shown in Figure 13, the school becomes a space with which the participants chose to have limited affiliation mostly for the goal of academic excellence in core courses. It is important to note that this resistance emerged in response to the social isolation they were experiencing from English-speaking counterparts in some of the English social spaces in school. Ivana, who received high marks in all of her courses, did not feel the need to cross the boundary. Her experiences in her Social Studies course in particular reinforced this belief - when she was excluded from group discussions, she still received top marks and thus did not feel the need to cross into a space in which she was not welcome. She was also the president of the Chinese culture club in her school, and when more and more students who could not speak Mandarin joined this club, some students suggested to Ivana that the club adopt English as the working language. Ivana rejected this proposal since she believed that this club should enhance a sense of community for Chinese students. Like Ivana, many late arrivals did not feel that they necessarily needed to bridge the gap between their L1 and English social spaces. One reason for this that emerged from the data was that they were satisfied with their current network. Justin felt satisfied with his peer network since his friends all were all also planning to go to university. Yet he still felt that he had not yet come into “他们那个大圈子. Their big circle”, a term he used consistently to refer to the English-speaking network at school. Such disconnection was present not only between multiple social spaces at school, but it was also found at home. In contrast to participants who were eager to move to a residence geographically closer to English-speaking social spaces, participants in this category did not feel the need to gain access to English-speaking social spaces at home.

While these participants did not feel it was necessary to cross into English spaces since they were academically outstanding at school, others believed that crossing into multiple English spaces should be their main objective as late arrivals in North America, which led them to view English as essential capital.
English as essential capital.
Different from the previous category, this category, as Figure 14 English as an essential capital shows, presented social spaces that prioritize English sociocultural and language practices. Spaces of peer network, home and other spaces were positioned in the periphery. The multilingual outline implied a contradiction between English-dominant social space and the multilingual broader social space. Even though participants in this category were aware of the multilingual spaces, they believed that English played a central role in their social space.

Some participants perceived English as social and symbolic capital that they didn’t have, but that they considered essential for a successful life in North America. They encountered difficulties and felt frustrated in school, and believed that this was all due to their lower English proficiency. As Figure 14 shows, school in particular represented an important English space, and consequently played a significant role in these participants’ daily life. As long as their English proficiency was improving, these participants believed that they would not have any issues in English spaces at all. As Amanda stressed, the difficulties and frustrations she encountered at school, and her inability to form peer networks with English-speaking peers, was definitely because of her English proficiency “真的就是英语。只要英语好了，跟他们成为朋友真的不难。It is really just English. As long as [my] English becomes better, it is not difficult at all to become friends with them.” Ultimately these participants believed in additive bilingualism (Cummins, 1994), where learning English was adding to their symbolic capital and would enable them to use their multiple languages in a global era (as represented in the multilingual border in Figure 14).

Adolescent participants in this category also purposefully modified their daily life both in and out of school in order to improve their English, which they believed was essential for success in school and in North America. In this respect, ethnic density became a factor for participants in their choice of high school. When Amanda had to choose between two schools which were both adjacent to her residence, she chose the school with fewer Chinese students.
Figure 14 English as essential capital

Along these same lines, findings showed that these participants decreased their social contacts with Chinese peers, and explored resources in their L1 community that they could use to maximize communication opportunities with English-speaking counterparts. For example, Joe felt that he should explore more contexts in which he could practice English. If no such context is readily available, he would create one. Even though his school had a Mandarin-speaking Chinese group of adolescents, he managed to “avoid” them. During meal times, he would try to sit with students whose first language was not Mandarin so that the common language would be English. When he had to sit with Chinese adolescents, he would purposefully choose Cantonese-speaking adolescents, so that they had to use English for communication, since Cantonese speakers and Mandarin speakers cannot communicate with each other using their L1. Amanda had a similar experience during lunch breaks when she shortened the lunch time with her Chinese peers and went to the school library, to tutor her English-speaking counterparts in Math. By tutoring Math, she managed to have more chances to communicate with English-speaking adolescents, yet this connection failed to extend beyond school, which she
attributed solely to her limited English proficiency. “说太快我就听不到。什么什么，就是说了好几次他就觉得厌烦了。讲了一两次就觉得你们怎么这样子。Sometimes they spoke so fast that I could hardly follow. Pardon, pardon, after a few more times, they would feel frustrated. They repeated once or twice and wondered why you could not understand.”

It is important to note that these participants did not necessarily devalue L1 practice. English was given significant weight due to its dominance in North America; however, L1 was perceived as an obtained capital which did not require further efforts. Rather, in order to obtain more linguistic capital, they needed to deliberately focus their efforts on the urgent need to improve their English. Thus, Chinese space was regarded as playing a facilitating role in learning English, and not maintaining their L1. Consequently, this group minimized their use of the Chinese language and Chinese sociocultural practices across their multiple social spaces, and instead focused on negotiating and maximizing their opportunities for English practice.

To this group of late arrivals, home played a facilitating role as a place where they could explore resources, enhance their English sociocultural practices, and seek emotional support. Amanda explored resources at home to improve her English proficiency. “每天都很充实。在学校努力，家里又那样的配合。Every day is meaningful. (I) work hard at school, and the home facilitates.” She regularly read the Metro newspaper on the way to and from school, and when she came home, she listened to a radio program on the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) website and looked up new words she had tried to memorize in her dictionary. She also went online to explore resources for improving her listening skills, and went searching for strategies that other people had shared regarding how to learn English.

For these participants, language practice reflected the language users’ position in a language community and the weight they attributed to language as symbolic capital. As Bourdieu (1989) pointed out, agents’ vision of social capital depends on his/her position in the social space. These participants felt that they had obtained symbolic and social capital in their Chinese social space. As “insiders” of the space, they did not need to make more efforts to enhance their membership. Yet, as “outsiders” of English social spaces, they needed more practice to become legitimate members of that space. Adolescent participants’ experiences in English spaces therefore reinforced their perception that others posited them as “outsiders” of the Canadian mainstream society because of their limited English proficiency. Thus, it became their primary goal to improve their English proficiency in and out of school. This group’s experiences in other
spaces reinforced their belief that English spaces carried more symbolic weight in daily life.

**Summary**

Considered collectively, the findings of this study suggest that late arrivals’ language use in their daily life is complex, ever-changing, and greatly influences their border-crossing experiences and language identity formation. The adolescent participants in this study positioned themselves, and were positioned, in four ways in and across multiple social spaces, and attributed such positioning to their perceptions about English as symbolic capital. Some participants regarded English as embedded in their local social practice in North America, regardless of the language, sociocultural and race ethnic backgrounds of those in their social networks. Others considered English as an indicator of difference, which impacted their border-crossing in and out of various social spaces. In this case, AOA and LOR were regarded as core factors differentiating social groups. Still, others perceived English as not being pertinent to their life outside of classroom, and only pertinent to some courses in school, which consequently led to a further division of social spaces in school (i.e., “our” classes and “their” classes). And finally, some participants perceived English as more important symbolic capital than their L1 language. They believed that their first language held less symbolic capital in North American society, and that they would not become a legitimate member until they had acquired the same level of English proficiency.

According to these findings, social spaces should be characterized as being dynamic and fluid spaces of (a) language use, (b) social relations and (c) social activities. Late arrivals’ language use in daily life is neither static nor predictable. In my conceptual framework, I stressed the need to recognize the dialogic relationship between these three interdependent elements of social spaces. Each social space should be considered to be more dynamic and fluid because of its internal complexity as well as the complexity introduced from other spaces. In particular, school was found to be a site of multiple social and geographical spaces as opposed to either being characterized as (a) one social space embedded in multiple geographical spaces, or (b) one geographical space containing multiple social spaces. In this study, adolescent participants practiced different sociocultural activities in and across multiple geographical and social spaces. In the next section I discuss how these interpretations contribute to the conceptual notions in my conceptual framework.
**Implications**

In this section I present the implications of my findings for the conceptual notions discussed throughout the thesis. This discussion of implications will center on three significant conceptual dimensions: (a) *Multiple Worlds Model*, (b) Third Space, and (c) the nature of border-crossing, including the integrated notions of *symbolic power, investment and language identities*.

**Multiple worlds model.**

Considering these findings through the lens of my *Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model*, I suggest that ELL late arrivals’ experiences of language use in daily life are multidimensional and dynamic in nature. Adolescent participants positioned themselves, and were positioned, differently within and across different social spaces. This process was also dialogic, in that it continually shaped the adolescents as well as their different social spaces across time (i.e., the past, the present and the future).

These findings suggest that linguistic minority learners undergo sociocultural and linguistic mismatches in their daily life. This study supports the claims of *Multiple Worlds Model* (Phelan et al, 1991), which asserts that minority students encounter more difficulties in academic study when cultures and norms between schools, peers and home in daily life are insurmountably different. However, these findings also show that it is integral to consider the influence of social spaces, language use and language identities, both individually and collectively, when examining late arrivals’ language use within and across multiple spaces in daily life. In my opinion, future studies need to acknowledge the existence of social spaces and the sociocultural nature of the notion of “world” that my findings suggest.

When considering the original version of my conceptual framework in light of my findings, I feel that all social spaces should not be seen as holding the same level of significance for adolescent late arrivals. At times, home and/or school were the most “lively” of all of the social spaces in participants’ lives. In fact, home in particular was found to be a very disruptive space of language use for some participants because of the dialogic relationship between migration and symbolic capital. This study also revealed how multiple social spaces were embedded within the social spaces of school, peers and other spaces. These differences need to be taken into account when studying multiple social spaces.

**Why the notion of social space in sociolinguistic studies?**

The four categories of the focal participants’ border-crossing experiences indicate that it is important to incorporate the notion of social space into sociolinguistic studies, in particular
studies on late-arriving ELL adolescents’ language use in daily life. Lefebvre’s (1991) notion of social space helps uncover how the focal participants’ lived space is produced from *social activities* in *multiple languages* in and across *multiple social spaces*, and how each of these three factors respectively impact on the production of social space.

Incorporating the notion of social space into sociolinguistic studies, this study suggests a redefinition of language users’ social network. While social network refers to membership that individuals form through a “common history” (Gumperz, 1997, p.200), this definition stresses a temporal aspect of communicative experience. The findings of this study clearly indicate that the spatial aspect of communicative experience also play a significant role in the production of social network. Thus, this study suggests that language users’ social networks emerge from individuals’ shared communicative experience in similar spatial and temporal spaces with which individuals negotiate through their language use.

Lefebvre’s (1991) categorization of three types of spaces, perceived space (material settings), conceived space (the discourse on space) and lived space (the discourse of space) enable this study to develop insights on how the focal participants crossed perceived space, experienced conceived space, and formed their lived space. None of three spaces existed independently from other two spaces; neither were any social relations formed independent from any of the spaces. Through language use as a mediational tool, focal participants’ lived space went beyond one particular material setting such as a particular classroom, a singular dominant discourse (i.e., school curriculum and pedagogy), and spatial-temporal boundaries (i.e., virtual space). Their lived space is fluid and dynamic; it went beyond informal-formal educational spaces in which hybrid funds of knowledge were negotiated and consolidated. Third space emerged from their collective participation of hybrid sociocultural and language practice, which I discuss in the following section.

**Third Space.**
As a result of this phenomenon of different positioning, and being positioned, late arrivals’ language use in daily life was shown to be quite multidimensional. Using my *Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model*, I was able to explain why some late arrivals did not feel that it was necessary to gain access to certain social spaces. Instead, a Third Space emerged, where late arrivals felt it was necessary to practice hybrid uses of language and engage in collective sociocultural activities. Although Cummins (2010) and some other researchers encourage the
creation of a third space among language learners, my findings reveal that ELLs do not always create a third space as it is described in the literature. This Third Space was both messy and dynamic – not only did it appear whenever there was a need for hybrid use of language, but it also emerged between many social spaces where insurmountable differences appeared.

Conventionally, the notion of Third Space has focused on the disjunction between broader social spaces, like home and school, or school and community; whereas, in this study, Third Spaces emerged both between and within participants’ social spaces. Consequently, as shown in my Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model, a Third Space has the potential to emerge everywhere.

The findings of this study support the claim that Third Space is a collective development zone (Gutiérrez, 2008), where ELLs have discursive opportunities to engage in hybrid literacy and language practice. This study found that this collective development zone involves a diversity of mediational tools, and extends more spaces. Participants employed diverse mediational tools such as their expertise in Math, their advanced L1, sports and music in order to engage in hybrid sociocultural and language practice. Such hybrid social practice takes place in Math class, in the school library, in the cafeteria, in after-class school clubs, in the community center, and in virtual space. It extends beyond school, and formal and informal educational settings, thus participants negotiated and consolidated hybrid funds of knowledge, which is more complex than most studies have found. The production and process of hybrid social practice in the Third Space build and maintain complex social relations beyond formal educational settings, enable hybrid practice, and encourage hybrid identities.

The Third Space is not just the outcome of social activity (Löw, 2008); however, the findings of this study show that a Third Space can also be the source of social activity. In other words, instead of a Third Space passively emerging from social activity, participants in this study actively created Third Spaces in response to marginalization and exclusion from the social spaces in which they found themselves. At times, the availability of material resources such as technology (i.e., the Internet), and frequent travelling enabled participants to actively form a Third Space, where they either resisted or appropriated sets of target sociocultural and language products, and distribution of resources such as English skills (i.e., speaking and writing) and youth pop culture.

In addition to these implications, my findings point to the existence of a more dynamic relationship between three central concepts related to participants’ border-crossing and the
The implications of the findings for these theoretical concepts are discussed in the next section.

**The nature of border-crossing: Symbolic power, investment and language identities.**

The findings of my study suggest that the nature of border-crossing for late-arriving adolescent ELLs uncovers their lived space of language use. The four categories of border-crossing experiences reflect focal participants’ varied perception of English sociocultural and linguistic capital, which involves three pivotal elements: *symbolic power, investment and language identities*. As Figure 15 shows, the border crossing observed in this study (as represented by my conceptual framework graphic at the bottom of the figure) was influenced by the interrelation of these three elements, with symbolic power being paramount in the process. The double arrows are meant to add a dialogic dimension showing how participants’ border crossing also influenced what types of symbolic capital were most powerful, which consequently affected their language identity formation and investment.

**The importance of symbolic power.**

Language as a symbolic power played a significant role in shaping participants’ language identities and investment, while language identities and investment influenced symbolic power, but to a lesser extent. The interrelationship represented in this figure is discussed in related literature. Fairclough (2001) stated that symbolic power shapes social order and the relations of social groupings. More specifically, language as symbolic power determines ELLs’ access to linguistic resources, and other dominant symbolic capital that ELLs believe are worthy of symbolic and material investment (Bourdieu, 1989; Norton, 1995; Toohey, 2000; Shin, 2010). As my findings show, this process of investment affects, and is affected by the ongoing formation of ELLs’ language identities that either conform to or become resistant to dominant discourse.

Language as symbolic power privileges some social spaces of dominant sociocultural and language practices, and disadvantages others. In this way, language is regarded as the social possession of “real members” (Gee, 1990). Those people who have had a longer sociocultural history and practice with the target language are regarded as owning the language resources. Consequently, social spaces of different sociocultural and language practices are positioned differently because of the access to dominant language resources. The further distance a social space is from these resources, the less symbolic weight the social space has. For example, a
school with a larger number of Chinese students appeared less desirable to both adolescent participants and their parents, because it had fewer English-speaking students who were “real members” of English communities (i.e., fewer ideal language resources). In this regard, the adolescent border-crossing seen in this study resulted from this same perception and negotiation of dominant symbolic difference between various social spaces.

In line with the existing theoretical literature, these findings show how symbolic power should not be treated as neutral since it produces unequal relations between different language groups, and results in language groups’ unequal access to dominant symbolic capital. Adolescent participants in this study perceived their language(s) other than English and sociocultural practices as being a disadvantage that could be remedied by further investment in English. In particular, most adolescent participants and their parents considered a late AOA and L1 practice as limitations to obtaining English symbolic capital, since these two factors differentiated them from other language groups (i.e., English-as-the-native-language groups, early arrivals, Canadian-born Chinese). This perception inevitably impacted adolescent participants’ investment in developing English skills and identities.

Figure 15 Nature of border-crossing
**Investment.**

Adolescent participants were found to have a comprehensive investment for more access to dominant symbolic capital. According to Norton (1995), such investment includes both material investment and symbolic investment. She defines material investment as capital goods, real estate and money, and symbolic investment as language, education and friendship. Both types of investment were found in my study. Similar to Shin (2010), my findings showed that learning English was an economic activity requiring material investment; however, financial resources were not the only factor in participants’ access to language resources. Rather, participants were found to be more engaged in symbolic investment than material investment. Specifically, participants were found investing more in accessing symbolic and social capital (e.g., friendship) to enhance their English language practice.

Other than material investment, participants in my study had significant symbolic investment in the English language and dominant North American sociocultural practices. The symbolic investment includes their efforts to improve a particular English skill (i.e., listening, speaking, writing, and reading), to familiarize themselves with particular aspects of youth pop culture (e.g., movies and sports), and to access English-dominant social networks. A frequently discussed strategy in related literature was also found in this study: exploring access to English-speaking networks (Duff, 2001; Liang, 2006; Miller, 2003; Norton, 1995). However, this study revealed an additional strategy at play in participants’ symbolic investment process: avoiding the same-language networks. Specifically, while exploring access to English-speaking networks, participants actively avoided Chinese-speaking groups. In fact, not only did they seek out native English-speaking peers from different racial backgrounds, but they also approached ethnic-Chinese peers (e.g., Cantonese speakers) who did not share the same first language but were of the similar racial background. Such symbolic investment undoubtedly reflected participants’ language identities, which I discuss in the next section.

**Language identities.**

The findings of this study support the contention that language identity is a social construct, and is also a site of struggle (Norton, 2000). In this study, the symbolic power of language shaped participants’ language identities. For example, most adolescent participants in this study did not perceive their multiple language user identities as being a strength since none of the languages they were proficient in were regarded as dominant symbolic capital in North America.
According to Norton (1995), language identity as a social construct and site of struggle also impacts investment, where ELLs either conform to or challenge existing dominant discourses that they encounter. Participants in this study invested in the dominant symbolic capital by capitalizing on opportunities to communicate with “real members” and leaving Chinese language groups. Some adolescent participants also conformed to traditional model minority images of East Asian students as quiet, obedient and academically excellent (McKay & Wong, 1996).

The findings of this study suggest that investment and language identities are strongly interrelated. In the course of investment, the negotiation, and consolidation or frustration with target language practice affected the social construct of participants’ language identities. Other studies have found that language identity impacts ELLs’ selective investment in specific sociocultural and language practices in response to certain dominant discourses related to the model minority (McKay & Wong, 1996), ethnicity and race (Duff, 2002; Norton, 1995). In line with these studies, my findings showed that participants challenged the dominant discourse that English can only be the native language of Anglo-Saxon people. My participants believed that English should not be regarded as the sole social possession of any particular ethnic or racial group. Rather, English should be an international language in a multilingual society. Consequently, participants did not merely invest in engaging more social contact with Anglo-Saxon people. They invested in extensive social spaces (e.g. social networks with people from diverse backgrounds) where they could practice English as an international language. This language identity inevitably impacted participants’ border-crossing since some participants felt it was unnecessary to access Anglo-Saxon dominant social spaces. Further, the resistance to this dominant discourse explains the emergence of a Third Space in the findings of my study, where hybrid sociocultural and language practice were adopted.

In addition to the theoretical understanding that language identity influences investment, findings from this study showed that symbolic investment greatly influenced ELLs’ language identities. During the process of investment, participants were resistant to some dominant discourses, and consequently challenged dominant English practice in social spaces such as classes of different school subjects. Most adolescent participants self-identified as “outsiders” in English literature classes and Social Studies. Consequently, they did not invest much in those courses. They either avoided those courses, or chose to remain quiet in those classes. In contrast, they invested more in core subject classes such as Math and Science, where they felt they were
more “insiders” of the classes because of their expertise in the content knowledge.

**How do these interrelations affect border-crossing?**

The findings of this study contributed to the theoretical discussion on the nature of border-crossing. The border-crossing found in this study revealed a process of negotiation among symbolic power, investment and language identities. In this process, while symbolic power played a significant role in border-crossing, the dynamic relationship between investment and language identity also changed the course of participants’ border-crossing. Theoretical discussion on border-crossing for late arrival ELLs should therefore take into account the interrelation of these three notions.

In the next chapter, I answer my research questions, discuss pedagogical implications, acknowledge the limitations of my study, and present an epilogue to this study.
CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction
Chapter 5 presents the narratives of 10 adolescent participants. Chapters 6 and 7 introduce the findings of the cross-case analysis, and Chapter 8 discusses these findings using the lens of the Critical Multiple Social Spaces Model. In this chapter, I summarize the findings and use the research questions as an organizer; discuss the implications of these findings at various levels; and explain the limitations of this study. This chapter concludes with an epilogue providing an update on the adolescent participants.

Summary of Findings
What are the experiences of late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents in terms of their language use in Canada?
Participants’ experiences in and across multiple social spaces in their daily life – school, home, peers and other spaces – were complex. Regardless of their residential status as immigrants or international students, late age on arrival (AOA) and limited English proficiency, together with other reasons (e.g., insufficient knowledge of North America) were main factors shaping their experiences of multiple language practice, social activities and language identity formation in daily life.

School.
School was full of multiple social spaces due to routine social activities in different languages with different social groups. Participants viewed their affiliation with multiple social spaces differently, and explored strategies (i.e., doing things together) in accessing and crossing multiple spaces. In classes on English Literature and Social Studies, they positioned themselves as outsiders because of (a) their limited English proficiency, (b) lack of understanding of sociocultural knowledge of North America, (c) their quiet personalities, and (d) their self-positioning as linguistic minority students who were not entitled to express different opinions from the majority. On the contrary, they perceived core subject classes (i.e., Math) as “our” courses, and reported more active participation in those classes. They used Mandarin in core subject classes to show their dominance or their expertise of the content knowledge. Out of class, adolescent participants perceived the school cafeteria as a social space for Chinese students, a place where they had lunch and shared sociocultural activities. The library became a social space where they could have access to other social spaces. Some participants reported crossing social
spaces by either having lunch with people from different backgrounds in the cafeteria, or going to the school library to tutor their English-speaking counterparts in Math during the lunch break. Interestingly, some participants regarded school clubs as an entry into a different social space where they were able to practice English with their English-speaking counterparts, while other participants considered school clubs as being a social space for L1 sociocultural and linguistic practice.

*Home.*

The findings suggest that home is also a contested space of language practice because of the dialogic relationships between migration and symbolic capital. Both parents and adolescent participants regarded late AOA as being a disadvantage for integration into Canada. Parents preferred their children to be fully immersed in English social spaces, and encouraged their children to use English only, in order to quickly obtain the symbolic capital necessary for a solid life in North America.

As late-arrivals, adolescent participants had strong roots in Chinese culture and tradition. Thus, they did not necessarily have conflicts with their parents regarding academic expectations and career choices. Instead, participants who had lived apart from their parents for more of their childhood experienced more conflicts with parents, regardless of residential status as international students or immigrants. However, the sociocultural guidance pattern between parents and late arrivals underwent changes. While parents played a leading role by recommending culturally-embedded resources and strategies, adolescents also actively recommended resources and strategies learned from school to their parents. Yet, for a number of reasons, neither groups could convince the other to use the proposed strategies or resources.

*Peer network.*

The findings show that late arrivals were more likely to be in the same networks regardless of the length of their residence in Canada (1 to 4 years in this study). Most participants in this study regarded a late AOA as a disadvantageous factor in gaining access to multiple social spaces, because they felt that a late AOA led to: (a) limited English proficiency, and (b) insufficient understanding of North American sociocultural and historical knowledge.

When accessing English social spaces in Canada, adolescent participants encountered resistance from English-speaking adolescents. Most participants believed that it was because of: (a) their limited English proficiency, (b) different life experiences, (c) different sociocultural and
linguistic backgrounds, and (d) lack of common interests. To access English-speaking peers, some adolescent participants either avoided social activities with Chinese peers, or explored opportunities to do things together with English-speaking peers (i.e., having lunch, tutoring Math).

This study found two major opinions regarding adolescent participants’ perception of their Chinese peer networks, both in China and Canada. The first group felt positive about their Chinese peer network in Canada as a local social group with a distinct culture from their home country. This local social group had multiple meanings to participants: (a) it had hybrid language and sociocultural practices that were distinct from their peers in the home country; (b) it was an inevitable consequence due to a large number of Chinese communities in the GTA; and (c) it gave a sense of attachment and social recognition, which was very important because they experienced resistance from English-speaking counterparts. In contrast, another group felt that Chinese social spaces were a hindrance to full integration into an English network because: (a) the Chinese-dominant social space left no space for English language and sociocultural practice; and (b) the Chinese social space became a comfort zone where participants did not take the risk for crossing borders. These findings show that code-switching was constantly used in Chinese peer networks: (a) as a strategy to improve English proficiency, and (b) as a consequence of more involvement in English-dominant school curriculum (i.e., Social Studies and English literature).

Age on arrival emerged as a significant factor influencing adolescent participants’ access to both English social spaces and Chinese social spaces of early arrivals as well as Canadian-born Chinese (CBC). They believed that it was a different AOA that led to such dissimilarity between early arrivals and CBCs, and themselves. Late arrivals in this study regarded early arrivals and CBCs as “foreigners” who had different sociocultural and linguistic practices, even though they were part of ethnic Chinese communities.

**Other spaces.**

This study found that adolescent participants’ language use out of school was impacted by (a) their religion, (b) family’s connections to the society, (c) English proficiency, and (d) their language identity. Their choice of supplementary resources reveals their learning beliefs. While participants tended to choose Chinese-dominant supplementary education organizations to improve their testing skills, they preferred English-speaking organizations to improve English
proficiency (i.e., English speaking and writing skills).

Participants’ choice of volunteering was influenced by their self-positioning as ELLs in an English-dominant society. Many perceived their limited English as a negative factor in choosing more interactive volunteering opportunities. Instead, they chose volunteering assignments that required little or no English. Their self-positioning as ELLs was also reflected in their experiences in public services. They believed that their English proficiency was not sufficient to voice their concerns during a dispute. Thus, in case of dispute, they tended to keep silent.

Most participants were active in the virtual space where they had more active interaction with different social groups both locally and globally, switching between Chinese dialects, Korean and English as necessary.

**How do the experiences of late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents’ English use in one language world impact on their experiences in another world?**

This study identified four categories in regard to participants’ experiences within and across multiple social spaces. The first category perceived English use as an indicator of local social networks in North America. Participants actively socialized with everyone regardless of linguistic, cultural and historical backgrounds. Outsiders may have viewed the participants in this category to be socializing with the same-ethnic adolescents to outsiders, yet they viewed this network as a local network due to their geographical residence in North America.

In the second category - where English was an indicator of acculturation - participants considered their L1 and L2 background detrimental to English use. Such linguistic and sociocultural difference interfered with their access to different social spaces. AOA became an important factor categorizing people regardless of racial ethnic background. Some participants believed that English proficiency would be improved by the length of residence in an English-speaking country, regardless of social networks and language practice. CBC and early arrivals were regarded as a different group, which had more advantages due to their shared life experiences with English-speaking counterparts. Interestingly, some participants also believed that adolescents who arrived later than they did were also different since they would not have the same acculturation level as them.

The third category, participants perceived English as a tool for accessing school curriculum. Their academic performance in school determined their language practice in other spaces. Some participants’ academic performance at school met their parents’ and their own expectations. As a
result, they did not intend to change their language practice in other social spaces. Participants in this category remained in the Chinese space and isolated from English, yet they were aware that English space was the dominant in the society.

The fourth category believed that English capital was essential for a solid life in North America. Thus, participants believed that it was important to obtain English capital in order to add value to their symbolic capital and would enable them to use their multiple languages in a global era. Chinese capital was considered obtained capital which did not need additional effort to maintain the current stage. In this regard, more weight was placed upon the acquisition of English capital because of participants’ current position in English space.

_How do late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences with English use across multiple worlds impact on their choices for life after high school?_

Participants planned to take higher education after high school. The findings show that there were more reasons other than just meeting parents’ expectations. As late-arrivals, this group had been deeply rooted in Chinese culture and didn’t have conflicts with their parents regarding the value of education. Some participants and their parents were aware that the main purpose of immigration was for education. Some participants took university education as a reward to parents’ financial investment, while some considered university education as a solution to improve family socioeconomic status (SES).

In regard to majors in university, their choice revealed their personal interests and also their self-positioning as a linguistic minority in North America. The majority of participants choose majors related to Math and Science. Working in a field of Science which has a different requirement of English was considered a better choice for linguistic minorities. It also revealed accumulative symbolic capitals from high school life. As English language learners (ELL) in high school, it was easier for them to excel in Math and other core courses which further shaped their choice of major for university.

This study showed that the migration flow would continue after higher education, because not all participants planned to settle in Canada or North America. Out of ten participants, five planned to stay in Canada, while one of them was undecided between returning to China and staying in Canada. Five participants believed that they should go back to Asia after the completion of higher education and two participants planned to go to the USA. Their future plans revealed that the migration wave did not stop at the completion of their education. To maximize
symbolic capital in a global job market, this migration wave extended beyond the current stage.

How do late-arriving Mainland Chinese adolescents perceive their current English use across multiple worlds regarding their potential success in university/college in Canada?

Most participants felt ill-prepared for the university curriculum because of their English proficiency and learning strategies. Participants believed that English would continue to play a dominant role in university as Canada was an English-dominant country. English proficiency should affect their academic studies and social networks. They felt that a successful university life in Canada was closely linked to English proficiency; English was a means to social recognition in English-dominant society.

Some participants believed that social division between language groups would continue to exist. They envisioned that they would continue to mainly socialize with Chinese students while crossing to an English network would still be difficult. Some believed that they should have multiple social networks which they should freely cross and in which their voices would be equally heard. After their English improved, participants wished to be members of multiple networks. More importantly, they expected that English wouldn’t be a barrier in their daily life in university anymore so that they could freely communicate with people of any age or background in Canada. To some participants, university was perceived as a chance to break away from their current Chinese social network and to be in an English-speaking network.

Implications at Various Levels

In this section, I present the implications of this study for professionals, educators and community members. It is divided into three sections: (a) schools, (b) communities, and (c) teacher education.

Schools.

The findings of this study suggest that schools have multiple social spaces, in which late arrivals position themselves, and are positioned, differently. While studies have suggested that ELLs usually develop conversational, context-based English skills first, this study found that late arrival ELLs participated more actively in core classes, which required context-reduced English. Because of late arrivals’ previous rigorous learning experiences in core courses, they felt that they encountered less challenge in those classes. This study suggests a core-class based ESL program. Instead of lacking both the knowledge of English literature and English proficiency in literature based ESL programs, late arrivals will have core-class based ESL programs have fewer barriers because they are usually experts in content knowledge yet not proficient in English
language. Therefore, it would be ideal to provide sheltered content classes in areas such as Math and Science in addition to traditional ESL courses in high schools with late arriving immigrant students.

**Communities.**

This study found that social division continued to exist between late-arriving Chinese ELL adolescents and the mainstream in their four-year residence in Canada. Moreover, such social division did not only exist between learners from different racial and sociocultural communities; it also existed between early arrivals, CBCs, and late arrivals. This study calls for more community activities creating opportunities for late arrivals to engage in more sociocultural activities with early arrivals and CBCs. While early arrivals and CBCs need more L1 practice and a deeper understanding of L1 culture, late arrivals need more English practice and North American sociocultural knowledge. Both parties (i.e., early arrivals and CBCs, and late arrivals) can be good resources for each other. While many communities have implemented programs to improve the L1 proficiency of early arrivals’ and CBCs’ and their understandings of their home country, late arrivals feel isolated from their new society.

**Teacher education.**

This study makes its contribution to teacher education by bringing the complexity of late arrivals’ experiences in daily life to the forefront. The findings of this study show that late arrivals migrated for a better education and a better life in North America, yet their migration may continue afterwards. To obtain ideal symbolic capital, they migrated between multiple social spaces during their education in North America, and would continue to migrate for more symbolic capital in a global era. This requires that teachers adopt a global perspective toward learners and migration. Instead of looking at late arrivals as a group of deficient learners, this study calls for educators to consider the notion that late arrivals as a group of learners migrating for symbolic capital

This study provides a deeper insight in regard to ELLs’ silence in class participation. Adolescent participants reported more active in core classes, and tended to maintain silence in English literature and Arts. Their silence in English literature and Social Studies courses is not merely a matter of (a) English proficiency, (b) knowledge of North American sociocultural and historical knowledge, and (c) critical thinking skills. Rather, such silence should be understood as part of the dynamics of interaction between the majority and minority students.

**Epilogue**
When I was writing this dissertation in January, 2012, the ten core participants were moving to a new stage of their lives as well. To protect their identities, the institute or department where they studied has been modified; for example, the Department of Science may be changed to the Department of Engineering, or vice versa. Some of them attended the University of Toronto which has three campuses, while others went to universities outside of Toronto.

Amanda still remains out of contact. I left messages online, but have never received a response back. As usual, her cell phone was always turned off. She had an account on Facebook and Renren, yet there was almost nothing on her webpage except one photo she took a while ago in Canada. To celebrate the 2012 Chinese New Year in February, I invited her to my home for dinner. She could not come as she said that she needed more time to prepare for her IELTS test.

Angel is in the second year of her college study. She is majoring in Accounting and hopes to graduate soon. She moved out of her aunt’s house and now lives in a high-rise building. She found a part-time job in a fast-food chain store. She is still experiencing a lot of pressure from her parents related to their expectations of her after settling in Toronto and wrote quite a few messages on Chinese Twitter expressing this frustration and fear of disappointing her parents. I tried to invite her out but failed.

Ivana is studying at a university outside of Toronto, majoring in Media Studies. She lives in a school dorm, sharing a room with an English-speaking white girl. In her Renren and Facebook page, she constantly shares her experiences with her roommate, which has focused mostly on different perceptions of university life. Once, when she refused to go out and drink, she was questioned as to why she did not drink alcohol. She wrote on Renren that university students do not have to get drunk. During the Christmas holiday, her roommate asked her if it was okay to have a Christmas tree in the room. Ivana felt that it was very sweet of her roommate to ask, and since she was also a Christian, there was no problem. In 2012, she was recruited by a well-known TV program in China working as a TV program assistant. On her Facebook page, she posted many photos showing how she worked with TV hosts and professionals who are well-known in China.

Joe is now in Grade 12, busy applying to a number of universities. Over the holiday, he flew back to Hong Kong to meet his friends, and later he and his family went to the Maldives to celebrate the New Year. He applied to universities in Canada and the USA, and at the time of
writing this chapter, he had received admission letters from several Canadian universities and one private university in the USA to major in Science.

Justin is studying at the University of Toronto, majoring in Science. He lives in the school dorm and had uploaded quite a lot of pictures regarding his dorm and his university life online. I met him and his girlfriend once at the Eaton Center (i.e., a mall in Toronto). He introduced me to his girlfriend, who studies at another university in another city.

Rachel studies Management at the University of Toronto. She did not experience a great deal of pressure from her studies, but was still under pressure from her mother over her relationship with her boyfriend. Her mother did not like this boyfriend, since she did not feel this young man would be able to provide a stable life for Rachel. To convince her mother, this young man quit his studies at the University of Toronto and began a certificate program to become an electrician in order to get a secure job. But a few months later, Rachel announced on Facebook that they had broken up. Rachel has a support group of friends, mostly Chinese friends, who encourage each other to work hard in order to be successful in university study. I invited her once to my home for a hotpot dinner. She suggested that my son, John, should always hang out with “好的朋友 friends with good qualities”. She felt that one of the most important factors that had helped her perform well at university is that she has a group of friends who also want to excel.

Kira is studying Engineering at the University of Toronto. In the first week of her freshman year, she asked me whether she should join in the Frosh Week activities that were organized by various organizations on campus to help new students become familiar with university culture. I suggested that she attend these activities. In our online conversation after she said she would go, I said “try to meet more people from different backgrounds”. She promptly disappeared from our online conversation, saying nothing afterwards. I’ve left a few notes on her Messenger inviting her out and have not received a response so far. Later, when I invited her to my home for a 2012 Chinese New Year dinner, she politely refused. I have obviously crossed some line and may have offended her.

David is studying at the Department of Engineering at the University of Toronto as well. His father recently moved to Toronto from Beijing, China. Now he lives with his parents, who are both learning English. Tony goes to a language program at a university outside of Toronto. After completing this language program successfully, he will be admitted to an Engineering
program at this university. Like Tony, Travis went to a university outside of Toronto as well, majoring in Engineering. He did not share much about his university life online.

With regard to the participants who took my survey, I keep in contact with some of them online but I have lost contact with most of them. I can report that those with whom I am still in contact are all at university now. During this winter holiday, they all left Toronto. Some flew back to China, and some went to the USA or the UK. From their online activity, it seems that romantic relationships have now become central issues. As a married woman, a university teacher and a mother of a teenager, I sometimes offered my perceptions and suggestions, knowing that they may not tell their parents what they were going through. Hopefully my advice helped.

After my doctoral study, I also plan to go back to China and reunite with my family, much like some of my participants. However, after a five years of residence in Canada, there is still uncertainty in regard to my son’s resettlement in China and my re-entry into the workforce. In this global era, there are more and more learners migrating between different educational systems for many different reasons. This raises more questions for educators, researchers and parents, including the question of how we prepare learners for an emigrational era, linguistically and culturally.

**Limitations and Future Directions**

The conceptual framework, *Critical multiple social spaces model*, is an effective unifying framework to understand focal Chinese ELL adolescents’ language use in daily life. However, I am aware that this conceptual framework does not touch on every significant factor emerging from the data, for example gender, and residential status (i.e., international students and immigrants). These topics will be included in my future agenda of research and writing.

Participants in this study were all adolescents between 16 and 20 years old and studying at eight different high schools. I was not granted permission to observe their interaction at school, or other geographical environments. While limiting, I did spend considerable time observing their interactions online which make up an important part of many teenagers’ lives. Ideally, involvement in all spaces of their life might have provided a more complete picture of their language use, but I feel comfortable that the opportunities that I had were well utilized and representative of their overall language use.

Some participants did not want me to interview their parents or guardians. This is not
unusual and reveals a typical feature of young adults due to their stage of social psychological development. Yet it would have been ideal if I could have heard both sides of the story. Parents or guardians would have had valuable viewpoints and observations.

As a language minority researcher from the Chinese community – and as a mother who has a child studying in the Canadian public system as a linguistic minority – I feel personally attached to the participants and their families. This emotional attachment enabled me to bring the perspective of a community insider to this study, and helped to reveal another layer that might not have been visible to others.

This study focused on late-arriving ELL adolescents coming to Canada from Mainland China, with an AOA of 15, and length of residence of no more than four years. As this study stressed, even though this group was also one component in the overall ethnic Chinese community, issues that this group encountered were different compared to early arrivals and CBCs. However, due to this group’s sociocultural backgrounds, the applicability of these findings to late-arrivals from other ethnic groups may be limited.

As this group was very dynamic in terms of their migration plans, some participants constantly travelled between China and Canada during their studies in the Canadian educational system. Some participants will continue to migrate after their education in Canada. In this regard, it would have been interesting to know how their traveling to China and other places impacted their interpretation, language practice and identity related to being a linguistic minority in the Canadian educational system. For example, one adolescent who was not directly involved in this study could be the focus of further research. Jamie, Kira’s close friend, returned to China due to conflicts that she had encountered with her parents in Canada. How she interprets her experiences between two educational systems as a circular migrational learner could form the basis for a future study.
REFERENCES


Coalition for Asian American Children and Families (2012). “We’re not even allowed to ask for help”: Debunking the myth of the model minority. Pumphouse Projects. Chapter 3, P. 4


APPENDICES

A: Recruitment Flyer

This study, *Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada*, looks at a group of Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences of language use in and out of high school at the GTA. This study is for the doctoral study of the researcher. You are invited to this study if you:

- have resided in Canada for no more than four years,
- had resided in Mainland China for the majority of their life prior to your landing to Canada and,
- are currently a full time student of secondary school at the GTA.

At the first stage, I, Yamin Qian, will invite you to answer a survey which will take you **20 minutes.** Afterwards, with your permission and your parents’ permission, you and your parents will be invited for the second stage study, which will last four months.

At the second stage study, **you** will be invited to:

- take **4 interviews**,  
- write **4 journals**  
- fill up a four-week basis language activity basis.

Also, I will conduct an observation twice. **Your parents** will take **one interview**. You will be compensated for your participation in this study. As an experienced English teacher, I will also offer some suggestions in regard to your language study.

If you are interested, please contact me at: 416-xxx-xxxx or yamin.qian@XXX

Yamin Qian  
Ph.D. Candidate  
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,  
University of Toronto 2010
(Chinese Translation of Flyers)

此项研究关注一组来自中国大陆高中移民学生在学校内外的英语学习状况。该项研究是本人博士学习研究的一个必需环节。本人诚挚邀请你的参与，如果你:

- 居住在加拿大的时间没有超过四年，
- 在登陆加拿大之前主要的时间都住在中国大陆，
- 目前在多伦多地区读高中。

在本研究第一阶段中，我将首先邀请回答一个大约20分钟的调查问卷。在得到你本人和你父母的同意之后，我将会请你参加第二阶段的研究。在为期四个月的第二阶段，我会:

- 对你做四次访谈，
- 请你写四篇日记，
- 填写一个四周的语言活动记录。

另外，我会对你做两次观察。你的父母会被邀请受访。对于你的参与，我会给予一定的酬谢。同时作为感谢，我将会对你的英语学习提出一定的建议。如果您有兴趣参加，请联系416-xxx-xxxx 或 yamin.qian@XXX。

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电话：416-xxx-xxxx
电邮：yamin.qian@XXX
B: Letter and Consent Form to the Parents/Guardians for Phase One Study

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
University of Toronto

This study, *Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada*, looks at a group of Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences of language use in and out of high school at The GTA. This study is for the doctoral study of the researcher. In this study, I, Yamin Qian, as the researcher, will

- be inviting YOUR CHILD to answer a survey, to learn their experiences with language use at different space in their life in Canada.
- invite your child to provide contact information so that we can access your child for the second stage study.

All your child’s information will NOT be used and revealed by/to other researchers, without your permission. You are under no obligation to agree to participate in this study. He/She may refuse to answer any questions, to stop the interview at any time. His/Her name will not be identified in any report or presentation that may arise from the study. Only I will have access to the information collected during the study. Data will be destroyed five years after the completion of research. The findings of this study will be presented at conferences and included in a range of publications. Appropriate compensation will be made for his/her participation.

You will be asked to sign the consent form for study, attached to this page, to show that you understand the purpose of this study and how your child will be involved in it. You will be given a copy of the consent form and a feedback form for you to make comments on the interview. Should you have any complaint of this study, please contact the office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Yamin Qian

Signature_________________________  Date_________

OISE, University of Toronto
Tel Number: 416--xxx-xxxx
Email: yamin.qian@XXX
(Chinese Translation of Information Letter for Parents/Guardians)

此项研究关注十个来自中国大陆高中移民学生在学校内外的英语学习状况。该项研究是本人博士学习研究的一个必需环节。在这个研究期间，我，钱亚敏，将会邀请你小孩完成一个问卷。该研究的目的是了解你小孩在英语学习中经历的困难以及所使用的策略。他（她）的参与将帮助我们增进对这一群体的认识，了解其需求，并促进加拿大社会对这一群体的改变。该问卷费时约20分钟。访问的内容主要是关于你小孩在学校，与朋友，与家人等的语言使用情况。另外，我还会请他留下他（她）的联系方式。如果你同意，我们会联系他（她）做第二阶段的调查。

没有你的许可，你小孩的所有信息将不会公布给他人。问卷期间你小孩有权利拒绝回答其中任何一个问题，或者随时中止。他（她）的名字将不会公布在任何与此研究相关的报告中。只有我能接触此研究的所有数据。此研究结束五年后该数据将被销毁。此研究的结果将会在各类学术会议和期刊上发表。对于他（她）的参与，我将会给予一定的酬谢。你将会被要求在附在这封信后的同意书上签字，以示你已经了解这个研究的意图，并且同意你小孩参与该研究。我会给你此信的副本。你还会得到本文件的副本一份，和一份意见反馈表。如果你对该项目研究有任何投诉，请发邮件到研究伦理办公室 ethnics.review@utoronto.ca 或致电 416-946-3273.

钱亚敏
安省教育学院，多伦多大学
电话：416-xxx-xxxx
电邮：yamin.qian@XXX
Consent form For Phase One study (to be signed by parents or guardians)

Title of the Research: Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada
Researcher: Yamin Qian
Affiliation: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto

Please sign and return the consent form to me

FOR THE PARENT/GUARDIAN: Please check one of the two boxes.

☐ I, ______________________________, agree to allow my child ______________________________ to participate in this study which involves answering ONE survey.

☐ I, ______________________________, do not wish that my child ______________________________ participate in this study which involves answering ONE survey. I understand that his/her non-participation will NOT bring about any undesirable consequence from the researcher.

Signature of parent/guardian: _________ Name (please print): ___________ Date: ________

(Chinese translation of the consent form)

(一：家长或监护人)

请签字并交还给研究者本人

请在下列两项中选择同意的一项画钩。

☐ 我，___________________________，同意我小孩参加这项研究，完成一份问卷调查。我同意小孩参加这项研究。

☐ 我，___________________________，不同意参加这项研究，不同意我小孩完成一份问卷调查。我知道我不参与该项研究不会对我小孩有任何不利。

签字: ________________ 名字（印刷体）: ________________ 日期: ________________
C: Letter to Chinese Adolescents for Phase One Study

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
University of Toronto

This study, *Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada*, looks at a group of Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences of language use in and out of high school at the GTA. This study is for the doctoral study of the researcher. In this study, I, Yamin Qian, as the researcher, will

- be inviting to answer a survey taking **20 minutes**, to learn your experiences with language use at different space in their life in Canada.
- the survey focuses on your language use at home, at school, with your peers and other spaces.
- invite you to provide contact information so that I can access you for the second stage study.

All your information will NOT be used and revealed by/to other researchers, without your permission. You are under no obligation to agree to participate in this study. You may refuse to answer any questions, to stop the interview at any time. Your name will NOT be identified in any report or presentation that may arise from the study. Only I will have access to the information collected during the study. Data will be destroyed five years after the completion of research. The findings of this study will be presented at conferences and included in a range of publications. Appropriate compensation will be made for your participation.

If you are above 18 years old, you will be asked to sign the consent form for the study which is attached to this page, to show that you understand the purpose of this study and how you will be involved in it. If you are under 18 years old, you will be asked to give this copy to your parents or guardians for their permission of your participation. You will be given a copy of the consent form and a feedback form for you to make comments on the interview. Should you have any complaint of this study, please contact the office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Yamin Qian

Signature_________________________ Date_________

OISE, University of Toronto
Tel Number: 416-xxx-xxxx
Email: yamin.qian@XXX
(Chinese Translation of Information Letter for Adolescents)

此项研究关注六个来自中国大陆高中移民学生在学校内外的英语学习状况。该项研究是本人博士学习研究的一个必需环节。在这个研究期间，我，钱亚敏，将会对你的英语学习经历做详细的访谈。该研究的目的是了解你在英语学习中经历的困难以及所使用的策略。你的参与将帮助我们增进对这一群体的认识，了解其需求，并促进加拿大社会对这一群体的改变。

我将会邀请你完成一份问卷调查，历时20分钟。问卷的内容主要是关于你在学校，与朋友，与家人等的语言使用情况。另外，我还会请你留下你的联系方式。如果你同意，我们会联系你参加第二阶段的研究。没有你的许可，你的所有信息将不会公布给他人。你没有义务必须完成我的问卷调查。问卷期间你有权拒绝回答其中任何一个问题，或者随时中止。你的名字将不会公布在任何与此研究相关的报告中。只有我能接触此研究的所有数据。此研究结束五年后该数据将会被销毁。此研究的结果将会在各类学术会议和期刊上发表。对于你的参与，我将会给予一定的酬谢。

如果你已年满18岁，你将会被要求在附在这封信后的同意书上签字，以示你已经了解这个研究的意图，并且同意参与该研究。如果你未满18岁，你将会被要求将这封信转给你的父母或者合法监护人，请他们签字以示他们已了解和同意你参加这个研究。我会给你此信的副本。你还会得到本文件的副本一份，和一份意见回馈表。如果你对这项研究有任何投诉，请发送邮件到研究伦理办公室 ethnics.review@utoronto.ca 或致电 416-946-3273。

钱亚敏
安省教育学院，多伦多大学
电话：416-xxx-xxxx
电邮：yamin.qian@XXX
Consent form For Phase One study  
(to be signed by Adolescents)

Title of the Research: *Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada*

Researcher: *Yamin Qian*

Affiliation: *Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto*

Please sign and return the consent form to me

FOR ADOLESCENTS WHO ARE ABOVE 18 YEARS OLD: Please check one of the two boxes.

☐ I, ____________, agree to participate in this study which involves answering ONE survey.

☐ I, ____________, do not wish to participate in this study which involves answering ONE survey. I understand that my non-participation will NOT bring about any undesirable consequence from the researcher.

Signature of adolescent: __________ Name (please print): __________ Date: ______________

(二：学生本人)

请签字并且交还给研究者本人

请在下列两项中选择同意的一项画钩。

☐ 我, ____________, 同意我参加这样研究，完成一份问卷调查。

☐ 我, ____________, 不同意参加这个研究，不同意完成一份问卷调查。我知道我不参与该项研究不会对我有任何不利。

签字: ____________ 名字（印刷体）： ______________________ 日期: ________
C: Survey for Phase One Study

Thank you for willing to answer questions on this survey, which is to understand how Chinese youth use languages in Canada. This survey has TWO sections, which will take you around 40 minutes to finish. You are invited to leave your name and contact information for me to contact you for the second stage research. You can answer the following questions in either English or Chinese.

Name:________ Email Address:________
Phone Number: ________ Gender: _________

Section One: General Personal Information
✓ When did you come to Canada? With whom? ______________. ______________
✓ Where did you live in Mainland China before you landed on Canada? __________
✓ Where do you live in Toronto? __________
✓ Who do you live with in Toronto? __________
✓ Are you currently a full time student at secondary school of Toronto? _________

Section Two: Language Use in Canada
A: General Information
✓ What language do you speak the most of time in Canada?
   English ___ Mandarin ___ Cantonese ___ None of the above (please specify)
   __________
✓ For what purposes do you speak this language most of the time?
✓ What language do you use mostly in Canada?
   English ___ Mandarin ___ Cantonese ___ None of the above (please specify)
   __________
✓ What language do you think is more important to you? Why?
   English ___ Mandarin ___ Cantonese ___ None of the above (Please Specify)
   __________
✓ What language do you feel the most comfortable using?
   English ___ Mandarin ___ Cantonese ___ None of the above (Please Specify)
   __________
✓ I feel less comfortable using:
   English ___ Mandarin ___ Cantonese ___ None of the above (Please Specify)
   __________
✓ What do you think of your English level now?
   Excellent ______ Good _______ Not Good ______
✓ With the pie below, what do you think of the proportion of language use in a typical day of yours? (You may indicate the proportion by percentage or an exact number. For example, “I use English for 50% of time of a day and Mandarin 20% time of a day. Or “I use English for 3 hours a day and Mandarin 2 hours a day. )

1. English
2. Mandarin
3. Cantonese
4. Other dialects of Chinese
5. Other languages (Please specify)

B: After School
✓ What do you usually do after school? (Select one choice that is closest to your condition, and you can have more than one choice)
Part-time job ______ Stay online ______ Play videogames ______ Volunteer ______
Homework ______ Study English at this school ______ Shopping ______
Others (Please specify______)
✓ Do you feel that English you use after school is more difficult than English you use school? Yes ______ No ______
✓ People I socialize with after school speak better English than people I know at school.
Yes ______ No ______

C. At school
✓ What language(s) do you speak most of the time at school?
English ___ Mandarin ___ Cantonese ___ None of the above (please specify) ___

✓ Who do you speak English with at school?
Classmates _____ Teachers _____ Friends _____ Others (please specify) _____
✓ On what occasions do you speak English at school?
Presentation ___ Answer Questions ___ Group Work ___ Ask Questions ___ Assignment ______ Others ____ (please specify)
✓ Do you feel that classmates that speak to you speak better English? Yes ______ No ______
✓ On what occasions do you speak Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese or other dialects) at school?
Talk to friends ___ Ask Questions ___ Answer Questions ___ Others ___ (please specify)

D: With friends
✓ What language backgrounds are your friends generally from? (Select one choice that is closest to your condition, and you can have more than one choice)
Mostly speaking Mandarin ______
Mostly speaking Cantonese ______
Mostly speaking a Chinese dialect _____
Mostly speaking English _____
They are many different language backgrounds.
None of the above _____ (Please specify: ____________ )
✓ How and where did you know your friends?
✓ Do they speak better English? Yes No
✓ What language do you use to communicate with your friends?

English ___ Mandarin ___ Cantonese ___ None of the above (please specify) _____

E: At home
✓ What language(s) do you use at home?

English ___ Mandarin ___ Cantonese ___ None of the above (please specify) _____
✓ On what occasions do you use English at home?
✓ Do you parents speak better English than you? Yes No

F: General
✓ What have you done to improve your English?
✓ I have more to say about my English:

THANK YOU!!!! If any further questions, please contact Yamin Qian at qianyami@XXX
D: Letter and Consent Form to Chinese Adolescents for Phase Two Study

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
University of Toronto

This study, *Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada*, looks at six Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences of language use in and out of high school at The GTA. The purpose of this study is to understand your experiences of language use at different spaces in your life in Canada. Your participation will help us to understand the needs of this particular group and urge changes that will make it easier for future students in Canadian schools. This study is for the doctoral study of the researcher.

In this study, I, Yamin Qian, as the researcher, will
- be interviewing you monthly, in total for 4 times. Each time it will take about 90 minutes, and will be audiotaped. Interview questions will be on your language use at home, at school, with your peers and other spaces,
- observe how you use languages in one space for one day,
- invite you to write narratives about your language use experiences at home, school, with your peers and other spaces in either English or Chinese,
- also invite you to fill up a language activity checklist for a four-week basis,
- interview your parents once,
- visit your family once.

All your information will NOT be used and revealed by/to other researchers, without your permission. You are under no obligation to agree to participate in this study. You may refuse to answer any questions, to stop the interview at any time. Your name will NOT be identified in any report or presentation that may arise from the study. Only I will have access to the information collected during the study. Data will be destroyed five years after the completion of research. The findings of this study will be presented at conferences and included in a range of publications. Appropriate compensation will be made for your participation.

You will be asked to sign the consent form attached to this letter, if you are above 18 years old, to show that you understand the purpose of this study and how you will be involved in it. If you are under 18 years old, you will be asked to give this letter and the consent form to your parents or guardians. You will be given a copy of this consent form and a feedback form for you to make comments on the interview. Should you have any complaint of this study, please contact the office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Signature__________________ Date________
Yamin Qian
OISE, University of Toronto
Tel Number: 416-xxx-xxxx
Email: yamin.qian@XXX
此项研究关注六个来自中国大陆高中移民学生在学校内外的英语学习状况。该项研究是本人博士学习研究的一个必需环节。在这个研究期间，我，钱亚敏，将会对你的英语学习经历做详细的访谈。该研究的目的是了解你在英语学习中经历的困难以及所使用的策略。你的参与将帮助我们增进对这一群体的认识，了解其需求，并促进加拿大社会对这一群体的改变。在这个研究中，我将会：

1. 对你每月进行一次采访，一共采访四次，每次历时90分钟。
2. 对你做一天的观察，了解你的语言使用情况。
3. 邀请你写四篇故事体日记，记录你在学校，家里，与朋友等的语言使用情况。你可以自由决定使用中文还是英文。
4. 请你记录你在四周内大致的语言使用情况。
5. 拜访你家一次。
6. 采访你父母一次。

我们的访谈将会被录音。没有你的许可，你的所有信息将不会公布给他人。你没有义务必须参与我的访谈。访谈期间你有权利拒绝回答其中任何一个问题，或者随时中止访谈。你的名字将不会公布在任何与此研究相关的报告中。只有我能接触此研究的所有数据。此研究结束五年后该数据将会被销毁。此研究的结果将会在各类学术会议和期刊上发表。对于你的参与，我将会给予一定的酬谢。

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钱亚敏
安省教育学院，多伦多大学
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E: Letter and Consent Form to the Parents/ Guardians for Phase Two Study

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
University of Toronto

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In this study, I, Yamin Qian, as the researcher, will

- be interviewing your child monthly, in total for 4 times. Each time it will take about 90 minutes, and will be audiotaped. Interview questions will be on your child’s language use at home, at school, with your peers and other spaces,
- observe how your child use languages in one space for one day,
- invite your child to write narratives about his/her language use experiences at home, school, with his/her peers and other spaces in either English or Chinese,
- also invite your child to fill up a language activity checklist for a four-week basis,
- visit your family once.

All your child’s information will NOT be used and revealed by/to other researchers, without your permission. You are under no obligation to agree to participate in this study. Your child may refuse to answer any questions, to stop the interview at any time. Your child’s name will NOT be identified in any report or presentation that may arise from the study. Only I will have access to the information collected during the study. Data will be destroyed five years after the completion of research. The findings of this study will be presented at conferences and included in a range of publications. Appropriate compensation will be made for your participation.

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Signature_________________ Date_________

Yamin Qian
OISE, University of Toronto
Tel Number: 416-xxx-xxxx
Email: yamin.qian@XXX
(Chinese Translation of Information Letter)

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1. 对你小孩每月进行一次采访，一共采访四次，每次历时90分钟。
2. 对你小孩做一天的观察，了解你的语言使用情况。
3. 邀请你小孩写四篇故事体日记，记录你小孩在学校，家里，与朋友等的语言使用情况。他/她可以自由决定使用中文还是英文。
4. 请你小孩记录在四周期内的语言使用情况。
5. 拜访你家。

我们的访谈将会被录音。没有你的许可，你孩子的所有信息将不会公布给他人。你孩子没有义务必须参与我的访谈。访谈期间你孩子有权拒绝回答任何一个问题，或者随时中止访谈。你孩子的名字将不会公布在任何与此研究相关的报告中。只有我能接触此研究的所有数据。此研究结束五年后该数据将会被销毁。此研究的结果将会在各类学术会议和期刊上发表。对于你的参与，我将会给予一定的酬谢。

你将会被要求在这封信上签字，以示你已经了解这个研究的意图，并且同意你小孩参与该研究。我会给你此信的副本。你还会得到本文件的副本一份，和一份意见回馈表。如果你对这项研究有任何投诉，请发邮件到研究伦理办公室 ethnics.review@utoronto.ca 或致电 416-946-3273.

钱亚敏
安省教育学院，多伦多大学
电话：416-xxx-xxxx
电邮：yamin.qian@XXX
Consent Form for Phase Two Study (to be signed by parents or guardians)

Title of the Research: Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada
Researcher: Yamin Qian
Affiliation: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto

Please sign and return the consent form to me

FOR THE PARENT/GUARDIAN: Please check one of the two boxes.

☐ I, __________, agree to allow my child __________ to participate in this study which involves some interviews, observations, language activity checklist, written narratives and a field visit. I understand that my child can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason, which will NOT lead to any undesirable consequence from the researcher.

☐ I, ______, do not wish that my child ________ to participate in this study which involves interviews, observations, language activity checklist, written journals and a field visit. I understand that his/her non-participation will NOT bring about any undesirable consequence from the researcher.

Signature of parent/guardian: _____________________

Name (please print): ___________________ Date: ___________
Consent form For Phase Two study (to be signed by Adolescent)

Title of the Research: Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada
Researcher: Yamin Qian
Affiliation: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto

Please sign and return the consent form to me

FOR ADOLESCENTS WHO ARE ABOVE 18 YEARS OLD: Please check one of the two boxes.

☐ I, __________, agree to participate in this study which involves monthly interviews, four narrative writings, four-week language activity checklist and a field visit.

☐ I, __________, do not wish to participate in this study which involves monthly interviews, four narrative writings, four-week language activity checklist and a field visit. I understand that my non-participation will NOT bring about any undesirable consequence from the researcher.

Signature of adolescent: __________ Name (please print): _______ Date: ________

(Chinese translation of the consent form)

(一：家长或监护人) 请签字并且交还给研究者本人
请在下列两项中选择同意的一项画钩。

☐ 我，___________，同意我小孩__________参加这个研究，接受采访，日记和观察。我知道我的孩子可以不需要任何解释随时中止参与该项研究。

☐ 我，___________，不同意参加这个研究。我知道我不参与该项研究不会对我小孩有任何不利。

签字: __________ 名字（印刷体）: _______ 日期: _______

(二：18岁以上学生本人) 请签字并且交还给研究者本人
请在下列两项中选择同意的一项画钩。

☐ 我，___________，同意参加这样研究，接受采访，日记和观察。

☐ 我，___________，不同意参加这个研究，不同意完成一份问卷调查。我知道我不参与该项研究不会对我有任何不利。

签字: ___________________ 名字（印刷体）: _______ 日期: _______
F: Letter and Consent Form to the Parents/Guardians for Phase Two Study

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
University of Toronto

This study, *Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada*, looks at six Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences of English use in and out of high school at the GTA. The purpose of this study is to understand your child’s experiences of language use at different space in his/her life in Canada. Your participation will help us to understand the needs of this particular group and urge changes that will make it easier for future students in Canadian schools. This study is for the doctoral study of the researcher. In this study, I, Yamin Qian, as the researcher, will

- be interviewing YOU ONCE for **ONE hour**. Interview questions will be on your child’s language use at home, at school, with their peers and other spaces,
- visit your family once, understanding the language environment your child lives.

All your and your child’s information will NOT be used and revealed by/to other researchers, without your permission. You are under no obligation to agree to participate in this study. You may refuse to answer any questions, to stop the interview at any time. Your and your child’s name will NOT be identified in any report or presentation that may arise from the study. Only I will have access to the information collected during the study. Data will be destroyed five years after the completion of research. The findings of this study will be presented at conferences and included in a range of publications. Appropriate compensation will be made for your participation.

You will be asked to sign the consent form attached to this letter to show that you understand the purpose of this study and how you will be involved in it. You will be given a copy of this consent form and a feedback form for you to make comments on the interview. Should you have any complaint of this study, please contact the office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Signature________________________ Date_________

Yamin Qian
OISE, University of Toronto
Tel Number: 416-xxx-xxxx
Email: yamin.qian@XXX
此项研究关注六个来自中国大陆高中移民学生在学校内外的英语学习状况。该项研究是本人博士学习研究的一个必需环节。在这个研究期间，我，钱亚敏，将会对你做详细的访谈。该研究的目的是了解孩子在英语学习中经历的困难以及所使用的策略。你的参与将帮助我们增进对这一群体的认识，了解其需求，并促进加拿大社会对这一群体的改变。在这个研究中，我将会：

1. 对你进行一次采访。一共历时60分钟。
2. 拜访你家。

我们的访谈将会被录音。没有你的许可，你和你孩子的所有信息将不会公布给他人。你没有义务必须参与我的访谈。访谈期间你有权利拒绝回答其中任何一个问题，或者随时中止访谈。你和你孩子的名字将不会公布在任何与此研究相关的报告中。只有我能接触此研究的所有数据。此研究结束五年后该数据将会被销毁。此研究的结果将会在各类学术会议和期刊上发表。对于你的参与，我将会给一定的酬谢。

你将会被要求在这封信上签字，以示你已经了解这个研究的意图，并且同意参与该研究。我会给你此信的副本。你还会得到本文件的副本一份，和一份意见回馈表。如果你对该项研究有任何投诉，请发邮件到研究伦理办公室 ethnics.review@utoronto.ca 或致电 416-946-3273.

钱亚敏
安省教育学院，多伦多大学
电话：416-xxx-xxxx
电邮：yamin.qian@XXX
Consent form For Phase Two study (to be signed by Parents)

Title of the Research: *Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada*
Researcher: *Yamin Qian*
Affiliation: *Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto*

**Please sign and return the consent form to me**

FOR Parents: Please check one of the two boxes.

☐ I, __________, agree to participate in this study which involves ONE Interview.

☐ I, __________, do not wish to participate in this study which involves One interview. I understand that my non-participation will NOT bring about any undesirable consequence from the researcher.

Signature of Parent: ____________ Name (please print): ____________ Date: ______

(Chinese translation of the consent form) 请签字并且交还给研究者本人

请在下列两项中选择同意的一项画钩。

☐ 我，____________，同意参加这项研究，接受一次采访。

☐ 我，____________，不同意参加这项研究，不同意接受一次采访。我知道我不参与该项研究不会对我本人有任何不利。

家长签字: ____________ 名字（印刷体）: ____________ 日期: ____________
Dear _____ (name of the administrator):

I am Yamin Qian, a doctoral student at OISE, University of Toronto. As I have explained to you in our previous email, now I am writing formally to ask for permission to conduct my study at your place. I understand that this Institute has its specific regulations in terms of students’ personal information. I understand that, as a researcher and a part-time staff at this institute, I will NOT reveal their personal information to any parties that are potential or current business competitors to your institute. A pseudonym will be used for the reporting of the study when mentioning your school.

This two-phase study, Social spaces, symbolic power and language identities: A case study of the language use of Chinese adolescents in Canada, looks at a group of Mainland Chinese adolescents’ experiences of English use in and out of high school at the GTA. The purpose of this study is to understand their experiences of language use at different spaces in their life in Canada. This study will help us to understand the needs of this particular group and urge changes that will make it easier for future students in Canadian schools. This study is for the doctoral study of the researcher.

In this study, I, Yamin Qian, as the researcher, will do the following activities at your place. I will:

- recruit 60 adolescents for phase one study, and 6 for phase two study,
- ask for their access information for phase two study,
- ask them questions about their language use experiences at your institute,

In this study, participants recruited at your institute will be asked about their language use experiences at school, at home, with their peers, and other social occasions. For phase one study, 60 adolescents or more will be invited to answer a survey regarding their general language use experiences in Canada. For phase two study, they will be interviewed in depth regarding language use experiences at different spaces. They will be also asked to write narratives and fill up language activity checklist for a four-week period.

You will be asked to sign the consent form attached to this letter to show that you understand the purpose of this study and how they will be involved in it, and you give me permission to conduct this study at your institute. You will be given a copy of this consent form. Should you have any complaint of this study, please contact the office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Signature_________________________                                                            Date_________

Yamin Qian
OISE, University of Toronto
Tel Number: 416-xxx-xxxx
Email: yamin.qian@XXX
尊敬的：

我叫钱亚敏，是多伦多大学教育学院的博士生。正如我在之前的邮件解释的，我现在正式的请求你同意我在你的学校进行我的研究。我明白这个学校有自己的规则。作为研究者和本校的兼职教师，我不会将学生的个人信息泄露给任何潜在和目前的竞争对手。在研究报告中本校的本名不会在任何场合使用。

这个研究分两个阶段，关注来自中国大陆高中学生在学校内外的英语学习状况。这个研究的目的是为了了解大陆高中学生在加拿大的语言使用情况，以了解他们的潜在需求。该项研究是本人博士学习研究的一个必需环节。在这个研究中，我在你的学校做以下几个活动：

- 吸收60个以上的高中生参加第一阶段的问卷调查，
- 吸收6个学生参加第二阶段的访问，
- 要求他们留下联系方式以方便第二阶段的跟进研究
- 问他们一些问题了解他们在这个学校的语言使用情况，

这个研究里，参与者会被问到他们在学校，家里，与朋友和其他地方的语言使用情况。研究者会参访他们，同时要求他们写他们的语言使用经历，填写他们在四周内的语言使用状况。我会邀请你在附在这封信后的同意书上签字，以示你已经了解本研究的内容，并且同意我在你的学校进行本信中提到的活动。我将会给你这封信的副本。如果你对本研究有任何投诉，请联系the office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273.

Signature_________________________                                                            Date_________
Yamin Qian, OISE, University of Toronto
Tel Number: 416-xxx-xxxx  Email: qianyami@XXX

Consent Form (to be signed by Administrator )

Title of the Research: Multiple languages, multiple worlds: A case study of the language use of Chinese students’ in Canada
Researcher: Yamin Qian
Affiliation: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto

Please sign and return the consent form to me

FOR  Administrator: Please check one of the two boxes.

☐ I, __________, agree to allow Yamin Qian to conduct this study at ________ (the name of the organization) which involves recruiting students, some interviews, observations, language activity checklist, written narratives and a field visit. I understand that I can request the research to stop her activities of research at any time without giving any reason.

☐ I, __________, do not wish that Yamin Qian conduct this study at my organization which involves participant recruitment, interviews, observations, language activity checklist, written journals and a field visit.

Signature of administrator: ______ Name (please print): __________ Date: ________
H: Interview Protocol with Chinese Adolescents for Phase Two Study

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my research. Today I will be asking you a few questions about your experiences of English use in Canada at different places.

The first interview: the 1st main research question
I: English use at school
✓ What is your life at school like? Can you describe a typical day at school?
✓ What activities do you usually do in class? And out of class?
✓ What language do you usually use?
✓ What types of classes do you use English more?
✓ What types of classes do you use other languages (e.g. Chinese) more?
✓ When do you use English? With whom? For what purposes?
✓ When and why do you use other languages, if you do?
✓ What is the language you feel the most comfortable using at school? Why?
✓ What would be an ideal day at public school to you?
✓ Why is that an ideal day to you?
✓ What do you think of your English proficiency in relation to public school life? Why?

II: English use at home
✓ What language do you speak at home?
✓ How many people live at your home? Who are they?
✓ What activities do you usually do at home? With who?
✓ Do you think home is a good place to learn English? Why?
✓ How do you learn English at home? What do your parents think of the way that you learn English?
✓ Do your parents speak better English? How do they learn English here?
✓ What language(s) do you use to communicate with your parents?
✓ What approaches have your parents suggested to you about learning English? What have they done to help you?
✓ How do you learn English at home?
✓ What kind of resources do you have at home to help you learn English?
✓ Do you think your experiences of language use at school have any influence on your language use at home? Why?

The second interview: the 1st and 2nd main research questions
✓ Is there anything you want to tell me after last interview?

English use among friends
✓ Can you briefly introduce your best friends or closer friends?
✓ How do you know them? How do you become close friends?
✓ What activities do you like to do together? What are better at those activities?
✓ How often do you talk to each other?
✓ What topics do you like to talk?
✓ What language do you use with your friends?
✓ When and why do you use English with your friends?
✓ How do you feel when you use English with your friends? Why?
✓ What would be an ideal picture of you communicating with your friend? Why is that an ideal picture to you?
✓ Do you think your experiences of language use at school and at home have any influence on your language use with friends?? Why?

other spaces
✓ What are other places do you usually go after school?
✓ How do you know those places? Who do you go with? Why do you go to those places?
✓ Who do you know in those places? How do you know them?
✓ What do you think of their connection to those places?
✓ What language do you use at those places?
✓ For what purposes do you use this/those language(s)?
✓ How do you feel using this/those language(s)?
✓ Do you think your experiences of language use at those places have any influences on your language use at home, at school and with friends? Why?

The third Interview: the 3rd and 4th main research questions
✓ After last interview, is there anything you want to tell me?
✓ As a late-arriving adolescent, what do you think of your English use in Canada?
✓ What have you done successfully to improve your English? What do you think you should have done to improve your English?
✓ Which world(s) do you think is the most helpful to your English use? Which part is the least? Why?
✓ What do you think of your English level now? Why?
✓ What level of your English do you want to achieve in the future?
✓ What do you think you should do to achieve that level? Which world(s) do you think is more important for this goal?

Future in Canada
✓ What do you plan to do after high school? Why? Is your plan after high school somehow related to your English proficiency?
✓ What kind of life do you think your life at Canadian universities shall be like?
✓ What kind of friends will you have at university?
✓ What type of activities will you do then?
✓ What language will you use the most then? For what purposes?
✓ What do you think is the role of English to the success in Canadian university? Why?
✓ Where do you think shall be the best place for your future?
✓ What is your ideal life in Canada?
✓ What do you think of your future in Canada like?
✓ To what extent do you think English proficiency determines your future in Canada?
I: Parents’ Interview Protocol

Thank you for willing to participate in my research. Today I will ask you some questions about your child’s English use experiences at home, with friends, and other places in which are to your awareness. Your perceptions as a parent are important.

I: Background Information

✓ When did you come to Canada? Under what category did you come to Canada, skilled worker immigrant or else?
✓ Where did you live before you came to Canada?
✓ How long have you been living in Canada? Where do you live at the GTA?
✓ What is your current occupation?
✓ What is the level of your English?

II: English use at home, with friends

✓ What language do you use at home? What language do you use most often with your child?
✓ Which language do you see your child use with his/her friends? What language do you want your child to use with his/her friends? Why?
✓ Do you encourage your child to use more English at home?
✓ What have you done to encourage the use of English at your home?

English at other spaces

✓ What other places does your family usually go? Why those places?
✓ Which language do you and your child usually use at those places?
✓ Have your registered other programs for your child? Why?

English use and future in Canada

✓ What kind of life do you want your child to have in Canada after high school?
✓ What are the major obstacles do you think your child has for that goal?
✓ What do you want him to do to realize that goal?
✓ How do you think is English proficiency related to his/her future in Canada?
J: Weekly Linguistic World Activity Check

You will be invited to record your linguistic activities for a four-week period. This activity check is to document brief linguistic activities you do for a day.

Week:__________ Name:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Language(s) used</th>
<th>Length of the Activities</th>
<th>Activities (Brief Introduction)</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
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<td>Saturday</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
K: Observation Checklist

This observation checklist will be used for the observation of student participants’ home, or other sites.

Date: ___________________ Participant’s name: ___________ Place: ___________

1. Student participant’s living condition.
   a. Locations
      ✓ He/She lives near downtown, suburban area, others: ______
      ✓ He/She lives in an (a) apartment, condo, house, others: ______
      ✓ He/She lives with parents, guardians, friends, others: ________
      ✓ The nearby facilities near his/her residence place: _______________
      ✓ The community he/she lives in has diversified ethnic groups (Yes No).
      ✓ Others:

   b. Inside the room
      ✓ The student has an individual room. Yes No
      ✓ The student has a large collection of books or other reading materials.
      Yes No
      ✓ Most of his reading collections are in: (Chinese English Other languages).
      ✓ The student has the access to Internet. Yes No
      ✓ The student has facilities to other hobbies: sports (specify: ) music
      (specify: )
      Others (specify: _________________)
      ✓ The student has photos of his/her family (Yes No), Friends (Yes No)
      at various social spaces (__________). 
      ✓ The student’s photos of his friends are mostly from the same ethnic group
      (Yes No), and they are mostly living (in out of) Canada.
      ✓ The student has English/Chinese dictionary. (Yes No)
      ✓ The student has other decorations in English: ________________
      ✓ The student has other decorations in Chinese: _________________
      ✓ The student has ____ (No One Two More than two) siblings.
      ✓ His/Her siblings speak (Mandarin Cantonese English other dialect: __________)
      ✓ The student speaks (Mandarin Cantonese English other dialect: __________) with his parents/guardians.
      ✓ The student’s opinions are obviously respected and acknowledged by
      his/her parents/guardian. (Yes No)
      ✓ The student’s parents/guardians do not constantly him/her while he/she talks.
      ✓ The student does not stop his parents/guardians while they talk.
      ✓ The student has a nice relationship with his/her parents/guardians to the extent that they can communicate with each other over a range of topics.
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✓ The student and his/her parents enjoy living at current residential place.
✓ The student enjoys living with his/her guardians.

2. Student participant’s interaction with parents or guardians
✓ His/her relationship with parents/guardians: excellent good not so good
✓ He/She listens more than talks.
✓ He/She uses the first language in his/her communication.
✓ His/Her parents (or guardian) do most of the talking.
✓ His parents (or guardians) speak better English: Yes No

3. Student participant’s interaction with others at other sites
The place visited: ______
✓ The student is known by (a lot a few few) people at the site.
✓ People at the site greet the student in (English Mandarin Cantonese Other languages: ______).
✓ The student responds mostly in ( English Mandarin Cantonese Other languages: ______).
✓ The student listens more than talks. (Yes No)
✓ People around the student speak better (English Mandarin Cantonese Other languages: ______).
✓ The student initiates conversations when he/she is with other people. (Yes No).
✓ The conversations the student has with other people are mostly about _____(China Canada).
L: Written Journal Format

This exercise is to help us to understand how you use language at different spaces. You are invited to write journals regarding your experiences of language use at school, with your friends, at home, at after-school program and other places. The following guidelines may help you to direct your writing to issues we look at. You may want to include the following factors in your journal. You are expected to write your story of language use a) at home, b) at school, c) with friends and d) at other places.

1. When and where did the story happen?
2. Who were involved in this story?
3. Why do you want to tell this story?
4. How did the story happen?
5. How did this story influence you?
## M: Participants’ Brief

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender/Age</th>
<th>Residential Status</th>
<th>Caregiver(s) in Canada</th>
<th>Language Test Results</th>
<th>Arriving Year</th>
<th>LOR (mons.)</th>
<th>Previous Residence</th>
<th>Languages Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angel</td>
<td>Female/18</td>
<td>International Student</td>
<td>aunt</td>
<td>IELTS 6</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Guang Dong</td>
<td>Cantonese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>Female/20</td>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>TOEFL (had taken 2 times and did not pass 99)</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Guang Dong</td>
<td>Cantonese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivana</td>
<td>Female/18</td>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>IELTS 7 COPE 112.5</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Guang Dong</td>
<td>Cantonese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe</td>
<td>Male/17</td>
<td>Canadian Citizen</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>TOEFL (to be taken)</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bei Jing</td>
<td>Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin</td>
<td>Male/19</td>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS: 6</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Zhe Jiang</td>
<td>Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kira</td>
<td>Female/18</td>
<td>Canadian Citizen</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>No test necessary</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Liao Ning</td>
<td>Korean, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>Male/18</td>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS 6</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bei Jing</td>
<td>Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachel</td>
<td>Female/18</td>
<td>Immigrant</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>IELTS 7</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Hu Bei</td>
<td>Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony</td>
<td>Male/19</td>
<td>International Student</td>
<td>Older brother</td>
<td>COPE: 70</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zhe Jiang</td>
<td>Cantonese, Shanghaiese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travis</td>
<td>Male/20</td>
<td>International student</td>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>IELTS: 7</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Guang Dong</td>
<td>Cantonese, Mandarin, English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Participants’ Residence City in China

- Bei Jing (David, Joe)
- Guang Dong (Amanda, Angel, Ivana, Travis)
- Hu Bei (Rachel)
- Jiang Su (Justin)
- Liao Ning (Kira)
- Zhe Jiang (Tony)