

**Identity and English Language Learning:
The Case of Pakistani Elementary
Students in Saskatoon**

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to examine identity construction and language learning/use among newly immigrated Pakistani English as Additional Language (EAL) students attending an elementary school in Saskatoon. In recent years, increasing numbers of new immigrants to Canada have come from non-English speaking countries (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). For most of these new immigrants, English proficiency is seen as a crucial factor in their professional development and societal integration in an English-speaking host country like Canada. Some new immigrants who come from non-English speaking countries such as Pakistan encounter challenges in the host country, in spite of successful English training in the countries of origin. In the case of families from Pakistan who come to Canada under skilled immigrant categories, for instance, they assume that when they arrive in Canada, they can succeed in both their professional and social life in a foreign culture, given that they were educated in English in their home country. To their surprise, they most often face discrepancies between their expectations and reality after they immigrate to Canada.

This thesis examined the identity construction and language learning/ use of four Pakistani immigrant students at a Saskatoon elementary school. An ethnographic research approach was used to conduct this study. The study aimed to identify some of the challenges faced by Pakistani EAL students attempting to integrate into the Canadian schools, despite having good second language (L2) proficiency.

Findings from this study show that social categories such as race, religion, gender, and social class tend to influence processes of socialization in students, which in turn have effects on their identity construction and language learning/use. Just as English learning is never only about language, so is being judged as a competent and valued social being is never only about L2

competence (Norton, 2013). The study also shows how gaining “legitimacy” (Bourdieu, 1991) as a competent and valued social being is never just a matter of L2 competence even for EAL students with relatively high English proficiency (Bourdieu, 1987; Shin, 2012). EAL learning for these Pakistani immigrant students involves a complex process in which racial, religious, gender, and class identities are negotiated within a wide variety of social relationships. The thesis concludes with implications of this research for transformative EAL education in Canada.

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DEDICATION

For Usha Amble.

Thank you for being my mom

You are proof that

family

begins, foremost, in our hearts.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

Background

The Canadian province, Saskatchewan, continues to be populated by people of Caucasian heritage (Whites) and 85.1% of its population spoke English as their first language (F1) in 2006 (National Household Survey (NHS), 2011). But, following a global wave of immigration in the twenty-first century, Saskatchewan saw an all-time population high in 2011 of which 65% was attributed to immigration (Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), 2011). About 73% of these immigrants were from non-English speaking countries (CIC, Facts and Figures, 2011-2013). Following this immigration wave, the percentage of visible minorities in Saskatchewan increased from 3.6% (in 2006) to 6.3% (in 2011), and the percentage of people speaking English as their F1 decreased to 84.5% by 2011 (NHS, 2011). Today, Saskatoon, the biggest city in the province is home to 45.3% of Saskatchewan's visible minority population (NHS, 2011). According to CIC (2011), immigrant families from developing Asian countries such as China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines decide to make Canada their home with dreams of having better career opportunities and good standards of living for their families. However, upon entering Canada, these immigrants are asked to demonstrate their English proficiency for their professional development and integration into society. It is worth noting that it is not only the immigrants who believe that English is the key to successful integration, but it is the dominant discourse which widely circulates this belief (Norton, 2003) in English speaking countries. However, this research shows that social integration is not guaranteed even for Pakistani immigrants children who already have a good English proficiency when they come to Canada.

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This situation raises an interesting question for immigrants from the Indian Subcontinent such as India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, who use English as an official language in their home countries and thus possess a high degree of proficiency in English. Because they are trained and receive extensive English education in their home countries, they often believe that they can succeed in both professional and social life in a new English speaking country. However, there is always a difference between the ideal and real circumstances faced by immigrant families from the Indian subcontinent. The question crops up, if having a good command of English is seen as a major advantage in social integration, then why do these immigrants (including children) struggle to socialize and become integrated into mainstream White Canadian society despite their proficiency in communicating English?

The purpose of this thesis was to examine identity construction and language learning/use among newly immigrated Pakistani EAL students attending an elementary school in Saskatoon, which is referred to as Augustine school throughout this thesis. Augustine is part of a major public school division in Saskatoon. The names of the participating individuals and institutions in this thesis have been changed to protect their anonymity. The EAL students in my study were the children of recent immigrants from Pakistan who moved to Canada as skilled immigrants on work visas, and then became permanent residents or accepted Canadian citizenship after one to five years of stay in the country.

My study focused on four Grade 6-7 students who were selected out of seven students from Pakistan who were enrolled at Augustine school, which included a large student population (an exact percentage was not disclosed by the school to protect school confidentiality) from South Asia during the academic years of 2014-2015. Participants were not revealed to each other during the selection process, and it was merely a coincidence that all four students who

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volunteered to participate in the study happened to be immigrants from the same country (Pakistan). According to their English Language Arts (ELA) teacher, all these selected students have good proficiency in English. Their English proficiency was determined after they met the national average for reading, word analysis, vocabulary, writing conventions, and spellings skills in ELA as part of Canadian Achievement Tests Fourth Edition (CAT 4).

The thesis addressed the following general research questions:

1. What are some of the challenges faced by Pakistani EAL students as they are attempting to integrate into Canadian schools despite having good L2 communicative competence?
2. How does their identity/ies interact with their second language (English) language learning/use?
3. What are the implications of this research for transformative EAL education in Canada?

Findings from this study indicate that social categories such as race, religion, gender, and social class influence the process of socialization in Pakistan EAL students, which in turn has effects on their identity and English language.

The Researcher

To serve any EAL learners adequately, teachers and schools need to see beyond their demographic characteristics to understand the students' social worlds and experiences from their perspectives. Studying as an international university student from India, and volunteering as an EAL teacher at two public schools in Saskatoon, I observed a pattern in the South Asian EAL student population concerning their choice of friends. While EAL students from South Asia had many friends from various ethnic backgrounds, including their own ethnicity, they had few friends who were Caucasians (Whites from Canada and elsewhere). This pattern was also

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observed in the university students who possessed good English proficiency and met English language requirements for being accepted into undergraduate and graduate programs (Canadian Language Benchmark 8 and above or equivalent, according to the University of Saskatchewan guidelines). While people often believe that a good command of English is all that is necessary to be friends with the local residents (Whites), it was not the case with the South Asian students I observed both at the university and at K-12 schools. For example, I often observed in my daily activities that when a recent immigrant student was trying to hold conversations with native speakers of English, his/her English accent was pointed out as a flaw. Therefore, I decided to look beyond the language in my examination of challenges faced by newly immigrated students from South Asia to Canada. I focused on social constructs of race, religion, gender, and class. I found that these social constructs intersected with identity construction and second language learning/use of these immigrant EAL students.

My research participants included newly immigrated Pakistani EAL students at Augustine school for two reasons. Firstly, Pakistani students constituted the major South Asian student population at the school. Secondly, the students who volunteered to participate in the study happened to have emigrated from Pakistan. I worked as a volunteer Science Club instructor at Augustine school in the summer of 2014 and incidentally observed a couple of Pakistani EAL students in public places. I noticed that, despite their good communication skills in English, they preferred to interact with other immigrant children instead of White Caucasian children. Two of these Pakistani EAL students also shared with me their stories about the racial prejudice they faced in their day-to-day lives outside of the classroom in the mainstream (White) society.

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To document various experiences of these young newly immigrated Pakistani EAL students, it was important for me to be open about my identity as a researcher and as an individual who held a vested interest in the participants, given the similar ethnic and cultural background I shared with them. As a person with South Asian heritage, and working as a volunteer teacher at Augustine school, my role as a researcher in this field had a few advantages. First, I was a participant observer in the classroom and tried to document the behaviors of the young Pakistani EAL students as they occurred in natural settings. Second, as an EAL speaker myself, I am proficient in two main languages from the South Asian subcontinent, namely Hindi and Urdu, in addition to the official language English. All my participants spoke Urdu as their first language and English as their second and/or additional language. With a similar ethnic and cultural background, I represented an individual with whom the participants felt comfortable when sharing their personal experiences of life inside and outside of the school campus.

My position was critical to the data collection and analysis since I was already familiar with the EAL population of the school. I taught a science unit in their classroom during the academic year 2014-15. Their familiarity with me as a Science Club instructor in the summer of 2014, and then as a voluntary science teacher for the academic year 2014-15, enabled the participants to maintain a level of comfort during their conversations with me during the interviews. It was necessary to build this confidence with the research participants so that my research could serve as a tool through which the voices of these Pakistani EAL students could be shared and heard by the teachers in the mainstream Canadian classrooms.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Statistics from the Canadian Immigration Council show that the immigration has risen significantly in Canada and that people from non-English speaking countries form the majority of immigrants (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Facts and Figures, 2011-2013). According to the same source, immigrant families from developing Asian countries such as China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines decide to make Canada their home with dreams of having better career opportunities and good standards of living for their families. For most immigrants leaving their familiar homeland and entering a foreign culture, their English proficiency is seen to be crucial for their professional development and integration into a new society. One's language proficiency may be expressed as the power to utilize speech effectively and appropriately throughout the range of social, personal, school, and work situations required for daily living. According to Canale and Swain (1980), language proficiency emphasizes not only the grammatical rules governing sounds, word patterns, and word orders to express meaning, but also the knowledge of societal conventions of language usage. Thus, judgments concerning language proficiency are deeply rooted in social and ethnic norms. For this reason, the term communicative competence is frequently applied instead of language proficiency to emphasize the idea that appropriate language use extends beyond grammatical form to include language functions and the societal rules of spoken communication to achieve communication (Canale & Swain, 1980).

Countries on the Indian subcontinent like India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, use English as an official language, and immigrants from these countries have above median English proficiency with an average score of 72% on their Canadian Language Benchmark test or other

equivalents (<http://www.economy.gov.sk.ca/immigration/sk-immigration-statistical-report-2011>). According to the same source mentioned above, most immigrants from these South Asian countries meet all the language requirements as part of the eligibility requirements for skilled immigration. Therefore, they believe that they can succeed in both professional and social life after their arrival in Canada. However, there is often a discrepancy between the expectation and the real circumstances faced by these immigrant families in their social integration in the host country (Shah, 2004).

When they arrive in Canada, this group also finds it difficult to integrate into the mainstream Canadian society. For instance, I observed a prominent pattern amongst Pakistani immigrant students when choosing friends in the mainstream Canadian schools in which I volunteered as an EAL or as a science teacher. I often saw Pakistani students confining themselves to friendships with EAL students from other ethnic minority countries, especially those with the same religious and cultural background, and not interacting much with White Caucasian students. Then, if the good command of English is seen as a major advantage in terms of societal integration, why does the immigrant students from Pakistan (my participants) struggle to socialize and integrate with Whites in the mainstream Canadian classroom and society in spite of their good language competence in English? To answer this question, I explored how socially constructed categories like race, religion, racialized gender, and social class had effects on their identity and English language learning/use.

(Social) Identity

Identity refers to the self-concept, which is the knowledge of who we are, combined with self-awareness to develop a cognitive representation of the self (Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2010). In other words, our identity is constructed by internal and external factors that combine to

form how we see us and who we become. The term ‘social identity’ originated with work on social categorization by Tajfel (1981), and proposes a major social psychological theory of intergroup relations and group processes called the ‘Social Identity Theory (SIT)’. Tajfel defined ‘social identity’ as that part of an individual’s self-concept which results from his understanding of his membership in social group/s along with the values and emotional worth attached to that membership.

On the other hand, ‘identity theory’ has its beginnings in structural symbolic interactionism (Stryker 1980) and explains social behaviour in terms of the reciprocal relationship between self and society. It recognizes that society affects social behaviour through its influence on self. The process of forming a self-concept is referred to as ‘self-categorization’ in social identity theory and ‘identification’ in identity theory. Though both these theories have emerged as two different strands of identity (Hogg and Abrams, 1988), they share a some fundamental definitions and thus provide a foundation for the unification of the two theories through mutual incorporation (Burke, 2000). This unification includes the ideas that: 1) self-categorization is a cognitive association of the self with a social category in contrast to other categories; 2) identities are self-categorizations in terms of roles or groups; 3) the self-concept is the set of all person’s identities; and 4) identities are situationally activated. Social categories that formed the basis for identity construction for my research participants included religion, race, racialized gender, and social class. I followed Burke’s (2000) ‘unified identity theory’ approach for answering my research questions.

Religion and Identity

Most Pakistanis who have chosen Canada as their new country are Muslims, and it is worth noting that Islam is the second largest religion in Canada after Christianity (National

Household Survey, 2011). According to the same source mentioned above, there has also been an increase in followers of Islam (Muslims) in the whole of North America. Thus, a significant body of research on Muslim students has been focussing on the experience of negotiating their various identities. Studies centred on religion and identities (Ali, 2012; Claydon, 2009; Collet, 2007; Sirin & Fine, 2008; Zine, 2008) have often focused on the emotional and psychological experience of being a Muslim in bigger cities. However, research on identities of Muslim EAL students in mid-sized cities of Canada has been scarce.

The difference between self-identity and religious identity in Muslims is that the Muslim is accountable to Allah in all things. According to the Holy Quran, the fundamental basis for identity as a Muslim is rooted in the teachings of Islam (Shahada, the Sharia and the Umma). According to Umma, all who confess faith in Allah as the only true God and the prophethood of Muhammad become part of Islam. This sense of a community united in submission to Allah is not only spiritual but also social and political. The strength of this identification with the Umma and the awareness that it is the largest religious community after Christianity worldwide is one of the reasons why Muslims have self-confidence in projecting their identity as migrant Muslims in the country in which they settle (Claydon, 2009) (e.g. women wearing a religious scarf in a Western country and men wearing the white cap as a person who has been on a Hajj).

Ali (2012) focused on religious identity and defined it as a sense of group membership to a religion and the importance of this group membership as it pertains to one's self-concept. Ali's (2012) study sheds light on the rich, complex, and unique experience of being a Muslim girl in Ontario public schools. The differences between a participant's home and school life varied, and each participant had a unique manner in dealing with the various ideological and practical conflicts they confronted with in school. Some of these strategies included socializing with other

Muslim girls, confronting with White students who made stereotypical comments, and talking to the school counsellor. Sirin and Fine (2008) based their study on the conceptual work of W. E. B. Dubois (1970) and revealed how American-Muslim youth navigate, respond, and make sense of their dual identities. The study explored the trajectories of seven participants, four *hijabi* girls and three boys. Their stories provided a window into the experience of “living on the hyphen” (Sirin & Fine, 2008). The interviews revealed participant’s thoughts on identity, culture, school, friendships, media, and family. Some of these thoughts revealed the pain of losing friends after choosing to wear a hijab or a quest for finding new friends (Muslims) who would believe in the same values as them.

Collet’s (2007) research also focused on identity negotiation and set out to understand how his Somali participants negotiated and re-negotiated their Somali Muslim national identities in Canadian public school sector. In the interviews, all the participants identified themselves as nationally Somali and conveyed a crucial link between Islam and Somali culture (Collet, 2007, p. 139). They explained that religion is vital to who they are and how they behave in the public eye, and along these lines observing religious rituals was vital in characterizing their feeling of self (Collet, 2007). Collet’s (2007) research was a powerful step forward in understanding the experiences of Muslim students in public school and how the students were agents in their socialization process making sense of their schooling and social experiences.

Zine’s (2008) research provided useful data about the perceptions and politics of veiling, embodied religious practices, and gendered religious identities of Muslim youth in Islamic Canadian schools run by public boards. Like Moghissi et al. (2009), Collet (2007), and Sarroub (2005), Zine (2008) highlighted the challenges these students faced in public schools. However, since all her participants were in an Islamic school, either by their own or their parents’ choice,

their views on the public school were critical and negative. For example, many of the girls felt that public schools were not open to embodied differences, and thus observing religious dress and conduct were an anxiety-ridden and negative experience (Zine, 2008, pp. 98–99). In comparison, Islamic schools were perceived as safe havens where the girls could avoid such conflicts. All these studies indicated various reasons why most Muslim students prefer to socialize with the students from the same religion and, why multiculturalism in Canadian public schools needs more rethinking.

Race and Identity

In everyday discourse, race refers to the self-concept developed based on physically observable human characteristics (i.e. skin colour, eye shape, hair texture, and facial features) which categorize and divide humans accordingly (Kubota & Lin, 2009). However, language education research has increasingly discussed race as a social construct rather than a biological trait (Shin, 2015). According to Hutchinson (2005), for example, the Human Genome Project had shown that human beings share 99.9% of their genes, with only 0.1% for the potential racial difference in terms of biology (as cited in Kubota and Lin, 2009, p. 2). Furthermore, Omi and Winant (1994) argued that race was constructed as a concept “which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies” (p. 55). As the race gets constructed as visible attributes of individuals, social stigmatization is imposed upon others, giving physical characters like skin colour, eye shape, hair texture a social meaning that is arguably a reflection of imagined social constructs. Thus, race can, therefore, be defined as an imagined, historically shifting social construct that gets specific meaning from discourses and, as a result, it classifies different types of humans based on observable physical characteristics (Kubota & Lin, 2006; Shin, 2015). Miles (1987) argued,

Like nations, races too are imagined, in the dual sense that they have no real biological foundation and that all those included by the signification can never know each other, and are imagined as communities in the sense of a common feeling of fellowship. Moreover, they are also imagined as limited in the sense that a boundary is perceived, beyond which lie other races. (as cited in Miles & Brown, 2003, pp. 26-27)

A concept related to race is ethnicity, which is believed to be a politically correct code word for race (Miles & Brown, 2003). It is often used as a category to distinguish groups based on socio-cultural characteristics like ancestry, customs and rituals, lifestyle, language, and religion (Kubota & Lin, 2009). However, Lewis and Phoenix (2004) argued:

Ethnicity and race are about the process of marking differences between people on the basis of assumptions about human physical or cultural variations and the meanings of these variations. This is what we mean when we say that individuals and groups are racialized or ethnicised. . . [Such] identities are about setting and maintaining boundaries between groups. (p. 125)

Identifying people based on such socially constructed categories of physical attributes is called racialization. But when it involves allocating distinctive privileges based on such categories, it causes racism.

Kubota and Lin (2006) described racism as either overt behaviour of individuals that are readily identifiable or essentialist racism that assumes an essential biological difference between races, but not institutional or structural racism that systematically privileges a certain racial group while being oppressive to others. Sherman (2000) described subtle racism as overstating ethnic differences and rejecting minorities for supposed nonracial reasons, and feeling less appreciation of and friendliness towards minorities. Sherman (2000) also argued that modern

racism has progressed from belligerent, harmful behavior to a more subtle variety. This attitude is more difficult to understand, yet is seen more harmful because it is concealed to make it seem an acceptable social norm. Subtle and modern varieties of racism create an image that is more politically correct and socially acceptable. This method of discrimination may be considered to be a polite form of racial discrimination. Previously, racism was easier to define and institutionalize (Brick, 2008).

As Aronson, Wilson and Akert (2001) pointed out; the behavior of natives toward immigrants can be anticipated from the quantity of both blatant and subtle measures of bias. People who score high on the elusive racism scale (those who use racial discrimination in socially acceptable ways), but low on the blatant scale, tend to reject immigrants in more subtle and socially acceptable ways such as cultural or religious differences, accent discrimination, language use, or even discriminating against a person based on his/her appearance. Shin's (2015) study, illustrated how Yu-ri, a grade 12 student from Korea in a public high school in Toronto, experienced unexpected linguistic and racial marginalisation in New Zealand and in Toronto, how her social identity as inefficient "other" English speaker was constructed through such an experience, which then restricted her socialization with her Canadian peers.

Zhang, Ollila and Harvey (1998) pointed out that racial setting is an essential facet of personal identity. Cervatiuc (2009) argued that often "immigrants do not have the luxury to interact with whom they choose, as their opportunities to speak English are generally limited and socially structured for them" (p. 255) and that, as a result, many become "marginalized, introverted, and sensitive to rejection" (p. 255). Even though many EAL learners make numerous attempts to socialize with local members of the mainstream society (Whites), racial discrimination restricts their participation (Shin, 2015). In such cases, as Kanno and Varghese

(2010) noted, “Co-ethnic friends become a default backup for EAL students” (p. 323) as a result of the inaccessibility of friendships with native English speakers (Whites).

Racialized Gender and Identity

Racialized gender identity is a sociological concept that refers to the critical analysis of the simultaneous effects of race and gender processes on individuals (Ali, 2012). The study conducted by Ali (2012) focused on how socialization practices influence the individual. Social settings such as the family, community, and society provide the frame in which one’s experience is interpreted and communicated, and the identity is defined in relation to difference. According to Ali (2012), the family is the primary site for the socialization of gender identity. For this reason, scholars like Kubota (2003), Ali (2012), and Asghar (2013) have focused on the extent to which ethnic families have performed traditional gender norms and used those norms to organize family responsibilities and to socialize children.

Ali and Reisen's (1999) study examined gender role identity character among Muslim young girls in the U.S. The study was essentially in light of the Bem Sex Role Inventory, which measured stereotypical male and female traits (Ali & Reisen, 1999, p. 1). Previous research on such a topic has identified that culture can assume a huge part in one's perception of gender identity (p. 2). The results from the study indicated that the more time a young girl has spent in the “West” corresponds to her alliance with stereotypical male attributes, for example, a feeling of “instrumentality” (p. 5). The study additionally demonstrated that young girls who identified closely with their religion epitomized a bigger measure of stereotypical female characteristics (p. 5). Their research summarized that Islamic values approve conventional gender roles and, thus, the young girls who profoundly associate with the religion and culture tend to follow gender roles more seriously than their counterparts. Taking into account these findings, young girls who

have recently immigrated or have solid binds to their religion and society, for example, those in Collet's (2007), Hanson's (2009), or Alvi's (2008) studies, would theoretically believe more in gender role identity. In any case, considering the extent to which exposure to Western culture and connection to religious standards influences gender role identity, it may also give a more profound comprehension of how such a relationship influences the socialization of Muslim girls in my study.

Stereotyping refers to the way/s in which a particular group is represented in the mainstream society (Wright, 2005). The racialized gender identities often lead to gender stereotypes which then affect individuals' social identity. Muslim children begin to assume gender roles right from their childhood and thus project a stereotypical image in the Western discourse. Gender role stereotyping plays a particularly important role in how mainstream society interacts with specific minority and ethnic groups due to their lack of real-life awareness. According to Aronson and Salinas (2005), "Children weave together the feedback from society, friends, and loved ones to form a fairly accurate picture of how others see them" (p. 199). The development and maintenance of self-perception correspond to their identity development. Lack of acceptance, identity struggles and stereotypes tend to affect their social identity and socialization which in turn affect their local language use. I explored the relationship between racialized gender and social identity construction in my research.

Social Class and Identity

Class is a social category which refers to lived relationships surrounding social arrangements of production, exchange, distribution and consumption. While these may narrowly be conceived as economic relationships, to do with money, wealth and property, ... class should be seen as referring to a much broader web of *social* relationships,

including, for example, lifestyle, educational experiences and patterns of residence. (Bradley, as cited in Block, 2012, p.189)

Williams and Burden (1997) suggested that the impact of context on learning a language is considerable because the learning environments enable individuals to learn how to learn and to develop as fully integrated learners (as cited in Pishghadam, 2011, p. 151). “Learner’s access to different cultural goods such as Internet, computers, and books (cultural capital), and learners’ relationships with teachers, parents, siblings, and peers (social capital) have a profound influence upon whether, what and how any individual learns a language” (Pishghadam, 2011, p. 151). Bourdieu (1987) argued that an individual’s experiences of accumulation of social, cultural, and educational capital play a central role in reproducing social class. Class, therefore, affects many aspects of our material lives.

In the field of education, it is important to point out that society plays an important role in the process of second language learning and use. Social context surrounds language learners/users in many different forms as parents, family, friends, hobbies, religious institutions, and popular gadgets.

Economic barriers – however great they may be in the case of golf, skiing, sailing or even riding and tennis – are not sufficient to explain the class distribution of these activities. There are more hidden entry requirements, such as family tradition and early training, or obligatory manner (of dress and behavior), and socializing techniques, which keep these sports closed to the working class. (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 217)

Bourdieu’s notion of social, cultural and, economic capital together offers a framework to understand class in a variety of settings (Block, 2012). As Bourdieu (1991) argued, the more valued the capital one possesses, the more one is able to access power, to make use of resources

to one's advantage, and to secure profits. Second language learners always employ strategies to accumulate, invest in and convert capital in order to enhance their positions or to create more shared conversations (Swartz, 1997). However, EAL learners with higher linguistic competence are often bypassed by some native speakers in favor of others with lesser language competency for reasons such as race (Toohney, 2000), gender (Willett, 1995), or a lack of material and symbolic resources (McKay, 2010).

Block (2012) pointed out that a close examination of three recent second language acquisition (SLA) textbooks: Ellis (2008), Gass and Selinker (2008), and Ortega (2009) showed that class has never been on the SLA research agenda to any significant degree. According to Block (2012),

Class can be a useful construct and, as is the case with so many social and socio-psychological constructs, it can be used to help us understand how and why learners orient to and engage with second language learning processes in the ways that they do. (p. 195)

In his research, Block (2012) highlighted Carlos to show how class was interlinked with identity inscriptions. Carlos' White coworkers (working class men from London, UK) positioned Carlos in terms of his educational background and middle-class modes of behavior, his nationality (as a Colombian and therefore a foreigner), as well as based on his mixed African and Amerindian ancestry to reflect upon his class.

In her ethnography, Shin (2012, 2015) examined the intersections of race, class, and language in the identity construction and language learning of Korean Early Study Abroad (ESA, pre-college-aged study abroad) students in Toronto high schools. More specifically, the stories of ESA students linked issues of race and class together, pointing out how those students made use

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of their class as a strategy for dealing with the racial and linguistic marginalization they experienced in Canadian society, thus highlighting how tensions between class and identity had consequences on their language learning. Shin (2012, 2015) also pointed out how non-acceptance of Yu-ri's (a participant) upper middle-class (social class) by White pushed her to adopt a strategy for dealing with her racialization/linguistic stigmatization and fall in status in Canada. The research also emphasized how Yu-ri used resources from class to construct new identities that were hybrid (global and Korean simultaneously). Thus Yu-ri used her cultural capital as a coping mechanism for her inability to gain entry into a White friends circle and to maintain distinction over the other Korean immigrant students who reminded her of an older generation of working class immigrants from the country. The most important contribution of Shin's (2012, 2014, 2015) work was probably her finding that the possession of cultural and economic capital which (upper) middle-class Korean students possess did not always position them advantageously in the Canadian social hierarchy, thus restricting their socialization and affecting their social identity and language learning/use.

Language Learning/Use

Duranti, Ochs, and Schieffelin (2014) cited language socialization to be “a lifespan process that transpires across households, schools, scientific laboratories, religious institutions, sports, play, media use, artistic endeavours, medical encounters, legal training, political efforts, and workplaces, among other environments” (p. 2). Duranti, Ochs, and Schieffelin (2014) also noticed that as children and other novices become fluent communicators, they also become increasingly adept members of communities.

Postcolonial societies create sites of language shift, with language socialization interactions involving young children as the ground zero of linguistic transformation.

Immigration also portends zones of contact wherein children and youths become at once agents and targets of language socialization. (Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin. pp. 15-16)

Duff and Kobayashi (2010) pointed out that language socialization is a procedure whereby novices or newcomers to a residential area or culture gain communicative competence, membership, and “legitimacy” (Bourdieu 1991) in the group by means of social interactions and often through overt assistance, and by taking part in the activities of the group. Bourdieu (1991) described “legitimate” language as a political construct through which dominant groups aid in the prevention of minority groups’ linguistic and social power through institutions like academia, work place and society (p. 44). Language socialization involves not only acquiring competence in a new language, but also entails understanding how those processes affect learners’ participation and identity in their communities of practice, and mediate their learning of other, non-linguistic matters, such as gestures and body language. Language socialization (Duff, 2007) theory specifies language learning as being fundamentally about social learning. Just as learning is never only about language, so is being judged as a competent and valued social being never just a matter of sheer L2 competence. The socio-cultural theory holds that “specifically human forms of mental activity arise in the interactions we enter into with other members of our culture; with specific experiences we have and with the artifacts produced by our ancestors and by our contemporaries” (Lantolf, 2000, p. 79). In other words, social relationships and cultural capital determine how we regulate our mental processes.

For Second Language Acquisition (SLA) researchers, L2 learning is considered to be a mediated process and one that is mediated by others (such as by one’s peers) in social interaction by the self (goals), and by artifacts (tasks) (Lantolf, 2000). Evidence has shown that the development of language learning strategies is mainly a “by-product of mediation and

socialization into a community of language learning practice” (Donato & McCormick, 1994, p. 454). However, EAL learners with higher linguistic competence are often bypassed by supporters of the native society in favor of others with less language competency for reasons such as race (Shin, 2012, 2015), gender (Ali, 2012), or a lack of material and symbolic resources (Block, 2012). People rely on language traits to judge others. This is not a cultural phenomenon particular to our space and time, but a human behavior that is characteristic of all language communities. Language is, among other matters, a flexible and constantly flexible tool for the emblematic marking of social commitments. We use variations in language to construct ourselves as social beings, to signal who we are, and who we are not- and cannot be (Lippi-Green, 1997).

In Raisler’ s (1976) work, for example, 730 students rated an unseen speaker with a noticeable accent as being less interesting, less convincing and even less physically attractive than a native English speaker. From this perspective, EAL learners often express their desire to transform their comparatively inferior identity as second language learners to a more powerful identity (“speak like Canadians”). Language subservience tends to target only those who are perceived to be more different in terms of race, ethnicity, or other social allegiances that differ from mainstream society and this makes us think about how accent is used as a concealer for discrimination between Whites and visible minorities, in addition to the foreign cultures and stereotypes associated with them (Hill, 2009). According to Wenger (1998), learning (language) is “an experience of identity,” a process of becoming or avoiding becoming a certain person, rather than a simple accumulation of skills and knowledge (p. 215). In this country, one's ability is often judged by how well one speaks English. Lack of intelligence is one characteristic that is

often assigned to those who speak with a heavy accent (Ryan et al., 1984, as cited in Cargile et al., 2006).

Undoubtedly, language learning involves more than linguistic or even socio-cultural competence in some contexts. Language learning and development occur as an EAL learner participates in the socio-cultural activities of their related communities (Rogoff, 1994). It is through these socio-cultural activities that they gradually form their beliefs about self and language use, which then motivates them to invest in language competency. Sometimes the participation of EAL learners is restricted because members of a given community are variably knowledgeable, competent and not willing as socialization partners. Surveys proved that the socially constructed categories of gender, race and class affect foreign language learners' investments, desires and identity negotiations (Ortega, 2009). An EAL learner always tries to categorize him or herself according to a position of power. As Weedon (1997) noted, language helps a person negotiate a sense of identity within and across a range of contexts at different points in time. The more he or she identifies with the mainstream society, the more likely he or she can to access the social capital.

If language is a social practice of meaning-making and interpretation, then it is not enough for language learners just to know grammar and vocabulary. They also need to know how that language is used to create and represent specific meanings and how to engage in an effective communication with others. Thus, language is not simply a body of knowledge to be learned but a social practice in which to an individual participates (Kramsch, 2007). Duranti, Ochs, and Schieffelin (2014) argued that L2 speakers attempt to establish social identities of themselves and others through verbally performing certain social acts and verbally displaying certain stances, thus, one's identity/ies mediate his language learning and language use.

The previous research on my topic has indicated that, in a world that has been stratified based on our religion, race, gender, and social class, there is a necessity to bring the social constructs of religion, race, gender, and class to the fore in studies of second language learning. A very little Canadian research exists in this field focusing on Pakistani EAL immigrant students. And, the research that does exist has focused on needs of Pakistani students in big cities of Ontario (Cummins, 2005) and British Columbia (Norton, 2010). There has not been much research to focus on the needs of Pakistani EAL students in mid-sized cities of Canada, like Saskatoon. However, a significant rise in the South Asian population in recent years in Saskatoon provides unique conditions to examine the identity and language learning/use of Pakistani EAL students (NHS, 2011).

The survey of literature presented several gray areas that needed further research, and my study aimed to address those gaps. First, most of the studies about religion and race have used critical race theory or an anti-racist approach but I talked about race and religion as evolving social constructs. Second, most works on the identity of immigrant students has chosen one identity theory over other (social identity over self identity or vice-versa). However, I used Burke's unified identity theory approach to reveal the psychological and social aspects of identity constructions. Third, most of the research focusing on gender has been conducted on Muslim girls; however, my study explored racialized gender roles for both boys and girls. I attempted to fill in these gaps by providing Pakistani EAL immigrant students with a voice to bring social constructs and multiculturalism to the fore, inside and outside the public school settings.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The qualitative researcher is often referred to a bricklayer (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003) who tries to link data together, just like pieces of a puzzle, until all the components join to create a sophisticated display. In a similar way, the components of ethnographic studies join to present a clean picture of the phenomena in question by providing new insights for readers. In ethnographic studies, researchers study a cultural group or particular phenomenon in a realistic setting, using primary observational data to collect information over a period of time (Patillo-McCoy, 1998; Valenzuela, 1999), and to provide a more nuanced account of what is happening.

Ethnographic researchers who prefer to adopt a critical approach to inquiry assume that both empowered and disempowered groups of people exist simultaneously in the social setting and attempt to uncover concealed hegemonic practices that allow prejudices and societal discrimination to continue (De Marrais & LeCompte, 1999). According to Crotty (1998), critical ethnography goes beyond merely seeking to realize a culture, and “unmasks hegemony and addresses oppressive forces” (p. 12) calling for societal transformation. In this thesis, a critical ethnographic approach was used to accumulate detailed information about the participants using a critical lens.

Participants

This research inquiry took place in a K-9 elementary school in Saskatoon, which I call Augustine school in this thesis. The school is part of a major public school division of the city and has a very large population of EAL students from various countries of Asia, Africa and Europe.

The participants for this study were four immigrant EAL students in Grades 6 and 7 whose families had recently emigrated from Pakistan, and whose parents were in the skilled immigrant category. There were about seven immigrant students from Pakistan in the class of twenty-eight students. However, only five of these young EAL students volunteered to participate in my study. Since this research was not intended to be representative because of its small sample size, I initially intended to choose students who had diverse experiences to share. These participants included both boys and girls. I identified five prospective participants who were willing to participate voluntarily in my study during my voluntary teaching period in the Grade 6/7 science classes in the summer of 2014; however, when I looked for students who satisfied the following three criteria, I chose only four participants. The first criterion was to include students with whom I had formed a good relationship by the time I began my research. The second criterion was to include those individuals who were outgoing in the class so that they would not be shy about sharing their experiences. The third criterion, because I was interested in EAL students who were fluent speakers of English but still experienced challenges in social integration in their Canadian schools, I included only individuals who spoke fluent English. Their English language proficiency was determined by their scores in their English Language Arts class and CAT 4. The age group of these participants ranged from 11- 15 years.

Table 1: Participants' demographics

Name	Grade	Country of Birth	First Language	Gender
Anne	6	Pakistan	Urdu	Female
Celina	6	Pakistan	Urdu	Female
Hassan	6	Pakistan	Urdu	Male
Umair	7	Pakistan	Urdu	Male

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Once I identified the potential participants for my study, I spoke to the students personally to ask for their assent. All the communication was done in English to help me understand the participants' language use and proficiency. After I received the assent forms from the participating students, I obtained consent from their parents. I spoke to the parents twice. The initial contacts with the parents were over the phone. During the telephone conversations, I introduced myself and determined their interest. Since they were interested in having their children participate, I arranged to meet with them in person to discuss the consent forms and to obtain their signatures. These meetings were arranged at places that were convenient to them. The consent forms were written in English. If the parents had difficulties with the language in the consent form, I explained the agreement orally.

Data Collection

I started my voluntary teaching at Augustine school in the spring of 2014. It was during this time that I began my preliminary observations to recruit my potential research participants. Between November 2014 and March 2015, I conducted a critical ethnography study to examine identity construction and language learning/use of Pakistani immigrant students at Augustine school. The data collected included two semi-structured interviews for each participant, participant observations of eight classes, a collection of participants' artifact, and the maintenance of field notes. During the fieldwork period, I visited the school one school day per week, observed the participants' interactions with peers and teachers inside and outside of the classroom for two hours, and took field notes of my observations. I paid particular attention to their use of the English language and the social activities in which they participated. I also observed their language choices in different settings, their interaction patterns with teachers and

peers, and the ways in which they talked about their social experiences inside and outside of the school setting.

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews to explore the students' personal experiences in and outside of the classroom to encourage them to voice their experiences as EAL students in a Canadian school. All interviews were conducted at the school, and I used English to communicate with the participants throughout my study. I chose the interview language to get an idea of their English language use while engaging in communication and to adhere to the central theme of my research work. Each participant was interviewed twice; each interview lasted between 20-30 minutes. The first interview took place at the beginning of the research study (December 2014), and the second towards the end (March 2015). To capture the stories of the participants precisely, I used a digital recorder to record each interview and later transcribed the conversations. All the participants received a set of questions before the interviews and were encouraged to introduce any other ideas they thought were related to the conversation.

I used a recursive style of questioning, and began the first individual interviews with a tentative set of questions that encouraged the participants' responses to guide subsequent questions. These questions were worded in age-appropriate language. They centered on the participants' identity formation and English learning/use, and how they envisioned their identity inside and outside the classroom. The first individual interview also dealt with the participants' experiences as Pakistani EAL speakers in the Canadian society. Each individual interview consisted of the same template of initial questions, but was tailored to the specific participant based on his/her response.

The follow-up questions for the second individual interviews were influenced by the initial interview responses and observations made during the school visits. While there was also a template for these interviews, the questions were more in-depth because, by then, I had the opportunity to observe the participants several times during my participant observations inside and outside of the classroom, and therefore modified the questions according to the field notes and previous interviews. The aims of the second interview were to encourage the participants to engage in dialogue and to discuss the themes that emerged during the first interview in depth, and to add new experiences from the past six months inside and outside of the school, if any. The participants were also encouraged to share culturally relevant practices they found successful in their life outside the school in the mainstream White society. The interviews were audio-recorded. Following transcription of the interviews, and the analysis and interpretation of other data, each participant had the opportunity to read their transcripts and to approve or modify his/her response before it was used in the study.

Participant Observations

The second form of data collection was the observations inside and outside of the classroom. These observations helped me to document the natural actions and behaviors that took place during the day. I focused on incidents that provided evidence of identity formation and English learning/use including their language choice when interacting with individuals from visible minority and Whites, classroom seating arrangement, body language, disposition, and discussions of life outside of the school. Later, according to the themes and patterns that emerged from the field notes, I compared them to the interview transcripts.

With regard to the observations, all the participants were observed inside the school campus once a week from November 2014 to March 2015. The agenda was set up so that there

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was one observation per week for each participant, with no participant being watched twice in a row. Visits alternated between mornings and afternoons to enable me to see students before and after lunch. The documents gathered in this study included participants' artifacts such as drawings, articles, and poems, to capture any unseen patterns that might have remained hidden during classroom observations. The classroom observations were recorded in my field notes.

The length of the observations depended on the amount of time I spent completing a particular content area in the classroom. For instance, I was able to follow the participants while I instructed in the classroom, as well as when their class teacher was teaching. When students were not in the classroom, I observed them in the gymnasium, or in special classes like art or music. When I taught in the afternoon, the observation took place after lunch and lasted for two hours until dismissal. I observed the participants while they worked in the typical classroom setting doing typical classroom activities, and their interactions during the recess and lunch hours. The observations were adjusted depending on the demands and the comfort levels of the participants. I also took part in special activities and school celebrations that occurred during my research work.

Documents

The documents gathered in this study included any types of papers that contained the written schoolwork or expressions of art by the participants. This written work was expected to be in the form of drawings, poetry, a paragraph of expressions, or even some doodling that was linked to their experiences as immigrants to Canada. For the purpose of data analysis, these documents were photocopied, and any identifiable information was erased from them. The original documents were returned to the participants.

Field notes

I maintained field notes during and after my classroom observation to record and narrow down the themes and patterns that emerged as a result of various interactions involving my research participants. With these field notes, I was able to understand the true perspectives of the participants being studied and it allowed me to record what I observed inside and outside the classroom in an unobtrusive manner.

CHAPTER FOUR

Anne: Will I Ever be an Insider in Canada?

In this chapter, I present Anne's (a pseudonym) story, a 12 year old immigrant girl from Pakistan. Her trajectory focuses on her life before and after immigration to Canada. I then analyse Anne's story to answer my first two research questions. I uncover how socially constructed concepts like race, religion and, class are interconnected to form Anne's identity, and influence her language learning/use by affecting her process of socialization. I then briefly discuss the findings from the study to identify key patterns and themes from Anne's chapter.

The Trajectory

Anne was born on August 3rd, 2003 in Gujarat, Pakistan. She is a 12 year old girl of medium height, brown complexion, and hazel eyes. She always wears thick prescription glasses and wraps a hijab (traditional Muslim scarf) around her neck. She also wears a burqa (full body clothes for traditional Muslim women) every day to the school. She is a bilingual speaker of English and Urdu in a Grade 6 classroom at Augustine elementary school. She has three siblings, a twin brother who studies in the same class with her at Augustine, a younger sister and a brother. Anne is the eldest among all the siblings (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Anne described her hometown, Gujarat, as a rural area in Pakistan famous for agriculture and cattle farming with basic facilities such as grocery stores, electricity, clean drinking water and other things to help one live a simple life of a small town. The town had no high-rise buildings. Anne's father worked as a store manager in Gujarat, and her mother was a teacher.

Anne grew up in an extended family where all the family members lived under the same roof. Recalling her childhood memories of her home country, she described her huge heritage house in Pakistan as a place for social gathering for her relatives during Eid (Islamic festival). She had several maids who did all sorts of household chores for her family. Nevertheless, as a girl child, Anne was also encouraged by her family members to help with the basic household chores (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Anne believes that her parents make the best decisions for her. She was three years old when her parents decided to leave their hometown of Gujarat to start a new life in Canada. Her family immigrated to Canada from Pakistan in 2005.

Anne's family lived in Toronto after immigrating to Canada. She was admitted in a preschool that had children from multiethnic backgrounds but the majority was from mainstream White Caucasian families. Anne's preschool teacher was of Pakistani heritage. At that point, Anne did not speak fluent English. She remembered using several Urdu words while communicating with her preschool teacher and classmates (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). After spending three years in Toronto and two years in Saskatoon, Anne visited her home country when she was eight. Anne recalled her memories of her hometown during her first visit after living in Canada for five years. She laughed and recalled the first thoughts that ran through her mind when she got off the plane in Pakistan in the summer of 2011.

Example: 01 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: It was very hot when I entered. Like, I came out of the plane and it was like burning hot and I was like I am going to live here? I went to get used to life you know, doing chores and all. Yeah, it was pretty easy actually.

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One of the most memorable events for Anne during her visit was celebrating her sister's birthday at her big old heritage home in Gujarat. Her family had to bake a cake for Anne's sister and everything had to be done from scratch. She told me that, in Pakistan, one rarely bought a birthday cake; instead, one baked it for their loved ones from scratch.

Example: 02 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: In Pakistan you don't actually make the cakes like the actual decorative cakes you make here. You sort of like, um... you don't exactly make it. You don't have cake boxes, you make it from scratch. So, I remember making my sister's cake and burning it.

The birthday was memorable for Anne and her sister because it was celebrated at her heritage home where she her extended family live. The family has lived there for several generations.

Anne's father found Toronto competitive with regards to the job market. Saskatchewan, on other hand, had introduced flexible immigration and Permanent Residency (PR) rules in 2008 (Saskatchewan Immigration Nominee Program (SINP), 2011). With the hope of finding better career opportunities and a better standard of living for them, Anne's family moved to Saskatoon in 2008. She lives with her parents and siblings in a small house in a community surrounded by mostly South Asian families in Saskatoon. It is a family's choice to live amongst such a community to seek familiarity and comfort in the new city. Her father works as a construction worker, and her mother gives online religious lessons to some Muslim students so as to supplement her family's income. It is a happenstance that Anne does not have much exposure to the people from "mainstream" Canadian society (the population demographic that is primarily composed of people from a White Caucasian background) outside the school. Hardly anyone

from the mainstream Caucasian society (Whites) visits their home as Anne's neighbors and friends who come to visit her are mostly Pakistanis (Personal Conversation, December 11, 2014).

When enquired about her leisure activities, Anne mentioned reading, skating and swimming as her all-season favorite hobbies. She expressed her love for reading and told me how it has improved her English vocabulary and grammar. She sees herself as a successful English language speaker in comparison to someone else of her age (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). She mentioned her older cousin who lived with her in Saskatoon, acting as a teacher of English and teaching her English during Anne's early years. The cousin often provided explicit feedback on Anne's grammar and pronunciation (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Thus, people are often surprised by her English fluency when she goes shopping for groceries with her mother, Anne mentioned.

Example: 03 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: I was born in Pakistan but I was raised up here, so I have perfect English and I am happy.

However, Anne also pointed out that, despite her "perfect" language skills, she does not have a single White Caucasian friend, and often wonders why her circle of friends never expands beyond people of similar ethnicities (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Anne assumes that good English is the most important requisite for being friends with White Caucasian people. She feels confident about her vocabulary and believes that she does not have any foreign accent. However, her friend circle is comprised of mostly children from South Asian (Pakistani) heritage. She did have some White Caucasian friends when she was in a different school but she could not keep in touch with them for long. "Oh, because we didn't have really

very strong relationship" Anne explained (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015).

When asked why, these were Anne's words:

Example: 04 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: My mom told me, don't ever have just one close friend because there are people there that you can't trust. Don't share secrets with them because you never know what's going to happen next. So, I stuck with that advice and I didn't want one best friend, I became friend with mostly whole class. So, I didn't have one person that I would stay close to me or something. So, that's why we didn't keep in contact with each other after I left the school.

Anne's best friend at Augustine is Shazal, a Canadian-born girl of Pakistani heritage. Anne's family has known Shazal's parents even before these two girls were born, as these families have their roots in the same hometown of Gujarat in Pakistan.

Anne: Inside the School

The first day when I observed Anne, she was seated all by herself in the classroom (Field notes, January, 16, 2015). There were four Canadian-born Middle-Eastern girls from Palestinian and Lebanese heritage seated on another bench next to her. Anne had her backpack placed on the bench beside her. When I began teaching in the classroom, Shazal knocked on the door; Anne smiled and lifted her backpack to let Shazal sit by her. Anne always saved a seat for Shazal, who Anne claimed to be her best friend. Shazal is a Canadian-born girl of Pakistani heritage. They sat next to each other every time I taught in their classroom. It was evident that Anne chose to sit by Shazal over any other Pakistani or White Canadian girls.

Anne and Shazal played together, even during the gym class. During one of the gym classes (Field notes, January 23, 2015) when the classroom teacher decided that children could

play the “Great wall of China,” Anne decided to stick by her best friend, Shazal. In this game a few children formed a line (the wall) in the middle of the court and had to tag other children crossing the wall. The tagged children then had to join the wall and tag a few more children until there was no one left to be tagged. The last person untagged was the winner. The first time when Anne ran to cross the wall, a Pakistani boy tried to tag her. Anne tricked him but could not cross the wall and had to come back to the starting position. The second time Anne was able to cross the wall by sliding in between two girl taggers. During her third attempt, when Anne was about to cross the wall, accidentally her head scarf got loosened when Mark (a White Caucasian boy) attempted to tag her. It was difficult to decide if what Mark did was intentional or merely an accident, but Anne did not take it positively. She immediately moved out of the court, adjusted her scarf and came up to me to ask for a break. Seeing this, Halena (one of the White Canadian girls) invited her to rejoin the game but Anne refused her offer. Shazal noticed Anne sitting outside the court for a couple of minutes (one to two minutes). She came up to Anne and asked her if she wanted to play again. Anne agreed to Shazal’s request and started to play again. I saw it as a personal choice made by Anne to choose Shazal over a Canadian girl (Halena). It seemed to me that, since Shazal come from the similar cultural and traditional background, Anne received her invitation as an act of genuine empathy over the sympathetic invitation offered by Helena. Anne refused to talk about it when I tried to get more details about the incident.

Based on the in class and out class observations, Anne projected a self image of someone who seemed to choose people of her race, culture and religion over the others. However, as I answer my first two research questions in the later section, I unveil what I believe to be the reasons behind Anne’s above actions and how those reasons influences her identity and general perceptions about all Whites. In one of her interview responses, Anne mentioned how some

White Caucasian students made fun of her head scarf, which I relate to my understanding of why she took Mark's actions personally and refused Helena's offer.

Self Representation Through an Artifact

During my data collection, I asked my research participants to bring in something (an artifact) that truly represents who they are, or something to which they could relate. There was no restriction on what they could bring in. When Anne was asked to bring something that represented her identity or that she could relate to, she brought a book. In the picture (Figure 1), Anne is holding her favorite book. This book has a story about a girl who struggled with her life and faced difficulties in her country, Palestine (Field notes, March 31, 2015). Though Anne was born in Pakistan, she said, she could relate to this girl from Middle-East because of her gender, culture, and religion. Anne's parents also come from a country that struggled with wars and distress. The book also provided Anne with a glimpse of life in Palestine. Anne expressed that, although Canada is a much safer than Palestine, as an immigrant she faces challenges and distress in Canada due to her race, culture, and religion.

In the section that follows, I reveal various challenges faced by Anne in Canada. I also analyze in detail her claims about relationships because of her differences in race, culture and religion from White, mainstream Canadian students while answering my first research question.

Research Questions and Discussion

Research question 1

What are some of the challenges faced by Anne as she is attempting to integrate into Canadian schools and society despite having good L2 communicative competence?

Rummens, Tilleczek, Boydell and Ferguson (2008) concluded that immigrant children in Canada face challenges like interruptions, a school environment which is not familiar hence unwelcoming, mismatches between cultures at home and in the new environment, and an academic discourse in Canadian practices and school systems. The data from my study collaborate with the findings by Rummens, Tilleczek, Boydell and Ferguson (2008) and indicate that some of the challenges faced by Anne include discrimination based on her race, religion and cultural stereotyping. Additional problems indicated by Anne are alienation of minority students, and social stigmatization (using negative social messages against Islamic dress code). In what follows, I support my findings using data from the study and arguments based on previous research.

As indicated in my literature review, studies have suggested that students with different religious background than the mainstream White society face difficulties in learning English as a second/additional language as they have to respond to the new environment (both at school and in society generally). Asghar's (2013) study indicated that the religious orientation of an individual can interfere with her/his understanding and perceptions of mainstream society. Anne experiences a mismatch between her life in Pakistan (influenced with Islamic culture) and her life in Canada (influenced by Judeo-Christian culture). As indicated by McAndrew (2009), Muslim students in public schools face many identity struggles in Canada and it affects their identity. When immigrant children from Islamic countries are enrolled in a mainstream society that is mainly Judeo-Christian, the mainstream society views their previous Islamic school curriculum and Muslim girls to be of double standards. Some teachers and learners do not appreciate the Islamic identity presented in the choice of the veil worn by Muslim girls. Thus, it

appears that there exists a tension inside and outside of Anne with regards to what she needs to preserve and what she has to replace in terms of culture and religious practices.

Anne belongs to a traditional Muslim family. She is raised with Islamic culture, and family values play an important role in her identity construction. Her best childhood memory back home in Pakistan is celebration of Eid (an Islamic festival) and her younger sister's birthday with her family and extended family members. This symbolizes her belief in Islamic traditions and values. I argue that, since the Canadian education system is largely dominated by Judeo Christian heritage, Eurocentric and modern values, the mainstream Canadian school and society presents an unfamiliar environment for Anne who comes from Islamic heritage, and traditional values (Ali, 2008; McAndrew, 2009).

Ali (2012) also argued that Muslim girls, like Anne, face some social challenges while in Canadian schools and society because of their religion and cultural practices associated with it. While interacting with their friends, issues such as social pressure (drinking, dating and attending parties) and religious stereotypes emerge. Anne mentioned that some of her White classmates stereotype her for being Muslim and, thus, she feels uncomfortable to be around them most of the times. "If they judge me for my dress code, I am not going to be friends with them" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). According to Tajfel's (1981) Social Identity Theory, members in a given group always seek social identity which influences their life in a positive way. Social stereotypes that occur in groups are due to existing relationship between group members. As Anne indicated, comments given by some White peers and White neighbors were hurtful and made a joke of her religious attire. Anne views such comments to negatively affect the existing relationship between her and her White classmates (Dashtipour, 2012). Though most schools do not tolerate blatant racist comments that concern any religion, not every

school has a way of knowing about the subtle racist behaviors students encounter on school campus. Anne gave an example of how she received hurtful comments as she interacted with some White students:

Example: 05 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Chetan: In what way do you feel the school/society atmosphere to be social/friendly?

Anne: In general people are very nice. They are very friendly, and they do not have any problems with me. Sure there are some that think of our ethnicity and our culture but most people don't have a problem. They think we are same as them and I accept that.

Chetan: Ok. You said some people do have problem with your ethnicity and culture. What do you mean by that?

Anne: Since I am a Muslim, there are some people, because of the war I think, do call Muslims as terrorists and I do not believe in that. Related to ethnicity, people think that September 11/2001 Muslims did it, they think, Muslims are all terrorists and all, but that's not true. Muslims are the same, they are exact same as you; they are all humans.

Relating to culture, well, just because, you know, we don't exactly do Victoria Day or Canada day, we don't go out and all; most people do celebrate it but some of us, you know, just ignore it. The most of us, we do everything that other Canadians do. We are not different but, yes, some of us are different and people who know those types of people think that, 'Okay, she is one of them too and, yeah, she is not the proper (White) Canadian.

It is not just in the school that she receives such experiences. She encounters harsher racial comments even outside the school. In the next example, Anne spoke about a discriminatory behavior by one of her neighbors for her being an immigrant Muslim, and not a White Canadian.

Example: 06 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Chetan: So, have you had any kind of experience because of your skin color or your ethnicity?

Anne: I am not even sure why it was but I think it was because of my ethnicity or my color. One of our neighbors, in front of our house facing my front door neighbor and next-door neighbor, is an old white man. I was going out to raise money for the heart and stroke foundation. My sister came along with me and so did my little brother. And so we went to that man's house and he said, "Get out of my driveway, I don't like people like you. Get out of my house and driveway, get out of my face." We were just asking for a donation and it was related to Canada to help people with heart and stroke foundation. Why would he do that? It's what he thinks about us. What makes me think about ethnicity is because, when a normal (white) Canadian girl went to him, he gave her like a bunch of money. It was just rude how he treated us regarding to the other girl.

It was the first time, during this incident, that Anne was made aware of how different she was from the mainstream White society. It was Anne's experience with the middle age man during the fundraising for the Heart & Stroke Foundation that made her doubt every other White Caucasian person she met after that incident. She said, after that incident, "I went with caution to every White person and gave more information before I actually told them what I was doing as I felt a bit overwhelmed when talking to White people" (Recorded Interview Conversation,

December 11, 2014). I realize that to be possibly an underlying reason for why she refused to play with the Canadian girl during the gym class but accepted Shazal's offer to play with her (Field notes, January, 23, 2015). Anne's choice can be explained by Tajfel (1981) where he points out that previous experiences tend to reinforce the ideas of discrimination which is then motivated by specific needs to create a positive distinctiveness among the ingroup (Pakistanis) in comparison to the out group (Whites). Thus, Anne tried creating a positive ingroup distinctiveness by refusing the offer from Canadian White girl to enhance her self-esteem (Turner, 1985).

The way one's ethnic or racial community is represented in the mainstream media constitutes an important part of one's identity formation, because it projects the image of the type of person one wants to be (Arnett, 2010). It provides young people with a resource for a seemingly constant flow of information, and adolescents use this information as a guide for socialization (Shah, 2004). With the constant bombardment of stereotypical images, deciding the type of community by which one wants to be represented can become a challenge for some. Ideas can be enforced or even corrupted by a false sense about religion and ethnic communities. In this instance, it is Anne's Islamic world. After the 9/11 attack on America's World Trade Centre (WTC), Islam has become a focus of prejudice. Anne mentioned that common news stories by the American media that she came across as a child portrayed every Muslim as a terrorist and Muslim religion as an evil of the human society. Her parents did not want her to get affected by such negative stereotyping by media as a child.

Example: 07 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: We don't have cable or Netflix at home and I hardly watch any Canadian series on YouTube.

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As a result of restrictions laid by Anne's parents, there is a limit on her exposure to the North American shows/media. She explained, her parents has not subscribe to any cable channels in Saskatoon to protect her from media which might stigmatize Muslims as radicals and terrorists. As a result of this, she has no other option than to watch only the cooking channels telecasted from Asian and Middle Eastern countries on "Jadu TV," a special channel that her parents have chosen for her. As time passed by, Anne started finding cooking appealing. Her favorite is baking and she bakes every two or three days (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

For one to define him or her as a group member and to avoid being left out, there is a need for group belonging based on their sense of social identity (Dashtipour, 2012). Individuals make comparisons between the groups they identify themselves with and other existing groups so that they can create, defend, achieve or preserve their own self-images as indicated in identity theory (Stryker, 1980). According to this theory, phenomena like discrimination, leadership, organizational behavior, intergroup conflict, prejudice, stereotyping and ethnocentrism play an important role in developing a sense of identity (Burke, 2006). Ali (2012) observed that the major social challenge that Muslim girls face as they attend public schools in Ontario is that they are restricted in participating in social activities like sleepovers and birthday parties. They are confronted with their religious boundaries that restrict them from socializing with the opposite gender, wearing body revealing clothes, eating non-halal food, and socializing in the company of those who smoke and drink (Ali, 2012). Muslim girls who are not comfortable in taking part in such activities feel they are either pressured to take part or are left out. Anne is not an exception to this situation. Anne experiences challenges as she and her family integrates from their traditional ways of life into Canadian schools and society. She indicated that she is not allowed

to take part in any of the above activities by her parents who are traditional Muslims. However, every girl has to deal with the restrictions using their own means, and this depends on how they relate with their parents, religious values and beliefs, and the nature of friends kept (Ali, 2012). She indicated the parental restrictions imposed on her in the following example:

Example 08 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: I am not that of a person that goes to malls and all; my mom has strict rules and I obey them. I am fine with it. I am not like mall type of person. We have parties and all but not like girls only, it will be for relatives too. There will be aunts, uncles, cousins, and family friend there. So, we don't have girls only party as people would say, because my mom says I am too young and I agree with that.

I am not that old yet.

Anne's parents are immigrants to Canada and they realize the significance of the cultural wealth they need to transfer to their children. However, Anne has to negotiate her identity between Pakistani and Canadian identities because she is not fully accepted for who she is by her mainstream White Canadian classmates. I argue that this negotiation in her identity is due to the social constructs of race, religion and culture.

Forsyth's (2009) study indicated that, in developing one's identity, individuals associate themselves with a particular group. The study showed that while constructing one's identity, individuals identify themselves as same and have similar definitions of characteristics they have and who they are, that social integration is a complex process and variables involved in the process of integration are difficult to measure. It is difficult to determine how individuals who have experienced a different culture would adapt to changes they face in the new country. In the new country, individuals may be allowed to take part in a new culture on the condition that they

reject their old culture, accept the new culture but retain the old one, reject the new culture and retain the old culture, or reject both new and old cultures (Forsyth, 2009). In order to avoid any such conflicting situations at public schools, many Muslim parents choose to send their children to associate or Islamic schools (Ali, 2012). Muslim parents and students (like Anne) choose Islamic schools in Canada because they are more beneficial to them and their Islamic upbringing than non-Islamic schools. These schools inculcate religious and cultural values of Islam, provide alternatives to public schools (which tend to be secular with regards to religion), and protect their religious identity from Western influences on culture (Ali, 2012). Also, since Muslim gender, faith, identity and knowledge are politicized in Canada (McAndrew 2009), the stereotypes concerning Islam and their followers are often assumed as facts by the mainstream White society. Such politicizing affects Anne's concept of self (identity). By being in a multicultural school like Augustine, and socializing with mostly the friends of her own religion and culture, she is able to avoid such conflicts.

In the section that follows, I discuss the concept of identity in more detail to answer my second research question and shed some light on Anne's identity construction and its effects on her second language learning/use.

Research question 2

How does Anne's identity/ies interact with her second language (English) learning/use?

Identity is an element through which individuals form their opinions, and respond to the world through a set of particular actions (Dashtipour, 2012; Stryker, 1980; Tajfel, 1981). From the responses given by Anne, I realize that social categories such as race and religion interact with how Anne constructs her sense of identity. Her beliefs, expectations, practices and experiences that influence her identity, as indicated in her trajectory, are different from the

mainstream White society. In the excerpt below, Anne expressed how she sometimes had to stop practicing or lie about her culture when in public (mainstream White society).

Example: 09 (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2014)

Chetan: What does it mean to you when I say “acting like a Canadian”?

Anne: The way I hear it is drop your culture, just go Western, Western clothes, do the same thing. To fit in with the Canadian, sometimes you have to stop your culture, you have to try... you can't be yourself sometimes; you have to try be somebody else, you have to change yourself. You have to change your hobbies, sometimes you even have to lie to fit in and so that what...

Chetan: So do you think fitting in is so important?

Anne: Yes, I think so because I don't want to be left out.

According to Forsyth (2009), young adults understand the issues in homes and communities in the way they are, how they are seen to be, and the place they feel a sense of belonging and are accepted. By connecting with histories which are determined in social spaces and social context, sense is made and meaning assigned to life experiences (Dashtipour, 2012).

Though people speak from different social positions and experiences (Burke, 2006), it is evident that there exists a relationship between one's social identity and language learning/use (Ochs, 1993). Duff and Kobayashi (2010) explained the above relationship in terms of language socialization. It is a procedure whereby novices or newcomers to a new country gain communicative competence, membership, and legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1991) in the mainstream society by means of social interactions (Duff & Kobayashi, 2010). The process of language socialization involves not only acquiring competence in a new language, but also involves understanding how those processes affect learners' participation and identity construction in the

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society they live, and mediate their learning of other non-linguistic matters, like as body language, gestures and, manners (Duff & Kobayashi, 2010). When one's identities and the factors that construct them (like religion, culture, first language) are not recognized by the school system, one does struggle in new countries as he/she tries to integrate (Ali, 2008). This struggle can affect socialization with the native speaker of English and in turn impedes language socialization.

A study by Worswick (2004) identified a language learning gap between White Canadian students and new immigrant EAL students like Anne who came from non-Canadian families with their mother tongue being neither English nor French. It indicated that during early years of elementary schooling, new immigrant children like Anne have language abilities 30% lower than the native speakers of the language (Worswick, 2004, p.75). This language challenge during the early years put restrictions on with whom they interact and the way they interact with native speakers of English. Such a challenge during early years is presented as an example from Anne's interview.

Example 10: (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Anne: It was kind of embarrassing because kids there (Whites) did like, what in the world is she saying?

In the above excerpt, Anne spoke about how her English was considered faulty by her White classmates in Kindergarten. Her classmates (Whites) would laugh at her English and it made her cautious about her language use (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). However, Worswick (2004) found that even though minority students like Anne are likely to perform poorly during their initial adjustment period in the new language environment, they can improve in their learning capabilities (including language use) as time passes. I realized, it is this

transition phase where socialization plays a crucial role in one's language development. According to Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin (2014), during socialization with the native speakers of language (English), students can acquire a language and become fluent speakers, hence developing a sense of belonging to the community. However, socialization is affected by social constructs such as religion, race, culture, and class.

When there is increased social identification, individuals feel connected to each other. They feel a strong attachment to the group, feel good about the group they identify with and the group can be incorporated into social identity (Forsyth, 2009). Anne trusted her preschool teacher of Pakistani heritage (Personal Conversation, December 11, 2014), but as an EAL speaker, Anne found it difficult to communicate with Canadian native English speakers during her early years. Thus, to avoid any sort of embarrassment or humiliation for her language use, Anne chose to stay with students from her own community, expecting that they would understand her better due to similarities in her religion and values associated with Islam (Kanno & Varghese, 2010). I provide the following example to illustrate how Anne chose her best friend.

Example: 11 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: Well, my best friend is Shazal and she is a very good artist. She has the same characteristics as me, she is very funny, and our parents get along. Our parents were friends even before we were born so that has a connection, and we eat together in the school and, afterschool we both stay for the math help. We both have the same hobbies.

Culture has many aspects that are shaped and molded by the background of people, their beliefs and language. Culture includes expression through language, words, images and music (Ochs, 1993). Cultural identity is revealed in the way people dress, spend their time, movies and films

they watch, books they read and the people they choose to spend time with (Ochs, 1993; Forsyth, 2009). One of the reasons why Anne chose to become friends with children from Pakistani ethnicity during kindergarten was because they spoke with a slower pace as indicated in the example below.

Example: 12 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: The Pakistanis, I obviously made friends with them because I knew they would speak... They would speak slowly so that I would understand or get along with it better.

The above response given by Anne indicates that her language during early transition years in Canada affected her choice of friends and social identity, which in turn affected her socialization with Whites and further affected her learning of English (Duff & Kobayashi, 2010). As she was not able to communicate well with the native speakers of English, she was not able to socialize with them and not able to gain the ‘social language’ needed for day-to-day communications (Shin, 2012). As Forsyth (2009) argued, students can affect their original cultural identity so that they can work with other people who are outside their ethnic groups, determining the success of their integration in new society. There are different experiences that Pakistani students like Anne undergo when integrating into Canadian culture. Initially, they may be fascinated by the new environment and become happy. However, after some time, they may be frustrated, hence becoming disappointed due to their restriction in socialization as a result of their religion, race, or gender identity (Duff, 2008). Not every individual is receptive of a foreign culture. Anne mentioned having encounters with such people who judged her based on her religious attire. “There are some people who would look at your color. They would look at what you are wearing. For example, in my religion we wear the Hijab and they all will look at me in a way...

Oh she is wearing that... No, no I am not gonna be friend” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). When individuals change from personal identification to social identity, behavior shifts from interpersonal to intergroup (Dashtipour, 2012). The following example supports the point made by Dashtipour.

Example: 13 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Chetan: Apart from your English, what other qualities do you think are necessary to be friends with the native speaker of English?

Anne: You have to have the same hobbies. You have to know about, say for example, they have their own electronic such as iPod and cell phones. I am from Pakistan and my parents don't give electronics off that easily or that early. I am not saying all, but some of the native English speakers, the Europeans that first came here. Their parents might give them because there are a couple of kids and, they watch certain things (adult images) and certain things that in my religion I am not allowed, and so if you don't know about that you can't really fit in their group or their lifestyle.

While emphasizing the significance of Islamic culture on her lifestyle, Anne also shed some light on her social class. As she implied, her parents perhaps belong to a lower middle class status in Canada. It is a possibility that they are not able to afford expensive electronics for their children and they use religion and culture as an excuse to conceal their economic condition. Block (2012) suggested that factors like the power of an individual's family background can influence socialization experiences of students at school. Thus, the concept of social capital by Bourdieu (1987) is relevant in explaining why, despite her “perfect” English, Anne could not gain excess to the native speaker (White) social groups (Biddle, 2014). Explaining the same point further,

during one of her interview responses, Anne highlighted how her family's social class switched from Middle class in Pakistan to lower middle class after their immigration to Canada.

Example: 14 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Anne: In Canada you don't really have maids or servants, and in Canada, the house is pretty small compared to in Pakistan because in Canada you have your own house, you don't live with your aunt, uncles, but back home you live with your whole family. Also, the culture, lifestyle is different and rules (social rules) back home are different (stricter) than Canada.

Social status influences one's lifestyle and leisure activities, thus affecting process of socialization (Block, 2012). Even Anne believes that one had to have a similar culture and lifestyle to the person from the mainstream Caucasian class with whom one wanted to be friends. She put similarities in lifestyle and hobbies as some of the most important factors, along with English, that affects her choice of friends at the school. This choice impacts her language learning/use (Duff & Kobayashi, 2010). Ali (2008), in his study, came to a conclusion that students whose religion is Islam were likely to face difficulties in learning English as their second language due to restrictions laid by social categories such as culture (Ochs, 1993), race (Ali, 2008) and class (Block, 2012), affecting their socialization process. I agree that leisure activities, attire, mannerism, social class are important components, along with language and religion, in allowing an individual to be friends with native English speakers from the mainstream society and feel part of their culture while living in a multicultural situation. But, it is also important to consider the nature of the society an individual has emigrated from and immigrated to, and the social characteristics of the individual who has immigrated, in determining how well that person will adjust during the immigration process.

So far, the evidences in this chapter hinted that social categories such as religion and culture, race, and social class are interconnected and influences Anne's second language learning/use by affecting her process of socialization and identity construction. In the section that follows I have clustered the main ideas of this chapter into patterns and themes.

Understanding Patterns and Themes

Several themes and patterns emerged from data collected from Anne. Reduction (Miles & Huberman, 1994), a technique of determining the way some words appear frequently in the field notes, interview scripts, and notes of observations made by the researcher, was used to identify key themes and patterns:

1. Statements given by Anne during the interview process indicate that there exist people who have problems with Anne's culture and religion. She was discriminated against by her White neighbor for being Muslim and non-White.
2. Anne is subjected to different experiences by some of her White classmates at school who provide negative social messages on her religious attire. Thus, she feels uncomfortable to be around them at times, such as the lunch hour.
3. Negative experiences with Whites has developed a general perception about the mainstream Canadian society in Anne's mind, influencing her social identity and restricting her socialization with White classmates.
4. Commonalities in leisure activities, attire, mannerisms, and social class are important components, along with language and religion, to allow Anne to be friends with people from the mainstream society and feel part of their culture while living in a multicultural situation. E.g. similar hobbies, similar food, use of iPad and other electronic gadgets.

5. Good English skills do not guarantee a friendship with White students. Anne indicates a need to sometimes drop and/or lie about her Pakistani culture in order to act like a Canadian and fit into a White friends' circle. Wanting to avoid such a choice, she is left with no choice than to surround herself by people of her own heritage.

Main patterns identified above are clustered to form themes for the study. The themes of race, religion and culture, and social class which arise are crucial in providing insight into challenges faced by Anne as she integrates into Canadian life and learns English as an Additional Language (EAL). Themes are combined across contexts surrounding Anne, activities she was involved in, and events in the school. The themes also helps to create an understanding of how the social categories of race, religion and culture, and class are contributing to and shaping her identity.

In the chapter that follows, I discuss how religion and culture, and racialized gender are interlinked to affect one's identity and second language (English) learning/use.

CHAPTER FIVE

Umair: I Respect My Culture and Religious Values

In this chapter, the story of Umair (a pseudonym), a 14 year old Pakistani immigrant boy at Augustine school, is presented. Umair's trajectory focuses on his life before and after immigration to Canada. I then analyse Umair's story to answer my first two research questions. In this analysis I uncover how socially constructed concepts like religion and racialized gender constructs Umair's identity, and influences his language use by affecting his process of socialization. Finally, I briefly discuss the findings of the study to identify key patterns and themes from Umair's chapter.

The Trajectory

Umair was born on November 18, 2001 in Rawalpindi, Pakistan. Umair has a medium height, brown complexion, and dark brown eyes. He wears a long sleeved white shirt and a pair of black pants every day to school. Umair is a bilingual speaker of English and Urdu studying in Grade 7 at Augustine elementary school. He lives in a five member family. He has two siblings, an older brother in Grade 8 and a younger sister in Grade 3. He and his siblings attend the same Augustine elementary school. Umair is the second eldest among his siblings. He described his hometown, Rawalpindi, as an urban area in Pakistan, famous for yarn and textile industries. His father worked as an Engineer in Rawalpindi, but his mother was a stay-at-home parent.

Umair grew up in a nuclear family. His daily routine in Pakistan included waking up early each morning at around 6 o'clock every day. He mentioned that waking early in the morning is a common cultural practice in Pakistan. It is a common practice among Muslims in

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Pakistan that family members wake up early to offer a morning prayer to Allah before eating their breakfast (Personal Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Umair studied at an English-medium school in Rawalpindi. Studying at English-medium schools is considered as a privilege in many parts of Pakistan, and only a few families can afford it due to the cost involved in sending their children to such schools. However, after a child enters middle school years, English becomes the medium of instruction for most of the public and private schools (British Council, 2013). Afterschool, when he came home, doing his homework on time and going to bed early formed an indispensable part of his routine. On weekends, Umair's relatives or family and friends visited them. One of his favorite childhood memories from back home is his visits to amusement parks in the city and his first experience of a roller coaster ride.

Umair's family immigrated to Canada in 2011 when he was 10 years old. They first lived in Toronto for six to seven months before moving to Saskatoon in 2012. His father decided to move to Saskatchewan due to flexible Permanent Residency rules in place in 2012 (SINP, 2011) and better job opportunities. During his early transition period into a new country, when his family lived in Toronto, Umair did not attend any formal schooling as it was the middle of the Canadian academic year. It was only after he and his family moved to Saskatoon that Umair was enrolled at Augustine and that he had his first experience with the Canadian education system.

Umair sees Canada as a different place from Pakistan with regard to peoples' lifestyles, their culture and the population demographics (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). He has not visited Pakistan since his family immigrated to Canada in 2011. During the interview, Umair recalled his memories of his hometown and compared the life in both countries. These were his words:

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Example: 15 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Umair: In Pakistan it is very dirty, there is so much noise, there are so many cars but here that's like you can just walk around and that there is nobody there. It's peaceful and very clean.

Despite the dirt, noise and crowd, Pakistan holds a special place in Umair's heart as it is the country of his birth, including the colour of the country's national flag. "My favourite colour is green because it's the colour of my country's flag. The green colour also has a cultural meaning in terms of religious denomination back home in Pakistan," said Umair (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). He told me that his life in Pakistan was very structured. He had a fixed routine at home that he had to follow during the weekdays. The only people he could hang out with over the weekends were his relatives and family friends. However, after coming to Canada, he is able to interact with people from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds and there is more flexibility to his daily routine.

Example: 16 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Chetan: What is your daily routine here? Take me through a day.

Umair: So... I wake up, then I go to washroom, then I watch TV, then I go to school and then afterschool, aaa... I watch TV, play videogames, read but sometimes I go to my friend's house, I go to my cousin's house, I go to store sometimes.

Chetan: And how is that a different routine during the weekends?

Umair: On the weekends I go outside my house more often.

In Saskatoon, Umair lives with his parents and siblings in a two bedroom house in a community surrounded by White Caucasian Canadian families. His father works as an engineer,

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and his mother stays home to look after Umair and his two siblings. Umair considers himself as a person of culture, ethics and values when it comes to making new friends. Umair emphasized that his culture and values are an integral part of his identity (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). He has four best friends who emigrated from four different countries: Pakistan, Somalia, Lebanon and Palestine. He remarked that all his friends are humorous, caring and have similar cultural and religious beliefs as him. “They always enquire about my well-being and tried to make me happy and comfortable, especially on days when I felt sad” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). His neighborhood provides him with exposure to the people from mainstream Canadian society outside of the school. Umair narrated that every morning his neighbors (Whites) greet him on his way to school. Sometimes they even give him some cookies (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Inside of Augustine, the majority of his friends are born in Canada but their parents are immigrants from various countries of the Middle-East and Africa. Umair considers English competency as an important factor if he wants to be friends with White Canadian students/people. I asked Umair about his attitude towards a person with a foreign accent, if he has any criteria for being friends with a person with a foreign accent (not a native Canadian English accent). Umair does not think it matter to him as long as they know how to speak the language. In addition to one’s good English skills, Umair also advocates for a need of sharing common cultural and religious beliefs with the person of interest. Because his family values are important to him, Umair often keeps them in mind when choosing a friend. For example, his parents emphasize on choosing friends with good ethics and values.

Umair: Inside the School

The first day when I saw Umair in the classroom (Field notes, December 19, 2014), he was seated with Hassan. Hassan is an immigrant Muslim boy from Saudi Arabia who has Pakistani heritage. The tables were arranged in such a way that four students could face each other and interact with each other while paying attention to the teacher. The other two students seated in the group were White Caucasian Canadians. I began my class by brain storming questions to test students' previous knowledge of the topic. To answer my first question, Umair, Hassan and a few more students from the class raised their hands. I chose Hassan to answer the question and he was able to answer it correctly. For the second question, Umair, Hassan and two Canadian students seated by them raised their hands. Umair was chosen to answer the question but he gave an incorrect answer. Following his incorrect response, Umair immediately looked at Hassan and the other students by him and then looked down at the floor. He looked at his Canadian bench mates, and then Hassan prompted some words to Umair. Umair raised his hand again to rectify his previous incorrect answer and was able to get it right. For the rest of the question and answer time, Umair only interacted with Hassan and did not speak much to the White Canadian students seated by him. After the class ended, I went to the class teacher and asked her about the seating arrangement of the classroom. The teacher told me that it was she who decided the seating arrangement but usually students sat with their friends or assignment partners.

The other time (Field notes, January 30, 2015), I needed each student to have access to a laptop computer during the class as I was planning to show them some YouTube videos. Sana, a Canadian born Pakistani girl, stood up and offered to help me in distributing the laptops. Umair, who was seated with Shawn, stood up at the same time as Sana did but sat down after I agreed

upon Sana's help in the distribution. However, Sana was called out by the principal in the main office and I needed someone else to replace her as a helper. Shawn, a Canadian born Pakistani boy offered to help. Umair came up to me and asked if he could help Shawn to distribute the laptop computers. I agreed and both the students helped me with the distribution and the projector setup.

Umair stood right by me while I was logged into my university of Saskatchewan email account to retrieve the videos. Umair asked me loudly if my password ended with XXXX. Shawn, who was helping me with the Projector setup, looked at Umair and said to him, "You must not look at other's password; even if you saw it, you should not say it aloud. That's not right" (Field notes, January 30, 2015). After Shawn was done helping me with the projector setup, he took his own laptop computer and moved away from Umair and sat with some other boys from the Middle-East.

Self Representation Through an Artifact

When Umair was asked to bring something that represents his identity or to which he could relate, he brought a sketch. In the picture (Figure 2), Umair is holding a sketch he chose to draw. The sketch shows two lizards trapped in a maze. He explained the sketch (Field notes, March 03, 2015) as a representation of his state of mind that is caught in the double bind of Eastern and Western cultures. Umair considers himself to be a person of principles. He emphasized that his culture is an integral part of his identity. However, he sometimes feels that because of being an immigrant from a country that has a different cultural upbringing from that of Canada, he is not able to socialize with the children from the mainstream Canadian (White) society. Even though he has the language skills to communicate well with them, the culture and

the principles he grew up with does put some challenges on his interactions and choice of friends and that is what he represented in his artifact.

In the section that follows, while answering my first research question, I reveal various challenges faced by Umair in Canada. I also analyze in detail his claims about social restrictions put on him by his cultural upbringing and religious values.

Research Questions and Discussion

Research Question 1

What are some of the challenges faced by Umair as he is attempting to integrate in Canadian schools and society despite having good L2 communicative competence?

Umair considers himself a person with the guiding principles of Islam. During his interviews, he emphasized that his religion has always been an integral part of his identity. Islamic culture and values drive his choice of friends. However, he sometimes feels that being an immigrant from a country that has a different religious majority and cultural upbringing than that of Canada, he does not have the luxury to choose his friends or socialize with White Canadian children. Even though he has the language skills needed to communicate with them, the culture and the principles he grew up with does put some restrictions on his choice of friends (Ali, 2012). His mindfulness of his culture and values, while trying to be friends with a White Canadian person, put some restrictions on the children in his friend circle. He chooses to be friends with students of his own religion and culture.

Example: 17 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Chetan: Who is your best friend here and where is he/she from?

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Umair: I just don't have only one best friend, I have three to four. One of them is from Pakistan. One of them is from Somalia. One of them is from Lebanon and one of them is from Palestine.

Umair does not socialize much with the children from the mainstream White Caucasian society because they have a different cultural upbringing. He believes that religious values that shape one's culture are important criteria to consider when choosing a good friend as it can affect one's lifestyle (Collet, 2007).

Example: 18 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Umair: A person you are friends with, his believes can affect you. If his believes are good, you will become good and if they are bad, you will become bad.

According to Ali (2008), immigrant students like Umair use cultural differences and similarities to select best friends. Umair's family requires him to observe the values that his religion, Islam, advocates (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). His perceptions of western culture are different from that of Islamic culture. He perceives the western lifestyle and culture as different from his own, which is driven by religious values. He frowned when some White students used vulgar language, which is not tolerated in his religion (Field notes, December 19, 2014). Most of the experiences of immigrant children like Umair are in conflict with their traditional value system. Western values that do not uphold sufficient courtesy to elders, are a cultural difference noted by Ali (2008).

Example: 19 (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015)

Chetan: How does lifestyle and culture play a role in choosing your friends?

Umair: Because lifestyle and culture is a thing that you usually talk about with them; when you have free time you talk about it with them. It affects your hobbies

and stuff. You and him have to have the same lifestyle otherwise you will not get along.

Dashtipour's (2012) research confirms the above statement made by Umair, as at Augustine, children with similar cultural backgrounds and lifestyles are more likely to socialize with one another than with those who did not have common cultural backgrounds (Recorded Classroom Observation, December 19, 2014). Umair firmly believes that, even if he manages to be friends with someone with a different lifestyle (White Canadian students), he would not be able to get along with them for long due to cultural and lifestyle differences. As a result, their friendship might disintegrate. Thus, friends kept by Umair are related to him in one way or another, mostly based on shared religious and cultural values.

Along with the religious and cultural differences, Umair also believes that some White Canadian students at Augustine and the children he meets outside of the school have different criteria for being friends with him than just the language. These criteria are influenced by one's personality and the degree of openness towards the visible minorities (Zine, 2008). In support of his statement, he said:

Example: 20 (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015).

Umair: It matters how our personalities are, how one acts and how one behaves. If you act like them [Whites], they will be your friends. It actually depends on the person you are trying to be friends with. If a person is more open to new people, then he will want to be your friend but if a person is closed, he only wants to be friends with Canadians and with the people of his own race.

The above statement made by Umair highlights how some White children choose racial similarities as a criteria for friendship even in the 21st century, and is in agreement with the

findings from Kubota and Lin (2006), and Shin (2015). Alienation of Umair by White Canadian students is also a challenge he faces at Augustine despite its multicultural classroom. During the classroom interaction depicted above, Umair's incorrect answer was not tolerated by his Canadian classmates and White students of Canadian origin did not associate or render help during this class interaction. Umair perceives such an attitude of White Canadian students as a form of a discrimination against immigrant students (Shin, 2015).

As indicated earlier, Umair's best friends share common religion, culture and gender with Umair. Umair's best friends' parents emigrated from the Muslim countries of Somalia, Pakistan, Lebanon and Palestine. Some of the other classmates he is friends with are born in Canada but their parents were also immigrants from Africa and/or Middle East. His relatives comprised Umair's friend circle back home (in Pakistan); but in Canada, his options for choosing friends are limited (Kubota & Lin, 2006), which he assumes to be because of his religion, and foreign accent. Thus, in order to avoid any conflicts with religious beliefs and language, Umair chooses to be friends with students who share similar accent, religion, and cultural background at Augustine, or he chooses to be involved in play activities that he can do by himself. Umair told me once, "I like playing videogames during the weekends. I also enjoy sketching and painting" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). The above observation collaborates with the findings from Kanno and Varghese (2010). They revealed a similar phenomenon where immigrant students like Umair choose to remain with co-ethnic children because they are not accepted into the friend circles of native speakers of English (Whites) due to linguistic and cultural differences.

Islam and its preaching play an influential role in constructing Umair's religious identity. The religious values that promote gender segregation after puberty also influences his gender

identity, which I refer to as racialized gender identity (Ali and Reisen, 1999). On the day of my second observation (Field notes, January 30, 2015), I entered the class with handouts to distribute to students. Umair came up to me and asked me if I needed any help in distributing those handouts. I smiled and handed over some of them to him and we both started distributing the handouts. While doing this, I noticed that Umair called out some names loudly before giving them the handouts but for others he just placed them on the student's desk. It took me a while to realize that Umair was calling out only the names of boys in the class and not the girls. After he was done handing them over, he started repeating the names after me. Even here, he called out only boys' names loudly and for the girls he used a softer voice.

From the above observation, it was clear that Umair made gender choices. Umair's religious identity influences how and with whom he interacts. It influences mixed gender socialization, thus restricting his interaction to only males in the school. On several occasions like handout distribution and classroom interactions, it was evident that Umair preferred to interact with only male students in the classroom. If he had to communicate with girls, his voice toned down in comparison to interactions with male students (Field notes, January 30, 2014). Umair's religious identity constructs his racialized gender identity which he expresses through the choice of only male friends and development of gender positioning based on religious values (Ali, 2012; Ali, 2008; Ali & Reisen, 1999; Asghar, 2012).

The data collected through various sources indicate that Umair encounters challenges such as conflicts in his religious, cultural and family values along with the language barrier. He believes himself to have faced transition difficulties to the code of conduct in Augustine, and the mainstream society in general, due to discord in his old and new lifestyles. For example, food,

family values, and social norms were significant differences. In the section that follows, I explore how Umair's identity influences his English language use as a young adult.

Research Question 2

How does Umair's identity/ies interact with his second language (English) learning/use?

This trajectory shows that Umair has no White friends at Augustine. He blames his English accent, which is not the same as that of Canadians, as one of the main reasons for not having White Caucasian friends at school. He expressed his feelings in the following words:

Example: 21 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Umair: Yeah, they have an accent, I have an accent. So, they speak differently from me.

Umair was placed in an EAL classroom for a week in the beginning of the school year at Augustine. His class teacher soon realized that Umair has good English competency, after completing a language assessment test, and Umair was transferred to the mainstream classroom within a week after admission (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). However, I argue that English spoken by Umair is perceived to be faulted by White Canadian students in his classroom because of his placement in an EAL classroom at the start of the school year. He is probably assumed to be a slow learner with learning difficulties by his White Canadian classmates, due to his EAL background.

Example: 22 (Field notes, February 13, 2015)

During a science period, I asked the class to choose a project partner for their science demo. Umair looked at Hassan but Hassan was already talking to someone else (a White student) about his project. Umair then started looking around in the class. Most of the students had quickly chosen their demo partners. Adam was the

only student who was looking for a partner. Umair went to Adam and asked him to be his partner but Adam wanted to do a project that Umair had no interest. Then Adam moved to a girl (White) and formed a pair. Umair looked around as he was not able to find a partner. I did not see anybody approach Umair to be his project partner.

I wondered if Umair's EAL placement and incorrect answers during class activities were perceived as lack of intelligence by his classmates.

Example: 23 (Field notes, March 30, 2015)

Umair and Hassan paired up to perform the science demo. Hassan began the demo and started explaining the experiment. There was a complete silence in the class while Hassan was explaining. However, when Umair started explaining his part of experiment, the noise level in the classroom increased. Many students were talking to each other and not paying attention to the experiment. The class became silent when the teacher interrupted and asked the class to maintain silence. Hassan concluded the demo.

As a researcher in the classroom, it appeared to me that some White Canadian students view him as a learner of English even though he has successfully completed a language assessment test. Thus, they chose not to pay attention to Umair's explanation of the experiment. Umair told me that some White children also make fun of his English accent. He supported his comment by sharing following example post interview.

Example: 24 (Personal conversation, December 11, 2014)

Umair once visited Berry Barn with his father. He told some of his classmates about his visit the next day at school. One of his classmates laughed at Umair and

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asked him if he went to a Cherry Bam. He repeatedly called it a Cherry Bam even when Umair clearly mentioned it as a Berry Barn. His other classmates then laughed at this situation.

It occurred to Umair that the classmate was attempting to make fun of his accent and thus, referred to Berry as Cherry, and Barn as Bam. May be experiences like these affect his self esteem and self confidence. I provide an example below which I believe supports my point.

Example: 25 (Field notes, March 30, 2015)

Umair and Hassan decided to pair up for the science project. On the day of demo, Umair asked Hassan to do most of the talking part (explanation) and he just helped with the demonstration.

It is a possibility that Umair did not want to face any sort of embarrassment during the demonstration of their experiment. He remembers that his foreign accent was laughed at by the native speakers of English at Augustine “when I say certain words, my accent affects my interaction [with native speakers of English]” (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015). The argument I make is in accordance with findings by Ali (2008), who discussed how EAL students become embarrassed, unhappy and humiliated when they are treated as the ones with learning difficulties and are often labeled with low expectations by their native English speaking peers who view themselves as having higher or average learning abilities. This can affect their sense of personal identity (Forsyth, 2009).

Though the incorrect answer he provided, as demonstrated earlier, could possibly explain the lack of interaction in the classroom between Umair and White Canadian classmates, Umair also provided other reasons for this lack of interaction. He blames cultural and lifestyle differences, “I see myself different than White Canadian classmates because I am not from the

same country as them. They have different beliefs and I have different beliefs and values. Thus, it makes it kind of hard to be friends with them because your family doesn't live the same way like them but you can still be friends" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). His four best friends in the classroom are Canadian born boys who share a common religion (Islam), culture and gender (male) with Umair.

In Umair's opinion, people with lifestyle differences have less in common to talk about and this causes communication barriers (Kanno & Varghese, 2010) between immigrants and White Canadian students (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Thus, Umair chooses to interact mostly with Hassan, of Pakistan heritage, due to similarities in religion, and culture (Field notes, December 19, 2014). In the following example, cultural (values, traditions, beliefs) and social (lifestyle, food) discord between two countries lifestyle are manifested by Umair.

Example: 26 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Chetan: What difficulties do you think a person can face while he is trying to be friends with the native speaker of English?

Umair: Sometimes, when they are talking something related to Canada, you might not know about it... and sometimes, when you talk about the culture of your country, they won't understand it even when you talk to them in their language [English].

Thus, Umair is not able to find common topics of discussion to hold a conversation with White children because of their different lived experiences and lack of shared knowledge, despite his English competency. Umair believes that he is a competent speaker of English due to the language instructions he received while schooling in Pakistan and the successful completion of

the language assessment test at Augustine affirm his thoughts. So, when I asked Umair about his opinion on his English language ability, this is what he expressed:

Example: 27 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Umair: I went to an English school in Pakistan and they made you speak English.

I think I am okay in English because when I go to the store, I can talk to people and ask them and they ask me something, and they are like, "How are you today?" I like, "Good." They are like, "Gotta bag?" So, they talk to me. So, I feel I speak English okay.

He considers good communication skills a requirement for new friendship inside and outside the school setting. "If you can't communicate with each other, you won't be able to understand one another and then you really can't be that good friends" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). However, Umair feels that some White Caucasian people do not like his English, not because of his language competency but because they do not like immigrants (Ali and Reisen's, 1999). Umair said:

Example: 28 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Chetan: When do you feel challenged or stressed as an EAL speaker in Canada?

Umair: Sometimes, there are some people who don't like immigrants, or when you talk with them, they don't like your English.

Chetan: What do you mean by, "They don't like your English."

Umair: Like, they don't want to talk to you... They don't like immigrants, and they can't understand your English.

In the above example, Umair again provided an evidence of his perception about discriminatory attitude of some White people. Statements like these make us wonder, Why Umair come to such

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a perception? And, if the society has chosen subtle routes of discrimination against visible minorities?

Islamic culture and values play an important role in Umair's identity and socialization, which in turn affects his language learning/use (Ali and Reisen, 1999). Despite Umair's confidence in his language abilities, I observed him communicate mostly with Muslim male students in the classroom. His religious identity influences his gender based classroom interactions and language use, as seen in several instances. Gender roles occur due to religious affiliations and different cultural backgrounds as different religions give varying roles for both male and female members in a given family (Ali &Reisen, 1999). In some cultures women do not possess equal rights as men while, in others, they do. Islamic values discourage mixed gender socialization after children reach puberty (Ali &Reisen, 1999). Such a religious upbringing and religious values can keep one gender segregated from the other and this affects how they interact with the opposite gender in a classroom. The following example, recorded from the observation made in a career education classroom, represents how Umair's religious identity influences his gender role and interacts with his language use:

Example: 29 (Field notes, December 19, 2014).

Teacher: One has to follow his or her own passion while choosing a career option.

Umair: What if there is no good money in the profession?

Teacher: For me, money is secondary. I am a teacher and I don't earn a whole lot of money but still I am very happy with my profession...

Umair: (Interrupts the teacher) ...but I think money is very important.

Teacher: For some people it is. But you see, after my retirement, I would want to be a writer and...

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Umair: (Interrupts and raised his hand) ...What profession has the most money?

Teacher: (To Umair) Put your hands down please. Nutritionist is a good career...

Umair: (Interrupts the teacher) How much do they earn?

Teacher: Say around \$17,000 per month.

Umair: (without raising his hand) I don't think so, maybe \$ 17,000 per year

Teacher: I am pretty sure it's \$17,000 per month.

(The bell rang for the recess and the teachers discussed with me privately about how they struggled with Umair's mannerism towards the teachers in the classrooms.)

Umair's inability to comprehend the guidance provided by a female teacher during a career education class highlights how a student can place himself in a position of power based on what he sees around him, and in his family life (Ali, 2008; Ali &Reisen, 1999). In the classroom observations, Umair was not seen interacting with any of the girls during classroom activities and/ or projects. He is brought up with social values where men are considered superior, and responsible for making career decisions for their children. Thus, it appears that Umair may have believed that women are responsible for taking care of the family after marriage and that the decisions pertaining to career and finances should be left to the male figures in the family. Hence, this could be a possible explanation of why he resisted a career advice given by a female teacher in Career education class but never had a disciplinary problem during my teaching sessions.

Kubota's (2003) study examined how gender influences academic writing in EAL students. Second language development and its effects and reflections on gender identity in L2 writing have been explored in this study. Though it focused on L2 writing, it does provide a base

for gender roles in L2 communication. It helps to explain why Umair interacted differently with the female teacher, researcher (male) and other classmates (mixed gender), which I explain next.

Umair's disrespect of the class's teacher can also be explained by Forsyth (2009) who states that students often misbehave if they cannot associate with their teacher's identity. Because of limited social interaction between Umair and many of the White Caucasian students, he finds it difficult to identify with White Caucasian classmates, and the White Caucasian teachers (Forsyth, 2009). On one hand, his Islamic culture asks him to respect elders, but it also positions male opinions higher than female opinions. Secondly, now that Umair is in mainstream White society, his values conflict with the Western social norms of classroom participation. His dual state of mind is what is depicted by him in his artifact. Thus his behaviors, due to conflicting cultural and religious values that affect his identity, are perceived as arrogance by his teachers. According to Forsyth (2009), in an individual's life, he or she develops a unique sense of identity that is made up of a combination of different identities, including gender, culture and religion. When there is increased social identification, individuals feel connected to each other (Bourdieu, 1987). They feel a strong attachment to the group, feel good about the group identified with and the group can be incorporated into their social identity.

Bourdieu (1987) indicated that one's social identity may be affected by cultural heritage association and language capital, which in turn can affect their social relationships. He argued that friendship is influenced by cultural values, and cultural similarities. Inability to use social language inside the classroom may either create or break friendship. Umair often uses direct language with most of his male classmates, thus his language comes across as more of a command than a request. An example of this is as follows:

Example: 30 (Recorded Classroom Observation, December 19, 2014),

Umair: Adam, you do a project on solubility, I don't like that.

The above response can be explained by Bourdieu's (1987) theory of social identity, who suggested that, to settle comfortably in new environments, immigrant EAL students like Umair need to spend some time to learn English as their primary language. I support Bourdieu's (1987) suggestion because if social language is a key in a classroom interaction, then it is important that every immigrant develops social skills irrespective of their language competency. When Umair was transferred from an EAL classroom to the mainstream classroom, he believed that he could interact with other students using a common language, English. However, this ideal situation turned out to be a hypothetical assumption for Umair. His individual identity is affected by his social identity (Burke, 2006) as he aims at maintaining positive self-concept and intergroup discrimination to uphold his notion of a positive social identity (Forsyth, 2009).

So far, evidence in this chapter show that social categories such as racialized gender and religion are connected and influence Umair's identity. His identity in turn influences his English language learning/use by affecting his process of socialization with Whites, and female students and teachers in particular. In the section that follows, I have compiled the main ideas of this chapter into patterns and themes.

Understanding Patterns and Themes

Initial analysis of the data I collected from Umair show key themes and patterns as Umair tries to integrate in Canadian school and society. To account for the research questions, the data presented in the Trajectory section above is compared to related literature investigated. In general, data is reduced to identify five main patterns.

Patterns

- i. From my observations and conversations with Umair, there is no evidence that the school made a commitment in ensuring that Umair has a smooth transition as he is integrating in Canadian schools and society. Thus, Umair experiences a mismatch between the education system in Pakistan, which is influenced by Islamic culture, and the one in Canada, influenced by Judeo-Christian heritage and Euro-centrism.
- ii. Although Umair has good L2 communicative competence, this does not guarantee him White Canadian friends. It appears that Umair experiences judgments about his English competency and foreign accent by his White classmates; thus, he chooses to socialize with other L2 speakers of English.
- iii. Umair has different classroom experiences than other students, based on his religion and religious values about gender. He does not socialize with female students in the classroom. And, his racialized gender identity also influences his interactions with female teachers.
- iv. Other criteria for choosing friends include his beliefs. He names religious, cultural values and lifestyle differences as factors which affects his friendship with Whites. Thus he mostly socializes with the children of his heritage.
- v. Along with language and religious values, family values are important components that govern Umair's friendship with people from the mainstream society. Family values put him in a double bind of Pakistani and Canadian culture while living in a multicultural situation.

When the main patterns identified are combined by the researcher, two key themes of religion and culture, and racialized gender emerge that provide insights to the challenges faced

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by Umair as he works to integrate in Canadian life and learn English as an Additional Language (EAL). Themes are combined across conditions surrounding Umair, and the activities he is involved in both inside and outside of the classroom. The themes also helps to create an understanding of how the social categories of religion and culture, and gender are contributing to and shaping Umair's identity and influencing his socialization with Whites.

In the chapter that follows, I explore how religion and racialized gender are interlinked to affect identity and English learning/use in a female immigrant EAL student from Pakistan.

CHAPTER SIX

Celina: I Had Only One White Friend

In this chapter, I present Celina's (a pseudonym) trajectory focusing on her life before and after immigration to Canada. The chapter then analyses and discusses my two research questions and uncovers how socially constructed categories like religion, gender, and legitimate language are interconnected and contribute to Celina's identity construction. Then, I briefly discuss the findings of the study to identify various patterns and themes and to reveal how her socialization influences her second language learning/use.

The Trajectory

Celina was born on June 14, 2003 in Faisalabad, Pakistan. She is a 12 year old girl of medium height, brown complexion and dark brown eyes. Celina wears a hijab (a traditional Muslim scarf) around her neck and a burqa (full body clothes for traditional Muslim women) every day to school. She is a bilingual speaker of English and Urdu in a Grade 6 classroom at Augustine elementary school. Celina grew up in an extended family with family members who lived together in a big house in Pakistan. Recalling her childhood memories of her home country, she spoke about a big traditional house, several uncles and aunts, and numerous family friends who visited them during the festival of "Eid" (an Islamic festival). Even though she does not have many childhood memories of her home country, she clearly remembers the enormous festival of "Eid" she celebrated with her family and family friends in Pakistan (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Celina described her hometown, Faisalabad, as an urban area in Pakistan. It is the third largest city in the country, and it is a major industrial center. Her father owned a real-estate

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business in Pakistan and her mother was a housewife (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). However, lack of career opportunities and increasing corruption made it difficult for Celina's father to find a job that could sustain their family income. Her parents decided to move to Canada with a dream of finding better career opportunities and quality life for Celina and her siblings. Celina turned five on the plane and celebrated her fifth birthday in Canada (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). The family immigrated to Canada in 2008.

Celina's family lived in Toronto for one year after immigrating to Canada. Her first transition from Pakistan to Canada happened while attending a kindergarten. The majority of children at the kindergarten belonged to White Canadian families. There were not many children from visible minorities. Celina found kindergarten to be a smooth medium of transition into the Canadian education system and society. She had attended an English-medium pre-school in her home country, and that proved advantageous at the kindergarten in Toronto (Field notes, December 11, 2014). Although she was unable to speak fluent English during her transitional phase, she was still able to communicate with her classmates. "It wasn't hard to make friends in the kindergarten because everyone was new, and they were just coming in too. So, it wasn't that hard and I made friends" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December, 11, 2014). Celina's parents then decided to move to Saskatchewan in 2009 due to better job opportunities and flexible Permanent Residency rules (SINP, 2011). Celina joined Sunshine (a pseudonym) elementary school for Grade 1 before moving to Augustine for Grade 5.

Celina has not visited Pakistan since her family's emigration in 2008. In Saskatoon, she lives in a medium-sized house (three bedrooms) with her parents and three siblings. She has two younger brothers and a younger sister. She is the eldest among all the siblings. Her father works

as a realtor but her mother stays home to look after Celina's three younger siblings (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). She lives in a community surrounded by White Caucasian families, thus, most of the children in her neighborhood are White. When I asked Celina about her views on cultural tolerance in Saskatoon, she expressed that the society is welcoming to the immigrant families from various ethnic backgrounds. "My family has never faced a problem living here but they have also not made many friends in the neighborhood as most of our family's friends are Pakistanis" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

On weekdays, Celina has an alarm set up on her iPod that wakes her early in the morning around 6 o'clock every day. She helps her mother prepare breakfast every morning but often has to skip her own breakfast as she is rushed to get to school. Thus, her mother packs her a breakfast in a Tiffin box. After school, she changes, takes a shower, eats dinner and reads 'the Holy Quran' (before doing her homework or watching television). She also enjoys doing artistic things such as making crafts and weaving. On the weekends, she wakes early but spends most of her time relaxing, watching movies or going to the park during the day to play with the children (mostly immigrants). In her leisure time, she enjoys painting and playing soccer with her girlfriends of Pakistani heritage. The evenings, however, have the same routine as the weekdays (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Celina also enjoys watching television series. She does not have a particular TV series she prefers, but watches whatever is played. However, she expressed a preference for Canadian television soap operas over the Pakistani ones, "I just like them" (Field notes, December 11, 2014). An Anne Hathaway show is her all-time favorite. On weekends, she spends time with her cousins or her best friend, Sana. They go to movies or just socialize and have sleepovers. Talking

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to salespersons in a shopping mall and having a conversation with new people is something she has enjoyed since her childhood (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Celina believes that she has very good communicative English skills, and that language has never been an issue in recent years when it comes to being friends with anyone. As she proudly (voice raised) said:

Example 31: (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Celina: I feel successful about my English use because it's not that hard for me anymore. So, I don't think that's a challenge anymore.

However, Celina also mentioned that, despite her “perfect” English skills, she does not have a single White Canadian friend inside or outside of her school. She feels confident about her vocabulary and does not have a foreign accent, but wonders why her circle of friends does not expand beyond the people of her own race and/or ethnicity (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). The only White friend Celina ever had was Erin, a kindergartener in Toronto. However, they are not in touch after Celina changed schools. When I asked her why, Celina expressed, “I don't know (through a shoulder rise)” (Field notes, December 11, 2014). Her best friend at Augustine is Sana, a Canadian-born girl with Pakistani heritage. She met Sana a year ago when Sana's family moved to Saskatoon from Edmonton (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Celina: Inside the School

When I observed Celina for the first time (Field notes, January 09, 2015), the Career Education class was in progress. I entered the class and sat on a chair by a corner. The class teacher (a White Canadian female) introduced the topic, “Does money matter?” Celina immediately leaned towards the desk to put her forehead on the desk. The teacher introduced the

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concept of wealthy and middle class family incomes in Canada and asked several questions. Celina raised her hand for one of the questions but did not get to answer. For the next question, she mumbled some words to Sana, and Sana answered the question correctly. Celina then moved from her seat and sat with some Canadian born non-White girls who were participating in the discussion. I think Celina chose to change her seat because she did not wish to take part in the discussion. She started doodling something on a piece of paper. Like her, most immigrant girls from South Asia kept themselves busy with activities like reading a novel or sketching on a piece of paper instead of participating in the classroom discussion. It seemed like these girls (immigrants) did not enjoy the topic related to careers and money. However, the majority of the boys and Canadian born girls actively participated in the discussion by responding to the Career Education questions asked by their class teacher.

The second time I observed Celina (Field notes February 06, 2015), I noticed that all the students were out on the playground enjoying their recess but Celina was seated alone in the classroom. She was seated on a bench with a book in her hand. I had also previously seen her in the classroom all by herself during recess times. On that day, before I could talk to her, the bell rang and all the kids came into the classroom. I noticed that three girls joined Celina and sat with her. All those girls had South Asian heritage but were born in Canada. One of the girls in the group was Sana, Celina's best friend. I began my class and asked the students to form groups of three for a classroom activity. The group Celina was seated with formed their own activity group (all Canadian born South Asian girls). Celina came up to me and said that she wants to be in the group of her friends (to form a group of four students). I did not accept her request. She then went to her class teacher (a White Canadian female) and made a request. However, her class teacher also asked her to form a new group. Celina made a frowning face when returning to her

seat. She had to form a new group with a White Canadian girl and an immigrant girl from India. The class teacher introduced the activity (quiz) on career education, which required the children to participate as a group. When the teacher asked a question, the groups had to discuss it amongst its team members, and one of the members had to raise their hand if the group knew the answer. Celina was seen contributing to the discussion within her group but did not raise her hand to answer any questions. Most of the questions were answered by her White Canadian teammate.

Self Representation Through an Artifact

When I asked Celina to bring something that represents her identity or to which she can relate, she brought a piece of artwork. Explaining her artwork (Figure 3) she said, she has always longed to have a friend who would play with her and pluck some apples off the trees (Field notes, March 10, 2015). Celina has always felt lonely. “I never met anyone who I could call as my best friend,” she mentioned (Field notes, March 10, 2015). She never had a best friend until recently when Sana came into her classroom. She told me that she does have some good friends but none of them are her best friends. Her artwork is influenced by a book she loves to read. The book speaks about the importance of friendship in our lives and how a good friend is like a shadow of strength in all the good and bad times in life (Field notes, March 10, 2015). Her artwork was also chosen as an exhibit at the Mendel Art Gallery in Saskatoon. She feels very proud of her accomplishment and tears filled her eyes when she explained how proud her father is of her achievement (Field notes, March 10, 2015).

In the section that follows, I explore in detail some of the possible reasons why Celina never had a best friend in Canada until she met Sana. While answering my first research question, I also highlight some of the challenges she faces while attempting to be a part of the mainstream friend circle in the Canadian schools.

Research Questions and Discussion

Research Question 1

What are some of the challenges faced by Celina as she is attempting to integrate in Canadian schools and society despite having good L2 communicative competence?

Celina considers herself a follower of Islam. Her religious and cultural values require her to read the Quran every day after school. She reads it before watching any television program or doing her homework and assignments (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Her religion requires that Celina wraps a hijab around her neck in the school. She also wears a burqa every day to school while her White Canadian classmates wear casual Western clothes. Thus, as a result of her religious and cultural upbringing, her attire makes her look different from the mainstream White students (Alvi, 2008). Celina believes that her religious attire is one of the first factors that create a distinction (Alvi, 2008) between White Canadian children and her. She never mentioned of anyone passing judgments on her religious attire, but then why does she perceive her dress code to create a distinction amongst her and other White children? According to Zine (2008), the hijab is sometimes seen as a kind of oppression against Muslim women by the Western world and can influence their interaction with Muslims. Since the “West” can see Islamic culture as oppressive of women and does not wish to associate with them, many Muslim youths construct their identity in an environment of fear, securitization and hostility (Zine, 2008). This may be one of the ways in which Celina constructs her identity. It may speak to why she felt alone and isolated at her previous schools despite her English competency, and why her circle of friends never expanded beyond those who share the same religion and culture.

Celina remembers her first friend in Toronto, Erin, the only White Canadian friend she ever made at one of her previous public school. Celina was able to be friends with her because

Celina had attended an English-medium pre-kindergarten in her home country, and was able to communicate with others despite not being completely fluent in English. However, Erin and Celina were together in a kindergarten in Toronto for only a year. They became good friends at first but when Celina changed school, their friendship did not continue. In the interview she said to me:

Example: 32 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Celina: I also made a new friend in my Kindergarten. Erin was a Canadian girl and we got along with each other very well. But then, she was not my friend as we grew older.

These girls were only five years old in their kindergarten and they did not stay in touch when Celina moved to a new province. Celina was admitted to Sunshine elementary school after she moved to Saskatchewan and the majority of children at her school belonged to White Canadian families. There were very few students who belonged to visible minorities (Personal Conversation, December 11, 2014). Some White Caucasian Canadian students laughed at Celina's minor grammatical errors, which made her very cautious when talking to children from the mainstream White society (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). "Well, native speakers like, they correct you each time. If you say something wrong then not just leaving it, and they will just correct you [in front of everyone] and not think about it" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). A native speaker (a White student) at Sunshine also compared Celina's English to their English and passed judgments on her language. While highlighting her point further she said, "The person who speaks English as an additional language, you can teach them, and the native ones like..., oh my god! She said that wrong and they will like start to do all that... like over react" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December

11, 2014). Thus, to avoid any sort of embarrassment with such White native speakers of English, she preferred to be amongst children from visible minorities or with those with an EAL background. “When you are an EAL, like you do kind of know my language. So, we can speak that and English” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). She chose to be friends with EAL students as they would not berate her for making some minor grammar errors while communicating with them. However, Celina believes that “when communicating with native people, one may learn to speak proper English. But, one may be compared to others and looked down upon” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). It was noticeable through Celina’s statements that her English was considered “faulty” by some of her White classmates at Sunshine. To gain further details, I asked Celina if “faulted” English is the only challenge she encounters when trying to be friends with White Canadian students, and if any other factors (like culture) play a role in school friend circles. This was what she had to say.

Example: 33 (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015).

Celina: If you are friends with someone who is not from your culture, and you are really good friend with them, it really doesn’t matter because you are so close to them. Here [at Augustine] it doesn’t matter much because there are many Muslims but in public schools... I don’t know how to explain it. So... yeah.

Based on Celina’s above response during the interview, it felt like she wanted to tell me something more but was not sure about saying it out openly. Thus, I chose to phrase my next question in a way that invited her to express her feelings without hesitation.

Example: 34 (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015).

Chetan: If you had to be friends with somebody who is born in Canada, and is from a different culture, what kind of difficulties would you expect to face?

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Celina: Yeah, just the cultures and how they look.

Chetan: Sorry?

Celina: How they look! They look different and we look different. Well not everyone... just like they will have the lighter skin tone color and we'll have the darker.

Chetan: Do you think the way we look can affect the choice of our friends?

Celina: Some people choose to take both type of friends, like how they look or how they don't look, but some stick to only their own kind.

I would like to acknowledge that Celina's response might have been shaped by my own wording in the question. However, by sharing her views on what made it difficult to be friends with her mainstream classmates at Sunshine, Celina touched upon a sensitive issue, whether race is still a subtle reality in many school friend circles.

Shin (2015), in her research, speaks about race as a social category used by people as an act of distinction from others. In the sociolinguistic field, race does not refer to just one's skin color anymore. It is presented as a social construct established by mainstream society as an act of marginalizing minorities due to the lack of material and symbolic resources that they possess (Han, 2015; Shin, 2015). According to Ali (2012), some White Caucasian students look down upon immigrants students. This is because the immigrants struggle as they try to fit in the new environment and have to face the tension regarding their fluid identities as they try to better their future. It is a possibility that those who looked down upon Celina at Sunshine "faulted" her English. So, her language errors were pointed out a couple of times in front of the entire class by such students (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015). Thus, along with her religious attire, she assumes that her "faulted" English was another factor that created a

distinction between White Canadian students and her. Celina's such experiences affects her perceptions about native speakers of English. "They [Whites students] think that they are really good, which they are not. They just think they are. They don't even know exactly all the English because there are so much English words, they just think that they are the best" (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015). She looks at White students as overly confident people as a result of their habit of pointing out to her minor language errors (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015). She was required to be content with existing judgments against her "faulted" English at Sunshine. Eventually Celina changed schools and moved to Augustine in 2013 hoping to meet students from similar ethnicities and more tolerant communities.

At Augustine, her ELA teacher did not feel a need for any EAL support for Celina. Thus, she was directly admitted into the mainstream classroom. Celina faces difficulties with participating in extracurricular activities with Whites at Augustine. Celina is seen interacting with mostly immigrant EAL children at Augustine or with those who belong to similar ethnicities. This could be due to the impact her previous experiences with White students left on her at Sunshine (Burke, 2006). As mentioned earlier, some White children compared her English to their English and pointed out her minor language mistakes in front of the class at Sunshine. Celina did not have a best friend until she moved to Augustine and she explained this in her artifact. While others play on the playground during recess time, Celina chooses to be alone in the classroom and read her favorite book (Field notes, February 06, 2015). I did not get an opportunity to ask her why she chooses to read a book over playing with her classmates during recess times. However, I see two possible explanations for her behavior. Linguistic comparison and dress code perception were the two social challenges Celina believed to have encountered at her old school. Thus, I wonder if she is trying to better her English vocabulary by spending more

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time reading English books rather than going out for recess. I base my rational on what she mentioned earlier in the trajectory about watching Canadian soap operas over Pakistani ones. The second possibility is that she does not enjoy participating in the outdoor activities but prefer to do indoor activities like crafts (mentioned as her hobby in the trajectory) or reading novels (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). However, Ali (2012), who investigated the experiences of Muslim girls in secondary schools in Toronto, found out that social challenges faced by Muslim girls can affect their interactions with White students, thus his research supports my first reasoning. The girl participants in his (Ali, 2012) study try to stay united by choosing friends with similar religious beliefs, social influences and school experiences. As seen earlier, the three girls who sat with Celina after recess are born in Canada but have South Asian heritage (Field notes, February 06, 2015). Additionally, Ali's (2012) girl participants wore hijabs with the sole purpose of reflecting "good" female Muslim faith to strengthen their belonging to the community.

Celina also makes gender role choices at Augustine. These choices are influenced by her religious values as Muslim and her cultural upbringing (Ali, 2012). Like the other immigrant Muslim girls in the class, she did not respond to the question asked in the class by her teacher concerning the importance of money. When the class was asked questions about the concept of wealthy and middle class family incomes in Canada, it appeared that she put her head down on her desk so as to avoid answering them. Then she went to sit with Canadian born non-White girls and kept herself busy with doodling on a piece of paper. On the other hand, most boys and Canadian born girls actively participated and responded to the Career Education questions as seen in the Field notes, (February 06, 2015). This observation can be explained as a gender role

choice made by Celina (Ali, 2012). Next, I analyze in depth Celina's behavior as a gender role choice.

Typically, Muslim girls do not speak openly about sensitive topics such as career choice, family income, dating and sex life, as topics like these are believed to be confined to men (Ali, 2012; Ali & Reisen, 1999). As noted by Ali (2012), young female Muslims are surrounded with different life complexities concerning sensitive topics such as career choice, dating, dress code and educational advancements. Tensions exist between what is offered in the world and what culture and religion view as appropriate. Thus, girls frequently feel tied to cultural and religious norms. On the contrary, boys are given more flexibility, hence indicating conflicting gender roles (Ali & Reisen, 1999). Some members of Western culture view the patriarchal structure of the Muslim world as oppressive, where women are seen as weak and hence Islam cannot give women equal roles to men. Celina is brought up in a family where males are the providers. Celina's mother does not have a job outside of the home, while her father works as a realtor. Her mother stays home and takes care of Celina's siblings. According to Ali (2012), the family is the primary site for the socialization of gender identity. As ideas get reinforced, teenage Muslim girls make tough decisions regarding academics, social life, religion and culture while in North America, a secular society (Ali, 2012), girls like Celina construct a private identity within religious and cultural parameters, unlike male counterparts. Celina may have possibly thought that she will have to stay home as a parent after her marriage and, thus, does not feel the importance of knowledge regarding the career education. Hence, this may be one of the possible explanations for her and other immigrant Muslim girls who did not participate in the classroom discussion regarding the topic related to wealth/income in the Canadian families. This lack of participation by immigrant EAL students can be sometimes perceived as a lack of intelligence by

White Canadian students (Ali, 2008) so they do not prefer EAL students like Celina to be part of their study groups or even their friend circles in order to avoid embarrassment. At Augustine, Celina chooses not to participate in a classroom discussion pertaining to the Canadian family's income. I wonder if she made similar choices at Sunshine.

Celina's lack of participation in the classroom activity may have to do also with her teacher's identity. Celina's class teacher is a White Canadian female and a follower of Christianity. Celina, who is a follower of Islam, is probably not able to relate to her class teacher's identity (Forsyth, 2009). This could be due to her previous negative experiences with White native speakers of English, and/or due to religious differences. Celina is brought up with social values where men are responsible for making career decisions and women are responsible for taking care of the family after marriage (Ali, 2008; Ali & Reisen, 1999). Hence, it is a possibility that Celina does not value her teacher's guidance/discussion on topics related to family income/finance. This may be another possible explanation of why she chose not to participate in the classroom discussion led by her class teacher. Therefore, teachers have an important role to play during the construction of children's identity in school and class environments. There is a missing voice of certain teachers in mainstream classrooms (Niyozov & Pluim, 2009). This missing voice refers to the teachers of diverse religion, culture, color, gender and linguistic backgrounds. Gender roles in society differ because they are racialized (Ali & Reisen, 1999). If a teacher does not engage all the students in the classroom conversations, s/he can act as an agent of gender isolation. Some of the questions asked by the teachers in the classrooms can disadvantage one gender from another, due to the lack of the knowledge of diversity. This can make a teacher be perceived as unsupportive of the welfare of the students, and as someone lacking the preparation to teach and support gender differences exhibited during

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class discussion on essential topics like career and money. There are always differences in the classroom, but culturally responsive teachers find ways of addressing them, by handling the students' diverse needs.

The challenges faced by Celina as an immigrant EAL speaker affect her perceptions of Whites. Her lack of effort and/or inability to be accepted by the mainstream friend circles at schools has effects on her classroom behavior and identity. In the section that follows, I explain how Celina's religious, cultural and gender identity affects her socialization with native speakers of English and influences her second language learning/use.

Research Question 2

How does Celina's identity/ies interact with her second language (English) learning/use?

Celina's experiences at Sunshine indicate that linguistic "faulting" was a major challenge Celina underwent as she tried to integrate into the White Canadian friend circles, and this had an effect on her perceptions about White children in general. As indicated by her earlier statements, judgments about minor language errors were used to "fault" her English. Celina believes that she encountered these difficulties due to linguistic differences. However, as a researcher I wonder if her language was used as a subtle medium to judge her religion and culture, and aesthetic appearance (Bourdieu, 1991; Reisler, 1976). Hill (2009) indicated how some Whites use language profiling as a subtle means of passing judgments against one's race and ethnicity and that such judgments based on one's accent or language are often acceptable in the society. Thus, I wonder if Celina's mocking due to "faulted" language was a form of prejudice against minorities. In order to gain further details about her language struggle at Sunshine, I asked her if she could share a good and/or bad experience in Canada. She chose to share a discriminatory

incident against her English at Sunshine. However, I would like to acknowledge that my question structure may have propelled her towards sharing a bad experience.

Example: 35 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Chetan: Can you share a positive or negative story that you encountered about English use with native language speakers from Canada?

Celina: When you speak with native people, you can actually get some idea about how to speak proper English, so that would be a positive thing. But then the negative thing is when they start comparing you with them, “Like I am better at English and you are not.”

Chetan: Can you tell me a bit more about what you mean by comparing your English?

Celina: Do you know how the native people know like full English, and then when a person comes from a different place, they will compare you, “Oh My God, you don’t know English... like those terms”....

Celina: Actually, this girl last year [at Sunshine], if there was a word we said wrong, she would like correct it and, I was like why do you have to correct when there is no big deal? Just leave it. Like how we say it? Like, she would always correct everyone about this.

Chetan: Okay and where did you meet this girl?

Celina: My old school [Sunshine]

Chetan: Where was the girl from?

Celina: She was a [White] Canadian girl.

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“White Canadian students show off to know more than others, and then they will do things that they know everything about English and other students do not know” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). She believes that such a behavior of White Canadian students is a result of their “overly confident attitude” (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015). Since Celina believes that her behavior is influenced by her culture and religion (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014), she wonders if the “overly confident attitude” of Whites at Sunshine was a result of their cultural and religious differences.

Celina is a practicing Muslim. Her religious value discourages mixed gender socialization after puberty, thus restricting Celina’s interaction to only female students inside and outside the school. This is justified by her daily routines after school, and how she spends her time during the weekends. “On weekends, I spend most of my time with my cousins or my best friend, Sana. We go to movies or just socialize and have sleepovers. When we go to the park, I play soccer with my girlfriends. If my friends are busy, I do artistic things such as making crafts and weaving at home” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). The friends Celina spends time with have the same common unifying factors— religion, gender and cultural heritage. The observations made here can be supported by social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1985). According to social identity theory, individuals classify themselves into distinct groups based on age, gender, race, and organizational membership roles. During the process of social identification, individuals identify themselves by considering traits and activities that are common to them. The study by Ali (2012) came to the same conclusion.

The religious identity helps children to share common thoughts on culture and friendship (Ali, 2012). There was no environment in the public schools (K and Sunshine) she attended that complemented Celina’s Islamic identity. As a result, at Augustine, she looks for ways to affirm

cultural and religious identities in the multicultural school environment. Some of the avenues she uses to accomplish this goal include maintenance of various Islamic values as shown in Celina's daily routine and friendship formation (when asked to join activity groups by her class teacher, she wanted to settle with girls of the same heritage). Celina's best friend Sana also shares common religion and heritage with her. This is evident in her statement during the interview, "My best friend is Sana. I think she was born in Edmonton but she is Pakistani." (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Their friendship is formed because they understand each other well and because they have common hobbies that unite them. Speaking of their understanding and hobbies, Celina said, "We are best friends because we understand each other and feel like she is an awesome person. She is really kind. She likes to do a lot of artsy things or nail polish. Her hobby is mostly like doing artsy things like drawing, doing crafts and all that" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). By having a small number of friends with whom she associates at Augustine, Celina looks for comfort, connection and support to her religious identity. As a result, she chooses to cooperate and work in activity groups with whom she can identify, where she is understood, and respected. However as a result of her religious identity, she puts restrictions on her interactions with male native speakers of English (Whites) (Duff & Kobayashi, 2010). Thus, she has to choose her friends only from her female classmates. If Celina made gender choices at her previous school in the past, her options of socializing with the mainstream friend circles might have further narrowed down as a result of her "faulted" English. So, she could not socialize with males, and those who "faulted" her English. In their studies, Ali (2012) and Ali and Reisen (1999) also came to the same conclusion. Burke (2000) provides a possible explanation of how individuals like Celina see themselves in terms of

the social role they play in the mainstream circle of friends and how such perceptions affects their identity.

In spite of her experiences with Whites at Sunshine, the thought that “Whites are distinct (better) than others” crosses Celina’s mind. In the following example, I saw Celina attempt to socialize with White classmates by negotiating her language differently for a White and an immigrant classmate (Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2014). Below I present evidence from field notes to support my point.

Example: 36 (Field notes, February 06, 2015)

Celina: Chetan, I want to work with the same girls [Pakistani] I am sitting with.

(Direct sentence)

Chetan: No. You will have to work with some other group. (Direct reply)

Celina: (goes to the class teacher) Can I please work with the same girls?

(Request)

Class teacher: You just heard what Chetan said.

(Celina goes to some other girls who haven’t formed a group yet. One of them is a White Canadian and the other girl is a South Asian immigrant from India)

Celina to the Canadian girl: Hey girls, can I please [request] join your group?

Canadian girl: Okay

Celina: Thank you (smiles) and sits by the South Asian girl.

The above conversation took place when the class was asked to form groups of three to take part in a quiz. There are a couple of things that one can notice from the example. Firstly, Celina used direct statements while talking to me but made a request when interacting with her White female teacher. The negotiation in her language could have been based on factors like her teacher’s

position of authority and/or racial and/or gender differences. However, I would like to take a stance that Celina's language negotiation was based on racial differences. I take this stance based on how she interacted while forming a new group. There were two girls that were looking for a group partner, a White Canadian girl and an immigrant Indian girl. They both were seated on chairs at an equal distance from Celina and there were empty chairs by both the girls. Celina chose to seek the approval from the White girl rather than the Indian girl. Was it just a mere interaction or was she seeking an approval from someone who she considered superior in the group than the immigrant student? As a researcher, I believe that Celina based her interaction on her previous experiences with Whites (at Sunshine) where Whites were in the position of power. She hopes to be a part of a White friend circles at Augustine. However, due to her previous experiences at Sunshine, she is hesitant and prefers to be friends with and/or work with only the non-White students. This is possibly also why she chose to sit with the immigrant Indian girl even though the approval was sought from the White girl.

Secondly, Celina's Islamic values govern her identity and socialization at Augustine. As seen earlier, her gender role choices during classroom activities are influenced by her religious and cultural beliefs. The Indian immigrant girl Celina chose to sit with is also a practicing Muslim. Thus, Celina may have chosen to sit by her due to their cultural and religious similarities. By doing so, Celina unknowingly restricts her socialization with anyone who is non-Muslim. However, I advocate that Celina's practices at Augustine are not always her "choices" but she is "reacting" to dominant structure and/or the way she is positioned in the classroom social structure. Analyzing it as her "choice" will further marginalize her position in the mainstream classroom. Burke (2000) explains this phenomenon using unification of identity theory and social identity theory. Most of the unified theory supporters believe that individuals

define themselves depending on membership in social groups and the roles they play as members. Behavior made by an individual is due to the role they play in the social groups e.g. conversations held, and decision to join groups. If Second language is best learned socially (Duff, 2008), Celina has to create and re-create multiple negotiations in her identity to socialize with native speakers of English. According to Kubota (2003), categories like gender and race constitute the identity and language use of an individual like Celina. Her linguistic negotiations are constructed socially through religion and culture, and social groups (Ali, 2012) and indicate relationships between power, language and discourse (Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2014).

It is worth noticing how Celina faces challenges as a result of her “faulted” English and religious values. In the section that follows, I identify the key patterns and themes for this chapter.

Understanding Patterns and Themes

Initial analysis of the data I collected from Celina show key themes and patterns as she tries to integrate in Canadian schools and society. To account for the research questions, the data presented in the Trajectory section above is compared to related literature investigated. In general, data is reduced to identify five main patterns.

Patterns

- i. Celina attended an English medium Preschool in Pakistan and her parents believed that she would have a smooth transition into the Canadian educational system after immigration. However, from my observations and conversations with Celina, it is not evident that staff within the schools she attended ensured Celina had a smooth transition as she integrated in Canadian schools and society.

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- ii. The thought that Whites are better than others crosses Celina's mind. So, Celina attempts to socialize with White classmates. On two instances, she was observed negotiating her English differently for Whites and others. Firstly, while interacting with me and her White class teacher; secondly when interacting with a White Canadian girl and an immigrant Indian girl.
- iii. Celina recalled times when a White classmate faulted her English due to minor grammar errors made by her and, when her English was compared to native speakers by a couple others at a public school (Sunshine). To avoid such embarrassments, she interacts mostly with EAL students or with someone who values and respects her at Augustine.
- iv. Erin was the only White friend Celina ever made in Canada. She felt lonely at Sunshine and moved to Augustine for Grade 5 due to more diverse student and teacher population. Most of Celina's good friends at Augustine share common leisure activities, and religious beliefs with her.
- v. Celina makes some choices at Augustine that are influenced by her religion and culture, previous experiences with Whites, and as a reaction to the dominant social structure. Thus, her actions affect her classroom participation.

When I evaluated and combined the patterns identified, I came up with themes of religion and culture, racialized gender and language legitimacy. These themes provide insights into the challenges faced by Celina as she is integrating in Canadian life and dealing with English as a second language. These themes are combined across conditions surrounding her, activities she is/was involved in, and events in schools. The themes also help to create an understanding of how such social categories are contributing to and shaping Celina's identity and influencing her socialization with males and White Canadian children.

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In the chapter that follows, I discuss how social class is able to nullify some of the social constructs and influence one's identity and English learning/use.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Hassan: It Feels Like Home in Canada

In this chapter Hassan's trajectory is presented. Hassan is a pseudonym. The trajectory focuses on his life before and after immigration to Canada. The chapter then analyses and discusses the ethnographic data to answer my first two research questions. It uncovers the socially constructed concept of social class and its effects on Hassan's identity, socialization, and language learning/use. Finally, the findings of this study are discussed to identify main patterns and themes.

The Trajectory

Hassan was born on August 31st, 2003 in Karachi, Pakistan. Hassan is 11 years old in Grade 6 at Augustine elementary school. He has a medium brown complexion, and black eyes. He is a multilingual speaker of English, Urdu, and Arabic. He wears a long sleeved white shirt and a pair of black pants to school every day. Hassan was born in Karachi, Pakistan but was raised in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Riyadh is the capital city of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, is one of the largest metropolitan cities in the Arabian Peninsula, and is famous for having the world's largest exclusively female university, as Hassan mentioned. The city has been designated as a Global city (a city generally considered to be an important node in the global economic system) and has a population higher than Toronto, Canada's biggest metropolitan city.

Hassan spoke of Karachi as the largest and the most populous metropolitan city of his native Pakistan. It is the second largest city in the world by population and a major seaport and financial center of the country. Hassan's family moved to Riyadh from Karachi when he was six months old. Hassan grew up in a nuclear family in Riyadh but visited Karachi for three months

every year during the summer holidays, before his family's eventual immigration to Canada (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Thus, for Hassan, "home" refers to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia because he grew up there, as well as Pakistan because it is his birth place and also because his extended family live there (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). Hassan enjoys seeing the rest of his extended family each time he visits Karachi. He stays with his extended family during his visits to get to know more about them and their culture (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). Hassan's favorite childhood memory is of playing a match of cricket with a stranger and some friends. He remembered how a stranger (a teenage boy) lost Hassan's cricket ball during the match but bought him a new one immediately, and how this interaction fostered a good friendship between them (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Example: 37 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014).

Hassan: There [in Pakistan] people share what I give them with me. If you are kind, you keep in touch, then you meet again and again and you want to become friends because you have gotten so close.

The stranger who bought him a new ball became friends with his team and they played cricket every evening that summer. Based on experiences such as this, Hassan emphasized that human emotions and polite gestures are highly valued in Pakistan (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Hassan's father worked as a family physician in Riyadh, and his mother was a stay at home parent. Hassan was nine years old when his parents first decided to move to Canada in 2011. They lived in Toronto for a couple months but then went back to Saudi Arabia so that his father could get his medical credentials reassessed for the Canadian equivalency (Recorded

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Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). During this time, Hassan was able to visit his extended family in Pakistan. Finally, in 2012 his father got his license to practice medicine in Canada. The license was issued after his international credentials were approved by the Canadian Medical Association of Health Professionals. The family then immigrated to Canada as Permanent Residents (PR) in 2012 and came directly to Saskatoon under the Skilled Worker Provincial Nominee Program (SWPNP).

Hassan lives with his parents and siblings in a four bedroom house in Saskatoon. His father works as a family physician, and his mother stays home to take care of his siblings (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). He has three siblings: a sister in Grade 11, a brother in Grade 10 and his youngest brother in Grade 1. Hassan and his siblings all attend Augustine. Hassan's house is surrounded by a community of White Caucasian families, thus, most of the kids he hangs out with are White Caucasians (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). Every weekend he goes to the Lakeview civic center to play basketball with White, and some immigrant (visible minority) friends (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). Outside the school, Hassan plays either soccer or basketball. He spends time with his older brother's friends as most of his friends live across the city. Hassan mentioned that, since childhood, his parents discouraged him from watching a lot of television; instead they encourage him to go outside, play sports and do outdoor activities. At home, Hassan commits 30-60 minutes of his time for reading English novels every day after school, even during the weekends (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). He also loves eating food and trying new ethnic cuisines. He and his family go out every weekend to dine in some top rated restaurants in the city.

Example: 38 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

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Hassan: I like every food. I don't judge any stuff, because you can't judge it if you are not the one cooking it.

He told me that he eats any kind of food that is served on his plate. Since a very young age he started trying all kinds of food without judging it. Hassan said that he refrains from judging anything that he is not fully aware (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Augustine is the only Canadian school Hassan has attended, and it offered him his first real exposure to Canadian cultural diversity because of the children from a wide range of backgrounds (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). His classroom at Augustine is highly multicultural because of the large number of immigrant students from South Asia, Africa and the Middle East. According to Hassan, "Multiculturalism is a really good thing to have because one could get to know more about people one had never met, and could communicate with other people to learn about their cultures" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

In spite of his upper-middle class upbringing in a well-educated family, Hassan commutes by public bus every morning to Augustine. "I see public bus as an opportunity to meet new people every day" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). Hassan has a mixed circle of friends from White and non-White backgrounds. "Friendship holds a lot of importance to me. I never restrict my friendship to just a single person" (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). He has more than one best friend at Augustine (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). One of his best friends is Umair from Pakistan. Hassan's family got to know Umair's parents after they met at a school meeting. The two families have their roots in Pakistan. Hassan treats Umair like an older brother because of the three year age gap between them. He also considers Umair a positive role model with good

morals and values. Initially, Hassan thought it would not be easy to be friends with White Caucasian people because of religious and cultural differences. But it got easier to be friends with them as they got to know him better (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 17, 2015). Hassan also had concerns about his English when he first moved to Saskatoon because it is not his mother tongue, and emphasized that knowing the language is important for being able to hold a conversation with the people with whom he wants to be friends (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Self Representation Through an Artifact

When Hassan was asked to bring something to me that truly represents who he is, or something that he could relate to, he brought in a self-proclaimed medal (Figure 4). Hassan produced a self-declared medal for being a good public speaker in his classroom. He identifies himself as an effective public speaker of English despite English being his additional language because he has won several awards at elocution competitions outside of his school (Field notes, March 26, 2015). He also received many compliments from his teachers and classmates, something of which he is very proud. He enjoys speaking English after he is able to build his confidence in using the language and said that English does affect his choice of friends extensively (Field notes, March 26, 2015). But, because he is able to communicate with people in English, they think of him as a person with whom they want to be friends, Hassan mentioned. He said that he talks to new people every time he goes outside to play, go shopping in a mall, or visit his father at the hospital. “They [people] all teach me something new,” Hassan once said (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Hassan: Inside the School

I first observed Hassan during my visit to the class before recess when he was seated with three boys (Field notes, January 16, 2015). One of these boys was his best friend Umair. Two of the other boys were born in Canada but with their family roots in Algeria and Palestine. Though Hassan was seated with Umair throughout class, he went to a corner of the class to eat his snack. When he was done eating half of his snack, he went to talk to some White Canadian students and sat with them for a couple of minutes before coming back to his original seat. By the time he came back to sit with Umair, he had finished eating his snack. He smiled at Umair and talked a bit about video games before putting his snack kit in his backpack.

The other time I observed Hassan in the classroom (Field notes, February 13, 2015), I saw him seated with a new group of students. He sat with three Canadian boys; two of them with Middle Eastern heritage while the third one was a White Canadian boy. I looked around to see Umair's seating arrangement and observed that Umair was seated with two immigrant boys from Pakistan. When I asked the class how they spent their weekend, Hassan told me about his shopping at the West Edmonton mall where he bought some 'branded' clothes. Later, I let the class take 10 minutes to discuss their science project. Hassan moved to the Canadian classmates (Whites) to discuss his project ideas, whereas Umair went to his immigrant Pakistani classmates to talk about his project. I then inquired if any student had questions about their science projects. Hassan raised his hand and requested a project demonstration and a rubric of assessment. I promised the class to hand out the rubric after lunch. I came back 10 minutes before the lunch break was done and saw that Hassan had again changed his seat during the lunch hour. He was then eating his lunch with five Canadian students. The group had both boys and girls. However, one of the boys in the group was of Middle-Eastern heritage. After Hassan was done eating, he

took his bottle of soft-drink and sat with Umair and his three other immigrant friends from South Asia.

In the section that follows, I investigate any possible challenges Hassan encounters in mainstream Canadian classrooms and society as he is trying to integrate. While doing so, I also answer my first research question.

Research Questions and Discussion

Research Question 1

What are some of the challenges faced by Hassan as he is attempting to integrate into Canadian schools and society despite having good L2 communicative competence?

Hassan believes that mainstream society is warm and welcoming to immigrant families with visible minorities (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). He said that “people here are very gentle. They do not want to hurt anybody’s feelings. They are not just doing it for not hurting our feelings and they are being two faced, it’s just in their personality to be nice. They want you to feel comfortable here. They want you be like them, as good as them” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). He also emphasized that the more time he spends in Canada, the more he feels at home (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Example: 39 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Hassan: I feel like I belong here in Canada, I feel very secure and nobody hates me or anything. People in Saskatoon are very gentle and it’s in their personality to be nice

In the above excerpt Hassan mentioned, “Nobody hates me or anything.” When Hassan and his parents first decided to immigrate to Canada, they assumed to have troubles integrating into

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Canadian schools and mainstream society due to their cultural and religious differences (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014), something Hassan did not have to worry about during his yearly visits to Pakistan. “Pakistan will always have a special place in my heart because I was born there and my whole family lives there” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). However, his transition into Canada was smoother than he had anticipated, including at Augustine. When I asked Hassan about his first day of school at Augustine, he replied:

Example: 40 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Hassan: I was really nervous because I felt like this is a different place. The first months they won't think of me as like the person who actually does stuff here. But then on the first day, some of the boys [Canadian born Muslims] in the class were really nice to me. They thought of me as I belonged here. Those made me feel more comfortable that I should have felt after a month. After about a week I had started to fit in the school.

During his early transition phase to Augustine, Hassan became friends with the only co-ethnic students such as Umair (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). Kanno & Varghese (2010) give a possible explanation as to why Hassan might have been firstly accepted into the social circle by children that shared a similar culture and religion (Islam). Umair was one of the first few friends Hassan made at Augustine during his early days at the new school (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). Umair helps Hassan with his academic work and they both share a bond of trust. When asked about his friendship with Umair, Hassan said:

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Example: 41 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014)

Hassan: He is really good at science. When he tries to be funny, he can't [laughs].

I have other friends too but with him I feel like he is closer to me. I can trust him.

Hassan considers Umair as his older brother, a guide, a role model and he completely trusts Umair as a person he could rely on in his times of need (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). As a result of warmth and support from co-ethnic friends like Umair during his transitional phase, Hassan developed a sense of belonging and trust towards the new society (Burke, 2006).

During the first few months he did not have any close friend from mainstream society but, as time passed, Hassan was able to see similarities between the Canadian lifestyle and the lifestyle he practiced in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). These similarities include the high quality of living, and a friendly community in both countries. Then, according to Hassan, as people got to know his family more, their friendliness towards them increased and he started becoming friends with White Canadians (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 11, 2014). This is not only what he experiences at Augustine but also in Canadian society in general. With each passing day, the society seems more social and welcoming to the immigrant families from across the globe (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). Hassan supported his statement with the following experience:

Example: 42 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Hassan: In some countries like Canada, United Arab Emirates, they welcome people. The multiculturalism is a big thing in those countries. They want immigrants to be successful and make this world a better place to live. I never felt

discriminated because people thought of us as we could do something good here; we can make a difference, we belong here. And I have felt safe and secured.

Hassan was born in Pakistan and raised in Saudi Arabia. Both these countries are Islamic nations. Thus, the cultural upbringing Hassan is raised with has Islamic influence (Collet, 2007). He had expected his culture and religion to be a site of struggle during the transitional phase but it did not happen (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). To gain more detailed information on this, I asked him if he ever encountered any bad experience. This is what he said:

Example: 43 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Chetan: In what way do you feel the society atmosphere to be social or friendly?

Hassan: I find it really good. If I go outside, play with people, interact with them, go to shop or something, go to the hospital, meet new people, they would actually want to teach me something. They want me to know something new. So, if I socialize with them more, it's benefiting me.

Chetan: Is it a mutual feeling from the mainstream society as well?

Hassan: It's not negative for sure; it's really positive. There is some stuff that needs fixing, like some people are not comfortable with having so many people [visible minorities] around them, so they should avoid that from happening but mostly I haven't seen anybody like that here.

The above response provided by Hassan contradicts the argument presented by Cervatiuc (2009) about inaccessibility (marginalization and rejection) of immigrants to interactions with White people. Hassan claimed not to have encountered any major challenges during his transitional phase (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Hassan, however, does accept that to be a part of new society his family has to fit in the social norms of Canadian culture: “Fitting in does not necessarily mean being like the mainstream society. Instead, it just means being comfortable around them and not acting weird,” Hassan added (Recorded Interview Conversation, March 12, 2015). The concept of being a part of the mainstream White society by not giving away one’s own culture is related to one’s identity negotiation (Dashtipour, 2012; Forsyth, 2009). With his statement made earlier, Hassan provides an example of identity negotiation (Dashtipour, 2012) where one does not choose one identity over the other but, instead, accepts one and the other. While the rest of my participants struggle to be part of mainstream White friend circles due to social constructs of racial, religious and cultural differences, Hassan presents as an exception. Why did this happen? What helps Hassan gain a smooth entry into mainstream friend circles? These are some of the questions I expand upon in the section that follows while answering my second research question.

Research Question 2

How does Hassan's identity/ies interact with his second language (English) learning/use?

In this section I have explain how Hassan negotiates his identity to be a part of mainstream White culture, rather than creating a separate individual identity (Burke, 2006; Sirin & Fine, 2008). I also provide examples to reveal how Hassan uses his social class as a resource to gain access to White friend circles and improve his communicative English skills through socialization with native English speakers.

Hassan believes that social interactions played a major role in his English language learning (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). As seen earlier, Hassan uses public commute and interacts with strangers in the clinic to improve his English. He then dedicates a certain amount of time every day to improve upon his English vocabulary. This idea

of English being learned socially can be justified by works conducted by SLA researchers (Duff, 2012; Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2014). When I asked Hassan why socialization is important for learning English, he said:

Example: 44 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Chetan: Do you think that social interactions play a role in learning a new language?

Hassan: Yes! A lot because more social you are, more you will communicate with people and it really helps your language.

Chetan: In what way is the language developed when you interact socially?

Hassan: Let's say, it's your first week in Saskatoon, and a person comes up to you to be your friend and starts asking you a bunch of questions about your whereabouts, you have to talk to them to reply and more you talk, better you get at the language.

Based on the above example, Hassan emphasized a need of being able to hold conversations with a person of interest. But, if one is not able to make that first conversation, the chances of being approached again are very slim, thus reducing the chances of getting better at a new language.

I asked Hassan if he came across any such conversational language challenges during his transitional phase. He could think of one challenging experience he encountered while interacting with a White Canadian. This occurred when he went to a Tim Horton's (café) with his father. Hassan wanted to buy some hot chocolate. He found it difficult to place an order for the hot chocolate as the barista asked him many detail oriented questions for his order, something he was not used to in Riyadh or Karachi. "It was just because my dad was able to speak the

language fluently, we were able to get what we wanted but we barely managed to get the right order” (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Example: 45 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Chetan: Why do you think it was difficult to place that order?

Hassan: It’s not just in the Tim Horton’s, or a candy shop, or a coffee shop; it’s the first time you enter a new place, if you don’t understand the language the person is asking you, it’s going to be really hard for you to communicate.

Gradually we started getting comfortable with “their” English, we started knowing a lot of it, now I feel really comfortable speaking it.

In the above example, Hassan mentioned that his father wasn’t able to understand the English spoken by the barista despite being trained well in English. Hassan kind of blamed his low level of language proficiency for the difficulty he faced at the cafe. However, it can also be seen as a lack of knowledge about the social or informal (slang) English used at many local shops. This could be probably why he referred it to as “their” English. One of the other reasons behind this challenging experience could be the unfamiliar accent. Thus, I wonder if this incident served as an encouragement for Hassan to learn social English through socialization with the native speakers of the language.

Hassan’s initial language struggle at the cafe can be explained further with the arguments presented by language socialization (Duff, 2007). This theory specifies that language learning is fundamentally about social learning. It is possible to learn formal English and grammar through texts and in a classroom setting. However, social English can be best learned through socialization (Duff & Kobayashi, 2010). Even with his previous schooling in an English medium school in Riyadh, Hassan experienced a challenge when communicating with a native speaker

during his early transition phase (e.g. Tim Horton's café). He also had difficulties in producing quick responses in order to hold a conversation with native speakers of English during his early period in Canada (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014):

Example: 46 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014).

Hassan: I wasn't comfortable with "their" language initially but then people kept talking to me in English, especially when I went to a grocery store with Dad and Mom. I read and read and read to improve my vocabulary and kept asking the people what did those words meant and now I can speak well.

This might explain why he chooses to complement social language learning (through social interactions) with formal language learning (classroom and reading at home) to improve his communicative English. The above response provided by Hassan is in line with the findings on language socialization by Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin (2014). They noticed that novices can become fluent communicators of language if they become increasingly integrated members of the communities in which they live. Hassan attempts to integrate into mainstream society and acquire the communicative skills of English through socialization with White students at Augustine and other members of the society. However, like Hassan, not every novice can gain access to the interactions with mainstream community (Cervatiuc,2009). This accessibility depends on one's possession of or lack of certain capital (Ortega, 2009). What capital Hassan possesses is a point I explore next.

There was an interesting pattern observed in Hassan's seating arrangement and group work in the classroom (as seen in the field notes). He does not have a fixed seat or a fixed circle of friends. His seating arrangement changes every week, as does his working group. From the beginning of the research (and during my regular classroom teaching), I observed that Hassan sat

with Umair, Nooruddin, Hussain, and Hani in the mornings every day. During the classroom activities, he always paired up with other classmates (including girls). Unlike the other research participants who mostly preferred to work only with immigrant EAL students, Hassan was able to pair up with almost everybody in the classroom (including Whites). During the recess, while most of the participants preferred to have lunch with the same group of friends, Hassan joined any of the groups he wished. It was interesting to observe Hassan gaining entry into any social circles inside the classroom with no difficulties. Speaking of his friends outside Augustine, Hassan once said:

Example: 47 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Hassan: We try to play as much as possible outside in the park but if it's snowing, we go to each other's houses and we play.

Chetan: Are those friends Canadians or immigrants?

Hassan: A couple of them are immigrants and a couple of them are [White] Canadians.

The example above indicates that Hassan is also able to be friends with Whites and non-Whites outside the classroom. Thus, his mixed friend circles serve as one of the access sites to the native speakers of English (including Whites) and to the social language learning.

Many researchers have claimed that individuals may enjoy privileged access to certain social networks by possessing certain cultural and social capital (Norton, 2013; Jang & Jimenez, 2011). As noted earlier, one of the significant differences between Hassan and the other participants is his social class. Most of the other participants' families came from a developing country, Pakistan, and struggled with a discrepancy between achievement and expectations in the Canadian job market. Hassan, in contrast, came from one of the richest nations of the world (The

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) and his father was a successful specialist doctor in Saudi Arabia and now in Saskatoon. Thus, Hassan's coming from a well-educated, upper-middle class family has its advantages. Hassan was brought up in the metropolitan city of Riyadh. The exposure to city life, as well as visits to the home country of Pakistan during the summer months each year, gives him access to social, material, and cultural capital that shapes his identity as a global citizen (Bourdieu, 1987; Burke, 2006; Forsyth, 2009; Ochs, 1993; Stryker, 1991). Hassan's access to such social capital comes as a result of his family's social class, his father's profession, and the lifestyle similarity he shares with upper-middle class White Canadians (Bourdieu, 1987). I present my point in the following example:

Example: 48 (Field notes, February 13, 2015)

Chetan: How was your weekend?

Hassan: It was really good. I went to Calgary and Edmonton with my family.

Chetan: Good! What did you do there?

Hassan: A lot of shopping. Bought some 'branded' clothes and some awesome books.

Hassan's emphasis on the term 'branded' speaks of his social class. His social class influences his social identity and allows him to initiate conversations with most of the students when they see the books Hassan brings into the classroom (Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2014; Weedon, 1997), thus giving him an advantage to access White friend circles.

Bourdieu (1984) focused on how the social class and economic capital one possesses is the foundation in gaining entry into mainstream White society. Bourdieu adopted a concern with distinction, and how status plays out in different spheres of human activity. He believed that "economic barriers – however great they may be in the case of golf, skiing, sailing or even riding

and tennis – are not sufficient to explain the class distribution of these activities. There are more hidden entry requirements, such as family tradition and early training, or obligatory manner (of dress and behavior), and socializing techniques, which keep these sports closed to the working class ...” (Bourdieu, 1984, cited in Block, 2012, p. 192). The obligatory manner that Bourdieu talked about was seen with Hassan during one of my classroom observations.

Example: 49 (Field notes, February 13, 2015)

I needed to hand out some laptops in the classroom. Umair and all the immigrant students crowded around my table to collect their laptops. Canadian born students (Whites and non-whites) were seated on their seats until their names were called by me. Hassan was the only immigrant student amongst all the other immigrants in the classroom who was seated at his seat waiting for his name to be called to collect a laptop.

Hassan’s politeness is obvious in his classroom mannerism. Thus, he uses his mannerism and social capita to interact with various social circles irrespective of their lifestyles. If language is best learned socially (Duff, 2007; Duranti, Ochs & Schieffelin, 2014) then it is important to be accepted in the social group of native speakers. Hassan’s mannerism in the classroom (affected by his class and upbringing) possibly resonates with the mannerisms of most Canadian born students (Whites and non-Whites) in the classroom, thus opening a door to the various friend circles (Bourdieu, 1987).

In the work by researchers on social class (Block, 2012; Han, 2015; Shin, 2014), we see the impact of Bourdieu either directly or indirectly, as there is a growing tendency to frame the social construct of class as multidimensional and complex. Subsequently, the measurements of a person's class positioning are not simply restricted to the conventional set of three: occupation,

income and education (Bourdieu, 1987). Rather, there is an ever growing list of other factors related to cultural and social capitals which are seen as constitutive of class. Block (2012) and Shin (2014) talked about how individuals try to use their social class as a medium to gain entry into specific communities of which they want to be part. Though not all are able to have that access into their imagined communities using their class (Shin, 2014), class is a useful construct in understanding mannerism, and second language learning processes in EAL learners such as Hassan (Block, 2012).

Furthermore, Block (2012) pointed out how class is interlinked with identity construction. How one is positioned by others in terms of his/her social class, modes of behavior, and how one is treated by people from mainstream society affects one's identity and second language learning. In her research, Shin (2012) described how her research participants constructed themselves as "cool" Korean visa students who are wealthy, modern, and cosmopolitan to create their own set of individual identities in Korean communities as well as amongst White Canadians. It is possible that Hassan is also seen as a "cool" (Shin, 2012) immigrant due to his upbringing in Riyadh, his culture in Pakistan and his family's status in Saskatoon. He is able to access the social capital that other participants can not access. For example, he is able to travel to different places with his parents each year. He is also able to access expensive novelties, participate in social get-togethers with his parents, and socialize with his older brother and his White friends. He also joined the community basketball club where he gets to interact with both immigrants and White Canadians. Furthermore, his family is able to afford to have lunch/dinners in top rated restaurants every weekend where he is exposed to different cuisines in addition to his ethnic food. Availability to such a lifestyle not only helps him to elevate his status in the classroom but also increases his openness to diversity.

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Example: 50 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Hassan: Everybody has to meet a person they have never met, and it's okay to be different and look different.

Using this rich capital, Hassan attempts to gain entry into the mainstream students' social groups.

Burke's (2006) unified identity theory also supports my points about Hassan's social identity. The theory emphasizes two critical parts of membership of any social category (group or role): depersonalization and self-verification. In the process of self-verification, an individual tries to act as a member of the society and maintain its social norms and expectations, which Hassan did by being a part of both the minority and majority social groups at Augustine. In the unified theory, both who one is and what one does are important sources of self-meaning (Burke, 2006). When we act in accordance to our identity, we actually act in the setting of social structure. Thus identity exists inside and is affected by society (Burke, 2000; Hogg et al., 1995; Stryker, 1980).

Example: 51 (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014)

Chetan: How do you feel about your English when working with your classmates?

Hassan: They always ask me a question that I can understand, and I give them an answer that they can understand. They are really nice. They are pushing me towards success.

Hassan's ability to gain entry into almost any group of students, inside and outside of the school, may have been possible due to his social class as it contributes to his social identity to which most of his Canadian born classmates (Whites) can relate. He is considered as 'cool' (Shin, 2012) by his classmates and is readily accommodated. Norton and Toohey (2001) argued that language learners invest in a second language with the understanding that "they will acquire a

wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn enhance their conception of themselves” (p.312). They seek to set up “counter discourses in which their identities could be respected, and their resources valued, thereby enhancing the possibility of shared conversation” (p.318). This is a possible explanation of why Hassan interacts with strangers, takes a public commute, dedicates 30-60 minutes of his time for reading every day after school, and changes seats during lunch hours (Recorded Interview Conversation, December 12, 2014). Hassan must have realized that the more he identifies with the mainstream society, the more likely he is to have access to social English through socialization.

It is worth noting that class, and indeed each of the dimensions of class, are interconnected with Hassan’s identity markers such as culture, religion, or nationality (Block, 2011, 2012). In the sections that follow, I identify key patterns and themes of this chapter.

Understanding Patterns and Themes

Analysis of the data I collected presents key patterns while Hassan is trying to integrate into Canadian schools and society. The data collected from Hassan is compared and related to relevant literature and investigated to answer the first two research questions. In general, results reveal four key patterns as Hassan tries to integrate into Canadian society and school. The key patterns are presented next.

Patterns

- i. Hassan was raised in the metropolitan city of Riyadh and is seen as a “cool” immigrant by his White and non-White classmates at Augustine. His family’s social class also acts as a portal of entry into White friend circles. Hassan’s social class increases his social and cultural capital. He is subjected to positive experiences. Thus, becoming open to diversity as a result of social identity constructed through his social and cultural capital.

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- ii. He is competent in English. However, he lays emphasis on learning social English through socialization with native speakers of the language, and devoting a certain amount of time for reading to improve his vocabulary. He takes public commute to the school, switches his seats in the classroom during recess, and interacts with as many people as he could outside the school in order to learn social English.
- iii. Hassan's criteria for friendship include communicative language proficiency and good values. He emphasized this while speaking about one's ability to hold the first conversation with the person of interest. He was approached by co-ethnic children during his transitional period at Augustine and that helped him ease into life at Augustine.
- iv. He is constructing his identity as a global citizen. Thus, he does not have to give away his individual identity to accommodate into the mainstream society. Instead, he chooses to accept the new culture as an add-on to his self identity. He does not restrict his choice of friends based on gender, and/or religion and culture. Rather he is open to all students for friendship.

I evaluated and combined the patterns identified to come up with two key themes: language socialization (socialization through language and socialization to use language), and social class. Themes were combined across the conditions surrounding Hassan, the activities in which he is involved, and the events inside and outside his school. These themes that emerged are important in providing insight to the experiences Hassan acquires as he is integrating in Canadian life.

Evidence from this chapter shows how social class influences one's identity. Social class can affect one's English language learning/use by constructing a positive social identity to

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encourage socialization with native speakers of English. In the chapter that follows, I answer my final research question to provide implications and conclusion to my study.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Implications and Conclusion

As illustrated so far, this study examined identity construction and language learning/use amongst four Pakistani immigrant EAL students. Findings from this ethnographic research conducted at Augustine elementary school exemplifies how gaining “legitimacy” (Bourdieu, 1991) as a competent and valued social being is never just a matter of L2 (English) competence even for immigrant students with a relatively high degree of English proficiency (Shin, 2012). EAL learning for my Pakistani participants was not only about linguistic proficiency, but also involved a complex process in which their racial/religious/class identities were constructed within a wide variety of social relationships (Shin, 2012, 2015). Now, I conclude my research with a discussion of my third research question involving the implications of this research for transformative EAL learning in Canada.

Q.3. What are the implications of this research for transformative EAL education in Canada?

The findings of this study have implications for teachers who are seeking information about improving their teaching practices in multicultural classrooms. As illustrated in the previous chapters, the immigrant EAL students from Pakistan were faced with a variety of positive and/or negative experiences in the mainstream Canadian classroom and society. These experiences were dependent on various socially constructed categories such as religion and culture, race, gender, and social class. Based on such experiences, each of my participants constructed his/her unique set of social identity/ies which in turn intersected with their L2 language use/learning. In what follows; I have identified four major implications of this study for transformative EAL education in Canada:

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- i. Rethinking “transition” into new schools,
- ii. Rethinking “identity” in EAL classrooms,
- iii. Rethinking “language learning” in EAL classrooms,
- iv. Rethinking “multiculturalism” in EAL classrooms.

Rethinking Transition

First, this research helps us understand the needs of newly immigrated Pakistani EAL students. It suggests that the initial transitional period at a school plays a very important role in immigrant children’s understanding of social norms, and integration into mainstream classrooms. Anne came to Canada when she was three years old. She struggled with her L2 in Pre-Kindergarten and switched between L1 (Urdu) and L2 words while communicating with her fellow classmates, most of whom spoke L2 as their first language (L1). However, Anne also admitted that her initial language struggle was reduced significantly because of her preschool teacher of Pakistani heritage. Anne was able to communicate with her teacher using her first language and thus felt more confident and motivated to be a part of the mainstream classroom as time passed. Thus, the research indirectly pointed to the benefits of having multilingual teachers and staff in multicultural schools. Diverse teachers bring knowledge to the classroom that non-diverse teachers lack. They bring diverse intellectual knowledge from their cultural, social and historical perspectives. They also come with firsthand knowledge (built on their lived experiences) about challenges faced by minority students and the strategies that could be implemented to overcome such challenges. Celina, on the other hand, was not able to identify with and be friends with many White classmates during her transitional phase. She was mocked by her White classmates for her minor grammatical errors of L2. She eventually moved to Augustine, which is an associate school with a more culturally diverse student population. Umair and Hassan’s parents

chose to enroll their children at Augustine due to its cultural diversity amongst student and teachers, hoping to create an ease during their transitional periods.

Nearly all teachers work with EAL and bilingual learners at some point in their teaching careers (British Council, 2012). It is important that preparing teachers to work with EAL learners is a vital component of effective pre-service and in-service teacher education today. Supporting such teachers to respond to bilingual/multilingual students' learning needs is a key task for all teacher educators. Thereby, teachers will be able to identify better the common struggles of newly immigrated EAL children and take necessary steps to ease their transition. For example, when a newly arrived immigrant student is admitted into a mainstream classroom, it was seen in the research that identifying a “buddy” for him/her may be an extremely supportive in terms of his/her social and emotional adjustments. As the data from my study revealed, all the participants considered their friends to be an important aspect of their classroom environment. Thus, a “buddy” might also become a friend and a mentor during the first couple weeks of adjustments. Anne mentioned her cousin who acted like a buddy for her. Celina, on the other hand, spoke of Erin, a Canadian White girl, who became her friend and made Celina feel comfortable during her transitional period. Hassan was provided with mentoring during the initial transitional period by Umair, and thus, both of them became best friends at Augustine.

It is valuable when a “buddy” is a confident pupil, one who has ideally but not necessarily been born and brought up in Canada, or someone who has lived in Canada for a considerably long time. This could help to inculcate the acceptance of cultural diversity among local and newly immigrated students, and provide constructive social, cultural, and language feedback from a person who has lived in the context for a significant period. Generally, newcomers tend to struggle with social, cultural, and simple technological aspects of a new

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school environment, such as using snack-vending machines, elevators, personal lockers, or washrooms. Thus, a “buddy” can be briefed to support a new student in managing potentially stressful situations such as lunchtime, playtime, gym hours, and any lessons that take place outside the main classroom area. By doing so, a “buddy” may also prove beneficial in helping a new immigrant student understand the social and cultural life of the school, build their confidence, develop friendship, and improve upon his/her language skills through language socialization.

Rethinking Identity

Findings from this study indicate that, during the course of one’s life, one develops a unique sense of identity that is a blend of different social constructs such as gender, religion, and culture, race, and social class. These factors affect one’s social identity and how one interacts with others, either verbally or through non-verbal actions. Social identity can cause social distinctions and is most favored for mainstream White students. Thus, it is necessary that all children receive proper recognition of their personal identities. One of the sites to recognize, nourish and value such identities is in EAL classrooms. Since EAL classrooms are often the sites of cultural diversity, each student gets an opportunity to empathize with those who come from a different cultural, religious, and/or social background and recognize the “valuable” capital they bring into a classroom.

Our social identity is also influenced by the social media (Arnett, 2010). The way one’s ethnic or racial community is represented in the mainstream media projects the image of the type of person one wants to be (Arnett, 2010). When we come across news articles, movies, and reports that prejudice a race, religion, culture or nation, this representation can impact the identity construction of individuals who relate with the prejudice. Anne heard news stories of

how Muslims around the world are stigmatized as terrorists by the North American media. Thus, she believed that to be the reason her parents did not subscribe to any cable channels in Saskatoon. Her parents were able to control what Anne could view on television but what about other students who find themselves in a similar situation? Is it even appropriate to put restrictions on media? What long term consequences can such restrictions have? The position one can take to support this argument can vary on his/her personal beliefs. In scenarios like this, it is important that educators educate children about media stereotypes and risks associated with religious stereotyping. The recognition and challenging of Islam phobia (a term used to describe a kind of religious racism) is work that can be done by every teacher in a modern classroom. If not done, children like Anne may construct their identities through judgments on their religion. When teachers create awareness in the classroom that all of us form a part of some community, we all can share openly our unique and dynamic sets of identities governed by culture, and religion. It is important for teachers to ensure that immigrant EAL children develop a sense of personal identity that is safe, positive and confident because children learn best when they feel good about themselves (Bhugra, 2004). When teachers succeed in establishing a collaborative culture in classrooms in which children's diverse identities are acknowledged (Cummins, 2006), such classrooms can become a place for everyone to feel a strong sense of belonging regardless of their race, religion and culture, gender or social class.

Rethinking Language Learning

This research indicates that every immigrant student is not a potential candidate for an EAL classroom and so it is critical that proper language assessments are done before assigning students to an EAL support. As indicated by Umair, he was placed in an EAL classroom without undergoing any formal language proficiency test. He saw this as demeaning to his self-esteem

and previous educational system. Often, educators believe that every EAL child needs support with L2, which is true to some extent. However, some EAL students come from countries that use L2 as their official language or have had their previous education in L2 medium schools. In such cases, they require language support that expands beyond a classroom setting. These EAL students are often proficient in their L2 (as demonstrated by my research participants). However, the aspect of the language they struggle with is the acknowledgment of “their” L2 and identities in the mainstream classrooms and society.

As many immigrant EAL learners come from diverse backgrounds and lifestyles, they have different experiences of learning L2 in their home countries and are at different stages of language acquisition. Thus, it is important that EAL learning is built upon previous experiences of the students. If the starting points and contexts are familiar, or when teachers attempt to assist EAL learners by making connections between the L2 and their lived experiences, they feel motivated to participate in the classroom activities (Amble, 2014). When starting points and contexts are different from EAL learners’ life experiences, and when learners feel that their teachers know very little or absolutely nothing about them or their culture, or have little or no interest in knowing about it, learners are less likely to engage in learning the language (Ortega, 2015). Anne, Celina, and Umair had different lived experiences than mainstream students (Whites). Thus, they did not participate in the classroom activities that conflicted with their religious, cultural or family values. On one hand, Umair mentioned that lifestyle differences affected his social interactions with White classmates, but on other hand, Hassan used lifestyle similarities to construct his identity as a global citizen. Thus, this opened a gateway for language learning through socialization with native speakers of L2 (Whites and non-Whites).

A sense of belonging may be promoted when learners' languages, cultures, religions, and social classes are included and reflected positively across the classroom and curriculum. Apart from using a range of teaching styles and strategies to meet the diversity of needs, schools can ensure that barriers such as social constructs like race, religion, class, and linguistic marginalization are removed by organizing open workshops and/or events to celebrate diversity. Schools can promote equality of opportunity for all EAL learners, and actively promote good relations between members of different ethnic, linguistic, and social groups. It is also important that schools develop partnerships with parents, guardians and minority communities to ensure that children from ethnic minority groups are not made to feel as though school and home represent two separate and different cultures that have to be kept firmly apart. As educators, it is our responsibility to learn from parents and families about learners' previous lived experiences (Pushor, 2010). As educators, one can support EAL learning by developing "culturally relevant resources for L2 learners from minority groups (E.g. Pakistan) in order to empower them and to fight marginalization during L2 learning (Davis et al., 2005), and by helping L2 learners from the majority group to empower themselves and to critically interrogate normative discourses, also through and in L2 learning" (cited in Ortega, 2015, p. 251). L2 learning for my Pakistani immigrant students was not only about linguistic proficiency but involved a complex process in which their racial, religious, gender and class identities were negotiated within a wide variety of social relationships.

Rethinking Multiculturalism

It is evident from these research findings that all four research participants' parents decided to choose Augustine over any other public school due to its diversity, multiculturalism and welcoming atmosphere. Anne, who was mocked for her religious dress code in a public

school, and Celina who was mocked for her minor L2 errors attempted to transition smoothly into Augustine as a result of the diverse student and teacher population. Thus, educators also have a responsibility to facilitate the process of diversity responsiveness in the classroom by acknowledging cultural wealth, and previous life experiences of diverse students to make learning more meaningful, thus, building meaningful bridges between their homes, social, and academic environments. To learn about diversity, it is important that all students first are able to accept their differences and learn to respect others' differences. Educators can use various teaching pedagogies to create students' awareness that different groups of people do things in different ways, and those differences should not be perceived negatively. Workshops for students and parents pertaining to accommodating diversity in the classroom/schools can be organized on a periodic basis. Such workshops can be planned and led by parents and students as they tend to have more lived experience than the teachers. Celebration of cultural festivals can help the students from minority groups feel welcomed in a mainstream classroom.

As EAL classrooms tend to be more diverse than regular classrooms, a teacher can acknowledge and discuss sensitive topics like racism, social class, stereotyping, and gender roles that are endemic in society. As indicated by this research, some classroom topics often put restrictions on certain minority students. For example, open classroom discussion on sex education, drinking, and dating is not accepted by Muslim students. Thus, they tend to avoid participating in any discussions relating to such topics. In scenarios like these, it is important that parents and families from the minority communities are acknowledged as key partners, and are empowered to play a role in their children's education. One of the key characteristics of successful multicultural schools is the extent to which the curriculum and the school atmosphere are inclusive of the students' linguistic, cultural, and social backgrounds. Celina and a few other

immigrant Muslim girls preferred not to participate in a classroom discussion pertaining to household incomes in Canada. As such topics are based upon gender roles in certain cultures, a teacher needs to find alternative ways to incorporate such topics as part of classroom discussions.

Transitioning into a new system of education, a new country, and a new society is a slow process that cannot occur overnight. Thus, teachers need to look at classroom research like this and act to provide nurturing conditions for EAL learners by understanding and empathizing with the social and political factors that have impacts on their lives and by promoting values, attitudes, and behaviors that are supportive of equity. Teachers and policymakers can acknowledge that social constructs matter in education and undertake work based on that awareness to see common struggles among various visible minorities.

Conclusion

Following a global wave of immigration in the twenty-first century, Canada saw an all-time population high of which two-thirds was attributed to immigration between 2001 and 2013 (<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2014001-eng.htm>), and Pakistan comprised one of the top five source countries of recent immigrants to Canada (<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2014/permanent/10.asp>). However, “the notion of Canada as a nation of European settler’s ideology has led to elevation of social marginalisation of non-Anglophone/Francophone immigrants and their bilingualism/multilingualism” (Shin, 2015, p.77). Just as skilled immigrants remain marginalized in the Canadian job market despite their cultural capital (Shin, 2015), my study indicates that even their children feel vulnerable due to social marginalization in the mainstream schools.

This study helped to identify some of the challenges faced by four Pakistani immigrant EAL students, who were attempting to integrate in Canadian schools, despite their good L2 communicative competence. Most contemporary theories of L2 learning place considerable emphasis on social interactions or socialization in L2 learning (Duff, 2015). The findings from this one year ethnographic study conducted at an elementary school in Saskatoon demonstrates that social categories like race, religion, gender, and social class can influence social interactions of immigrant EAL students with White Canadian students. Thus, it can affect their process of language socialization. As one's membership in a particular group, and the roles associated with that membership are central features of one's identity (Forsyth, 2009), the social constructs of race, religion, gender, and social class are shaping my participant's identity/ies everyday. Their socially constructed identity/ies has an impact on their L2 learning/use as they restrict their social interactions with native (White) speakers of the language. Despite their high L2 proficiency, L2 learning for these Pakistani EAL students involves a complex process in which their racial, religious, gender and class identities are negotiated within a wide variety of social relationships. Thus, I suggest that teachers and policymakers acknowledge that constructs such as race, religion, gender, and class are socially constructed categories, they do matter in today's classroom, and work needs to be undertaken to understand struggles among various visible minorities, especially in newly immigrated EAL learners.

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APPENDIX A

Semi Structured Interview Questions

1. What is your date and place of birth?
2. Where did you grow up? Was it an urban or rural area?
3. So, just tell me a little about yourself and briefly about your family
4. So what was life like for you back home?/ Have you visited your home country anytime?
5. Please describe a memorable event that stands out to you while you were back home that you care to share or tell me a story about.
6. How is life in Canada similar or different from that of back home?
7. So what is your daily routine like here? Take me through a day.
8. Who is your best friend and where is he/she from?
9. Tell me some interesting things about your best friend.
10. Take me through that first day when you came for classes. Tell me what was happening.
Share with me a little about that class, how you felt, what you did and so on.
11. What do you do outside the school? Who do you hang out with?
12. How do you feel about your English?
13. What other languages do you speak?
14. In what ways do you feel successful as a foreign/EAL language speaker in Canada?
15. In what ways do you feel challenged or stressed as a foreign/EAL language speaker in Canada?
16. How does your English language affect your choice of friends?
17. In what ways do you find this society atmosphere to be social?

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18. How do you feel when you work with your instructors?
19. How do you feel when you work with your classmates?
20. Please share positive/negative stories that you/ your family encountered about English use with native language speakers

APPENDIX B

Parental Consent Form

Your child is cordially invited to participate in a research study entitled *Identity and English Language Learning: The Case of Pakistani Elementary Students in Saskatoon*. Kindly read this form carefully, and feel free to ask questions you might have.

Researcher:

My name is Chetan alias Ameya Amble. I am a master's student in the Department of Curriculum Studies, College of Education, at the University of Saskatchewan. You can contact me at (306) 514-1429 or I am easily reached by e-mail at cca101@mail.usask.ca. My thesis supervisor is Dr. Hyunjung Shin. She can be reached at (306) 966-7707 or hyunjung.shin@usask.ca.

Purpose and Procedures of the Research:

This research is designed to understand how identities are constructed by newly immigrated Pakistani EAL students. The research aims to understand what some of the challenges faced by Pakistani EAL students in the mainstream Canadian schools and society in spite of their good English (L2) communicative competence. In order to protect the interests of the participants, I shall adhere to the following guidelines:

1. I shall be a participant observer in the field setting (school) and will observe 3-5 research participants once every week starting from November 2014 to March 2015.

2. I shall interview each of the individual participants, at the school site. There will also be a follow-up interview in which each participant will be invited to participate. The participant's interview response will be audio-recorded but he/she may request the audio-recorder be turned off at any time. I shall ask the participant to talk about some of his/her experiences in a mainstream Canadian classroom and in society, and in regard to successes and challenges experienced by him/her being a South Asian EAL user, in spite of his/her good L2 competence.

3. I shall also invite the participant to express his/her experiences in some written work. The written work may be handed to me personally in the classroom. His/her participation will not require more than 3 hours of his/her time. He/she can withdraw at any time during the study without penalty, explanation and without repercussion. If he/she withdraws from the study prior to a draft thesis being submitted to my thesis committee, the data collected from the participant will be immediately destroyed.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your son's or daughter's role.

Potential Risks:

There are no known or anticipated risks to the participant by participating in this research.

Potential Benefits:

There may be no guaranteed benefits to the participants, although for some Pakistani EAL learners it can serve as an opportunity to express their successes, as well as their difficulties and struggles, and relieve their minds. The findings of the study will have implications for teachers

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who are seeking information about improving their teaching practices in multicultural EAL classrooms. It will also be helpful for anyone who is searching for research on the identity formation of these young EAL students. It is anticipated that based on the findings, educational administrators, educators and teacher educators interested in satisfying the needs of EAL students from different ethnic and cultural background will explore different structural and educational approaches to promote the growth of informal social interactions among students, peers and teachers. These young Pakistani EAL learners attempting to mature into the mainstream society will act as the reference point for those who wish to honor their students using culturally relevant approaches to learning.

Storage of Data:

The data, the research study results and other materials connected with this project will be safeguarded and securely stored in the office of the researcher's supervisor, Dr. Hyunjung Shin, in the Department of Curriculum Studies, College of Education, at the University of Saskatchewan. All data will be stored for a minimum of five years, and will be available only to the primary investigators. Names of the school and participants will be protected through the use of pseudonyms.

Confidentiality:

The data from this study will be published and presented at conferences, however, participants' identity will be kept confidential. Although I will report direct quotations from the interview, participants will be given/ asked to choose a pseudonym, and all identifying information will be removed from the report. Assent/Consent forms will be stored separately from the individual

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interviews, so that participants' names are not connected with what they said. The contact sheet of the participants will be destroyed after all data is collected and all signed transcript release forms are received.

Right to Withdraw:

Your child's participation is voluntary, and he/she can answer only those questions that he/she is comfortable with. He/she may ask to turn off the audio recorder at any point in the interview. He/she may withdraw from the study for any reason at any time and without penalty of any sort. Your son's or daughter's right to withdraw data from the study will apply until results have been analyzed and a draft thesis is given to my thesis committee. After this date, it may not be possible to withdraw your data. If your child withdraws from the study before the thesis has been drafted, any data that he/she has contributed will be destroyed at your request. The participants will be advised of any new information that arises during the study that may have a bearing on the participant's decision to continue in the study.

Follow up:

Information on the outcomes of the research will be made available to the participants once the study has completed. Each participant will have a copy of the assent and/or consent form, which contains the researcher's and supervisor's contact information. The participants will be informed of the publications of the thesis and the ways in which they can access the thesis. The final thesis will be provided to the University of Saskatchewan, and anyone who indicates a desire for a copy.

Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions concerning the study, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided above if you have questions at a later time. You can contact me at (306)514-1429 or by e-mail at cca101@mail.usask.ca. You may also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Hyunjung Shin at (306) 966-7707 or hyunjung.shin@usask.ca.

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free (888) 966-2975.

Consent to Participate:

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my/our questions have been answered satisfactorily. I give consent for my child to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

Name of Parent or Guardian

Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

APPENDIX C

Student's Assent Form

Project Title: Identity and English Language Learning: The Case of Pakistani Elementary Students in Saskatoon.

Researcher: Chetan alias Ameya Amble

What is a research study?

A research study is a way to find out new information about something. Children do not need to be in a research study if they don't want to.

Why are you being asked to be part of this research study?

You are invited to participate in this research study because I am trying to learn more about "Identity formation and language learning among Pakistani EAL learners." I am asking you to be in the study because I wish to understand if there are any challenges faced by South Asian EAL students in the mainstream Canadian schools and society in spite of their good English. About three to five children will be in this study.

If you join the study what will happen to you?

I want to tell you about some things that will happen to you if you are in this study.

- You will be in the study only when in the school.
- You will be asked to answer some basic questions during two or three interviews. Each interview will be conducted in the school and will last for no more than one hour.
- I will ask you to sit with me and talk about your family, friends, your life inside and outside the school.
- These interviews will occur only two to three times and all your answers will be audio-taped.

Will any part of the study hurt?

There are no known risks to you by participating in this research. Your participation is voluntary and will not affect your school grades in any way. You can choose not to answer any of my questions you do not want to answer. You can ask me to turn off my recorder any time. You can withdraw from the study at any time, if you do not feel comfortable about it.

Will the study help others?

This study might find out things that will help other children who might come to Canada from South Asia and will help teachers know what kind of challenges students may face in school after moving here.

Do your parents know about this study?

This study was/will be explained to your parents and they said that I could ask you if you want to be in it. You can talk this over with them before you decide.

Who will see the information collected about you?

The information collected about you during this study will be kept safely locked up. Nobody will know it except me and my professor at the university. The study information about you will not be given to your parents. The researchers will not tell your friends or anyone else. When I write about you, I will use a pretend name that you and I decide on for you.

What do you get for being in the study?

You do not get any direct benefit from this study but your participation can help future students coming to Canada from South Asia.

Do you have to be in the study?

- You do not have to be in the study. No one will be upset if you don't want to do this study. If you don't want to be in this study, you just have to tell me. It's up to you.

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- You can also take more time to think about being in the study and talk it over with your parents too, if you would like.

What if you have any questions?

- You can ask me any questions that you may have about the study. If you have a question later that you didn't think of now, either you can call or have your parents call me at (306) 514-1429. I am easily reached by e-mail at cca101@mail.usask.ca. My thesis supervisor is Dr. Hyunjung Shin and she can be reached at (306) 966-7707 or hyunjung.shin@usask.ca.
- You can also take more time to think about being in the study and also talk some more with your parents about being in the study.

Other information about the study.

- If you decide to be in the study, please write your name below.
- You can change your mind and stop being part of it at any time. All you (or your parents, if you prefer) have to do is tell me you don't want to continue or you can tell my professor, Dr. Shin. It's okay. Neither your parents or I will be upset.
- You will be given a copy of this paper to keep.

Yes, I will be in this research study. No, I don't want to do this.

_____	_____	_____
Child's name	Signature of the child	Date
_____	_____	_____
Person obtaining Assent	Signature	Date

APPENDIX D

Letter to Non-Participating Students' Parents

My name is Chetan alias Ameya Amble. I am a master's student in the Department of Curriculum Studies, College of Education, at the University of Saskatchewan. You can contact me at (306) 514-1429 or I am easily reached by e-mail at cca101@mail.usask.ca. My thesis supervisor is Dr. Hyunjung Shin. She can be reached at (306) 966-7707 or hyunjung.shin@usask.ca.

I am conducting research to understand how identities are constructed by newly immigrated Pakistani EAL students and how this affects their English language learning. The research aims to understand what some of the successes and challenges are which are faced by Pakistani EAL students in mainstream Canadian schools and society in spite of their good English (L2) communicative competence.

The research will be conducted in the Grade 6/7 classroom of the School and I shall be a participant observer in the field setting (school). The participants of my research will be 3-5 consenting/assenting Pakistani students. I will observe the participants once every week starting from November 2014 to March 2015.

Your child will not be a focus of my research but because I will be working with all the students in the classroom, there is a chance that he/she might become a part of my observations during their interactions with my participants. However, no data will be collected pertaining to your child.

This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights may be addressed to

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that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free (888) 966-2975.

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided and you have no objection with occasional observation of your child.

Please note that a copy of this letter will be given to you for your records.

*Name of Participant/Parent or
Guardian*

Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

A copy of this letter will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

APPENDIX E

Transcript/Data Release Form



Department of Curriculum Studies
Office ED 3104
28 Campus Drive
Saskatoon SK S7N 0X1
Telephone: (306) 9667601
Facsimile : (306) 966-7658

DATA/TRANSCRIPT RELEASE FORM

I, _____, have reviewed the complete transcript of my research conversation in this study, and have been provided with the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I acknowledge the transcript accurately reflects what I said in the research conversation with Chetan alias Ameya Amble. I hereby authorize the release of this transcript to Chetan alias Ameya Amble to be used in the manner described in the Consent Form. I have received a copy of the Data/Transcript Release Form for my own records.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature of Participant

Signature of Researcher

APPENDIX F

List of Figures

During the data collection, I asked my research participants to bring in something (an artifact) that truly represents who they are, or something to which they could relate.

Figure 1 (Anne with her favorite book):



Figure 2 (Umair with his sketch):



Figure 3 (Celina with her art work):



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Figure 4 (Hassan with his self declared medal):

