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Exploring Multiple Literacies and Identities of Children in a Mandarin-English Bilingual Program

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Exploring Multiple Literacies and Identities of Children
in a Mandarin-English Bilingual Program

by

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A THESIS

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Abstract

In Canadian schools, languages other than English and French are offered, such as Chinese, Spanish, German, and others. In order to help students in these programs develop to their fullest potentials, more research is necessary to explore the realities regarding students' construction of identifications through multiple languages and literacies. Most previous studies on multilingual children's literacies and identities have viewed literacy as a product and identity as an essential part of self associated with dimensions of culture, ethnicity, nationality, gender, religion, race, and generation. Little attention has been paid to the dynamic processes within children's multiple literacy practices and the proliferation of cultural flows, modes of belonging, and new practices of citizenship that mobilize minds and bodies with identifications beyond nation-states.

This study explores the multiplicity of how children in a Mandarin-English bilingual program become literate and how they form their sense of identities in a dynamic process. The study draws from a rhizomatic framework of transculturation, transnationalism, translanguaging and poststructural perspectives of literacies and identities as processes of becoming. Data for the study were collected by multiple methods: 1) classroom observations of eight students across their academic years of grade five and six, 2) semi-structured interviews with their parents, teachers, and the program coordinator, 3) students' documents and artifact collection, and 4) additional conversations and email communications with the students.

Results indicate that the multilingual children in the study exceeded language boundaries and revealed highly creative uses of languages. They were engaged in complex, multi-layered, fluid, and context-dependent multilingual communication in different social networks,

challenged the dominant discourse of any fixed and hyphenated identity, and took on transcultural and transnational identities that allowed for comfortable circulation among different worlds. Meanwhile, their life experiences, virtual and actual, assembled in and across different contexts and contributed to their reading, reading the world, and self.

Implications of this research suggest the need to expand poststructural perspectives of literacies and identities to include multilingual and multicultural issues. Educators need to recognize they are teaching far more than the letters of the alphabet and unfold children's multiple and mobile identities to explore new possibilities for life. This research also provides insights to inform policy-makers concerning heritage language and bilingual teaching in Canada.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved mom,
who would be very proud of me and my work.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background

The Canadian government has initiated two policies since the 1970s to reconstruct the nation-state: bilingualism and multiculturalism (Fleming, 2008). Bilingualism was enshrined in the Canadian Constitution Act and Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 in answer to Québec separatism (Esses & Gardner, 1996). It strengthened the role of both French and English as official languages for the country, with the intent to make French-speaking Canadians feel more at home in their own country (Fleming, 2008). However, some immigrant minorities, such as Ukrainians, felt that their interests and contributions had been overlooked and expressed their discontent with the designation of French and English as official languages. In response to widespread criticism and the need to develop a distinct national identity (Esses & Gardner, 1996), the Canadian government proclaimed a policy of multiculturalism in 1971 and passed the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988. Canada has been committed to framing a multicultural mosaic with the preservation, development, and institutionalization of its increasing linguistic and cultural diversity ever since (Danesi, McLeod, & Morris, 1993).

However, multiculturalism has been criticized for its superficial celebration of cultural diversity (Cummins & Danesi, 1990), since it was primarily designed as a way of selling bilingualism to ethnicities other than the French and the English (Esses & Gardner, 1996). The particular language education needs of other linguistic groups were not taken into account (Esses & Gardner, 1996; Fleming, 2008). To wit, some educators continue to advise immigrant parents to use English at home rather than encourage them to use their heritage languages to help with their children's literacy development (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). Such educators adopt an

English-only policy in their classrooms, overlook immigrant children's heritage languages and literacy expertise, and believe that immigrant students' native languages are barriers to their learning in school (Cummins et al., 2005; Hébert, Guo, & Pellerin, 2008; Parke, Drury, Kenner, & Robertson, 2002; Perry, Kay, & Brown, 2008; Taylor, Bernhard, Garg, & Cummins, 2008). As a result, immigrant children are constrained and marginalized by a school or classroom culture that mirrors the dominant power in the larger society. Such children may not develop adequate heritage language literacy and may face academic and emotional difficulties in school (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). Such experiences would have a negative effect on children's identities. Furthermore, researchers propose that the official bilingualism of English and French ought to be expanded to embrace multilingual education for children and youth of immigrant origins, in order to develop their capacities to their fullest potential (Hébert, Guo & Pellerin, 2008).

Research Problems

Regarding immigrant children's literacies and identities, most of the research has viewed literacies as products and identities as an essential self associated with cultural difference. However, immigrant children's local literate behaviors are improvisational and fluid in various domains such as schools, homes, and communities. For instance, they may engage in certain kinds of classroom reading and writing activities but show less interest at other moments. They may search enthusiastically for their favourite lyrics through Google but resist the obligatory assignments of sentence-building from teachers. These disparities in the dynamic processes of literacies imply the transformative possibilities inherent in social institutions (such as schools) with regard to the production of speakers, writers, artists, and new communities of practice that innovate on established ways of becoming literate (Masny & Cole, 2009).

Meanwhile, immigrant children's identities should not be essentialized within dimensions of culture, ethnicity, nationality, gender, religion, race, and generation, because children incorporate different aspects of their varying cultures and negotiate their multiple identifications in transnational and transcultural spaces, using multiple modes of communication. Therefore, cultural differences and belongings become negotiable, strategic, and mobile (Hébert, Wilkinson, & Ali, 2008; Hoerder, Hébert, & Schmitt, 2006). The fluidity and multiplicity of identities and literacies from these poststructural perspectives call for studies on the dynamic processes through which immigrant children become literate and form their senses of identities.

Bilingual programs in the Prairie Provinces of Canada provide a unique environment for such a study. Generally, the climate in the Prairie Provinces is more favorable toward heritage language teaching than in the rest of Canada (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). In 1971, the government of the PROVINCE¹ started the first heritage language program in Canada, the Ukrainian–English bilingual program, largely as a result of pressure from the Ukrainian community. From then on, other heritage languages, such as German, Hebrew, Yiddish, Chinese (Mandarin), Arabic, and Polish became part of school instruction languages and subjects in the Prairie Provinces (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). These bilingual programs are partial immersion programs, with English and children's heritage languages as instructional languages, aiming to enable children to invest in positive identities in their literacy learning processes. These programs have one goal in common: to cultivate strong self-identities among multilingual/multicultural learners and positive identifications with their heritage languages and cultures. While most research on literacies and identities of multilingual children takes place in

¹ The capitalized word *PROVINCE* in this dissertation refers to the province where this research was conducted. All the provincial documents cited are the documents from this province.

mainstream English schools and heritage language schools, little is known about students' experiences in these public bilingual programs (Wu & Bilash, 2000).

Research Purpose and Questions

This study focuses on a selected group of children in a Mandarin-English bilingual program in a western Canadian city. It explores how the flow among multiple literacies contributes to these children's identity formation. It also pays attention to how these children develop their senses of selves during the process. Specifically, the following questions are addressed:

1. How do the children in this Mandarin-English bilingual program develop multiple literacies in home, school, and community contexts?
2. How do these multilingual children portray themselves within home, school, and community literacies?

Significance of the Study

By acknowledging children's literacies and identities as multiple, mobile, and improvisational, this study can provide children an open space to portray themselves in multimodal ways over historical time and social space. Meanwhile, this process-oriented exploration of intertwining literacies and identities can help parents understand their children's literacy practices and identity negotiation, address children's potentially problematic issues, and support children's positive identities and literacies. In addition, it can provide insights to help participating teachers become aware of their unspoken assumptions about children's literacies and identities.

Furthermore, this study answers the call to explore the realities of multilingual students' construction of multiple identifications through languages and literacies (Hébert, Guo & Pellerin,

2008). This exploration focusing on the bilingual program in the Prairie Provinces can provide insights to inform policy-makers concerning heritage language and bilingual teaching in Canada, and therefore helps to set up a sufficient political and legal context for multilingualism and multilingual education in Canada.

Finally, based on the fact that Chinese has become the second leading heritage language in this PROVINCE and Chinese have become the second largest visible minority population in Canada (over 1.2 million) (Statistics Canada, 2006), the focus on children of Chinese origin can help eliminate the invisibility of these children as frontline participants in today's education (Lao, 2004; Sheets & Chew, 2002).

Use of Terms

Literacies

The field of literacy studies is large and heterogeneous (Collins & Blot, 2003). In this research, I follow Multiple Literacies Theory (MLT), which allows me to examine “literacies as texts that take on multiple meanings conveyed through words, gestures, attitudes, ways of speaking, writing, valuing and are taken up as visual, oral, written, and tactile. They constitute texts, in a broad sense (for example, a musical score, a sculpture, a mathematical equation) that fuse with religion, gender, race, culture, and power, and that produce speakers, writers, artists, communities” (Masny, 2009b, p. 14).

Identity, identification, subject and subjectivity

The distinction between these terms is blurred. From an essentialist approach, identity is seen as a relatively stable sense of self internal to an individual (e.g., Erikson, 1968). From social constructivist perspectives, identity is characterized as a process embodied in social practice constructed and mediated through interaction, not as a given or a product (deFina, Schiffirin, &

Bamberg, 2006; Hébert, 2001). When identity is viewed as a process enmeshed in interaction, it comprises not only individual interactions at the micro-social level but also at the macro-social (cultural/institutional) level (Lemke, 2008; McCarthy & Moje, 2002).

The roots of the concept of identification can be found in the writings of Freud (1921/1991) who defined identification as the expression of an emotional tie with another person. In other words, identification “organizes ego boundaries through its relations with others” (Farley, 2006, p.1021). It is a psychological process whereby a person assimilates to others and is transformed with others’ influence. It is identity congruence (Foreman & Whetten, 2002).

Subjectivity is founded on a poststructural discourse and focuses on the making of the subject, including the taking of subject positions and stressing the reflexive dimension (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005). In addition, poststructural theories of subjectivity question and critique the stabilities of identities and categories that attempt to name and to stabilize notions of people (Hagood, 2002a). In this sense, subjectivity does not presuppose identity but is produced in a process of individuation which is always collective and plural: as a state of any other thing (Semetsky, 2003b). Subjectivity is to “break down old methods and to break into new territories and new modes of action, such a process aptly identified by means of deterritorialization and reterritorialization respectively” (Semetsky, 2003b, p. 215). From this more vitalistic perspective, a subject is a process of becoming, and an ongoing process of movement and transformation (Olsson, 2009). The subject from a poststructural perspective is not in subject position actively controlling events but an effect of events and experiences in life (Masny, 2005/2006).

To some extent, I agree with Rattansi and Phoenix (2005) that the concept of identity springs from the modernist discourse in which the core of an individual was seen as stable, while subjectivity has poststructural foundations. Meanwhile, I understand identification as the processes of people's assimilation to or transformation with their changing relationships to others. However, there are no clear boundaries between these terms. In this research, I am open to their slippery relationships. When reviewing the literature of identity and subjectivity, I follow the scholars' original ways of using these terms.

Immigrant children and multilingual children

In this study, immigrant children are those who are foreign born and whose parents are foreign born. Second generation Canadians are those who are born in Canada and who have at least one foreign born parent. The phrase, multilingual children, includes both children of the first and second generation (Guo & Hébert, in press). In this research, I follow Kramersch (2009) in viewing people as multilingual when they

use more than one language in everyday life, whether they are learning a foreign or second language in school, or speaking two or more languages in daily transaction, or writing and publishing in a language that is not the one they grew up with. In most case, they will have acquired one or several languages as a child, and learned the others in various formal or informal settings. They might not know all these languages equally well, nor speak them equally fluently in all circumstances, and there are some they used to know but have largely forgotten. I also include the many people who are about to understand a family language but can't really speak it, those who were forbidden to speak the language of the home and

whose only language is now the language of the school, and those who used to speak a language but, because of past painful experiences, now refuse to do so. These silenced speakers can also be, to some degree, multilingual subjects. (p.17)

With this understanding, the participating students in this research are multilingual. Coming from very different family linguistic backgrounds, they adopt whatever languages they are comfortable with for different occasions, or whichever languages can serve them best in any given situation.

Rhizome

Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 2004) use the term *rhizome* as an image of thought, as an antithesis of a root-tree structure which has hierarchical and stratified totalities. As graphically represented in Figure 1, *rhizome* is a “metaphor for multidirectional growth and diverse productivity” (Semetsky, 2008, p. xiii). It describes an open system of multiple interactions and connections on various disparate planes: “The rhizome, as embedded in the perplexity of the situation, goes in diverse directions instead of a single path, multiplying its own lines and establishing the plurality of unpredictable connections in the open-ended smooth space of its growth” (Semetsky, 2006, p. 73). The term rhizome is used in this research to explore the multiplicities of children’s literacies and identities where learning is viewed as a process of growth and change with “unlimited growth through the multitude of its own transformations” (Semetsky, 2003a, p. 17).



Figure 1. A representation of the rhizome.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 2 explores the theoretical framework of this study-- the rhizomatic intersection of literacy and identity encountered in sociocultural and poststructural paradigms, together with transculturation, transnationalism, and translanguaging. It also reviews the literature on immigrant children's literacies and identities from these perspectives, discusses challenges posed by each paradigm, and situates the positions of this study.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology adopted for the present study. The nature of the research question determines that the qualitative research paradigm is most appropriate for the study. This chapter introduces the research context as well as the participants in a Mandarin-English bilingual program in a western Canadian city. It then discusses a variety of qualitative data collection methods employed for the study, such as participant observations, interviews, and document collection, followed by a discussion of rhizoanalysis and a consideration of the validity of this research.

Chapter 4 presents how the multilingual children in this Mandarin-English bilingual program exceed language boundaries and reveal highly creative uses of languages. This chapter discusses how these language boundary-crossings and language creativities challenge the stereotype of the polite, obedient but passive Chinese students.

Chapter 5 discusses how the participating students read, read the world and self intensively and immanently in their multiple literacy practices. The chapter maps out how these children become Other in an open system of virtual-actual assemblage in different contexts.

Chapter 6 presents how the multilingual children incorporate different aspects of varying cultures in their multiple literacies and identity negotiation. The chapter explores how these children take on transcultural and transnational identities for comfortable circulation among different worlds.

Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of the study. It also discusses the theoretical contributions of this study as well as its implications for literacy education, the bilingual program, and future research. The chapter concludes with the researcher's reflections upon the study.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND THE LITERATURE

REVIEW

A discussion of the theoretical frameworks for this research opens this chapter which goes on to review the literature on immigrant and multilingual children's literacies and identities from sociocultural and poststructural perspectives, including the literature on children's transcultural and transnational lives. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the rationale for this study.

Theoretical Frameworks

Literacy as a social practice and identity as position

Two models of literacy have been dominant in the literacy field: autonomous and ideological. The autonomous model views literacy as the technical acquisition of reading and writing skills from cognitive perspectives, a process that does not attend to the contexts of learners' lives (Street, 1984, 1995). The ideological model, from social and cultural perspectives, views literacy as a social practice and prevails in the New Literacy Studies (NLS) (Baker & Luke, 1991; Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000; Dyson, 2001; Gee, 1996; Street, 1984, 1995). To view literacy as a social practice entails recognizing *multiple literacies* in everyday life that are associated with the different domains within which literacy is practiced, such as home, school, and workplace (e.g. Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000; Street, 1984, 1995). It also recognizes multiple forms of literacy associated with information and multimedia technologies. The New London Group (NLG) (1996) coined the term *multiliteracies* to argue that literacy pedagogy must account for the multimodal ways in which children engage in meaning making, such as written, visual, gestural, and tactile modes (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000). In addition, viewing literacy as a social practice acknowledges that literacy embeds contested power relationships

(Barton, Hamilton, & Ivanic, 2000; Gee, 1996, 2008; Street, 2003). Literacies relate to power because they are “ideological” (Street, 1984), with some of them tending to dominate and marginalize others (Gee, 2008).

When aligning with an autonomous model of literacy, identity refers to a relatively stable and essentialized sense of self (Erikson, 1968). Meanwhile, from a sociocultural perspective on literacy, identity refers to a process constructed and mediated through interaction (deFina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg, 2006; Hébert, 2001). Researchers from this perspective emphasize the individual as an agent of his or her literacy and social practices (Moje & Luke, 2009) and place identity at the center of literacy development (Pahl & Rowsell, 2005).

Different conceptualizations of identity lead to different forms of literacy research and different understandings of how literacy and identity work to develop one another (Moje & Luke, 2009). In their comprehensive review of literacy and identity studies, Moje and Luke (2009) describe conceptualizations of identity, positing it as (1) difference, (2) sense of self, (3) mind or consciousness, (4) narrative, and (5) position. According to Moje and Luke, these metaphors overlap in assuming identity to be socially situated, mediated, produced, fluid, and dynamic. They further propose that the identity-as-position metaphor brings together all of the other four metaphors and is especially useful for literacy research. Similarly, Bartlett (2008) states that “contemporary literacy studies have come to rely upon the concept of identity to think about the purposeful ways in which individuals endeavor to position themselves through and/or in conjunction with literacy practices in social and cultural fields” (p. 37).

The metaphor of identity-as-position recognizes the flux between the assignation and assertion of identity. On the one hand, individuals might be included or excluded from membership in particular literacy practices. On the other hand, they may make claims in which

they align or contrast themselves with others via literacy practices in social and cultural fields (Bartlett & Holland, 2002; McCarthey & Moje, 2002). In social interactions, “the subject is agentic in some spaces and not in others; literate practice plays a role in that agency, but the ways that youth are called by others in power and the ways they respond to those calls depends in part on the space and time they inhabit” (Moje & Luke, 2009, p. 432). In sum, a sociocultural framework focuses on the social and multimodal nature of literacy embedded in discourses of ideology, power, identity, and agency (Bartlett & Holland, 2002; Lewis, Enciso & Moje, 2007; Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000; Pahl, 2002).

Literacy as a process and identity as provisional and relational

From a poststructural perspective, Multiple Literacies Theory (MLT) proposes a new way of conceptualizing literacy, emphasizing literacy as a process of becoming (Masny, 2009b). MLT shares certain characteristics with sociocultural approaches to literacy. First, all acknowledge that literacies are socially, culturally, historically, and politically situated, fusing with gender, race, religion, culture, and power (Masny, 2008). Second, both MLT and the NLS recognize that manifestations of literacies are multimodal, i.e., visual, oral, written, and tactile (Masny, 2008). However, MLT differs from sociocultural perspectives of literacy in two ways (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011). First, the NLS views literacy as an outcome to be achieved, whereas MLT views literacies as creative and productive processes. Second, the two approaches conceive transformation differently. Sociocultural paradigms influenced by Freire’s theory of literacy (1972) regard transformation as individuals’ emancipation from oppression. In contrast, in MLT, “there is no finality [of transformation]” (Masny, 2008, p.14), and “how transformation will actualize cannot be predicted” (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011, p. 290). In MLT, transformation is about connecting and intersecting the many aspects of life that flow through the

subject and that constitute memories, desire, and the mind (Masny & Cole, 2009). Through this continuing process of transformation, the individual becomes Other, different from his or her original self (Semetsky, 2006). This transformation is unpredictable and immeasurable.

In addition, investment is understood differently in MLT from Norton Peirce's (1995) notion of investment. Investment is most often linked to Bourdieu, who uses it as an image borrowed from economics in his exploration of linguistic and cultural capital (Masny, 2008). The notion of investment was developed by Norton Peirce (1995) to signal the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language as well as their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice the target language. Within MLT, however, investment refers to connections between events stemming from the experiences of life. It is from the continuous investments in literacies that individuals become literate.

MLT embraces a worldview that the individual is reading, reading the world and self (RRWS) as texts in multiple environments, such as home, school, and community (Masny, 2008). Informed by Deleuze (1990, 1995) and Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 1994), Masny (2012b) proposes that "reading is about mapping events of experiences on different planes: reading immanently, intensively and in interested ways" (p. 78). To read intensively is to read disruptively by asking how texts work and what they produce, not what they mean (Masny, 2010). To read intensively is to read critically, signaling that cognitive, social, cultural, and political forces are happening in interested and untimely ways: "Therefore, there is no prediction about how reading is taken up. This leads us to reading as immanence" (Masny, 2012b, p. 85). To read immanently brings the thought of something. It emphasizes the virtual and untimely aspects of reading, which cannot be controlled or predicted by what has been actualized before. To read immanently could mean readers make connections from text to self, text to text, and text

to the world, but the connections made are not limited to these. Masny and Waterhouse (2011) use the following example to explain intensive and immanent reading:

You are walking down the hallway. You smell coffee and look at the clock to see that it is four o'clock. The coming together of the walk down the hallway, the smell of coffee, and seeing the time disrupts (reading intensively) and brings on the thought of vacation, the thought of it's time to go home, the thought of ... (reading immanently). (p. 292)

This example seems to connect reading with minor distractions because reading immanently might evoke spiritual and religious connections. Intricately intertwined but distinct, reading, reading the world and self draw on the virtual and actual, in relation to an assemblage where the combination of elements and the relation of the elements to each other is effected through the power to affect and be affected (Masny, 2012b). Masny (2012b) explains how reading the world and reading self circulate in an assemblage of virtual and actual in an open system. Regarding reading the world, virtual worldviews are actualized as beliefs in a specific time and space. Reading self, similarly, consisting of affects and percepts in the virtual, is actualized with the sense emerging as part of a signifying assemblage charged with affection and perception. The self here is a process of 'becoming' not defined by its identity. Reading self happens in the process of reading and reading the world, and is based on a construction of meaning that is always in movement, and always in transition (Dufresne & Masny, 2005). Reading self contributes to the shaping of one's worldview and is a way of becoming. It follows that MLT views identity and becoming as synonymous with literacies (Masny, 2005).

In sum, MLT argues that literacies are multiple, be they personal, communal, school-based, or critical literacies. Bringing together different literacies at various times and in various contexts acknowledges plural and intersecting worldviews. It also acknowledges different and

contradictory ways of meaning and experiences that flow and create a movement in reading, reading the world and self (Masny, 2005).

Poststructural scholars view identity as provisional and relational (Andreotti, 2008; Kramersch, 2009). The provisionality of identities can be understood in both symbolic and historical dimensions (Kramersch, 2009). First, poststructuralists suggest the self is formed through the use of language and other symbolic systems. Embedded in webs of social relations that involve multiple symbolic exchanges, individuals' subjectivities always carry potentials for change (Hébert, 2001; Kramersch, 2009). For example, students can shift their senses of themselves as language learners, painters, computer game players, text message writers, story makers, and online chatters as they shift time and space in their social interactions, actual or virtual. Second, poststructuralists believe that subjects strive to see themselves and others as embodying their full range of historical possibilities, "hearing and seeing not only what they say and do, but what they could have said and done in the past, and what they could say and do in the future given the appropriate circumstances" (Kramersch, 2009, p. 18). Becoming a subject means becoming aware of the gap between the words that people utter and the many meanings these words could have, as well as between who a person is and who a person could be. The historical possibilities and potentiality suggest the provisionality of subjectivity (Andreotti, 2008).

Identities are relational, which means an individual is formed not only through interpersonal relationships with others but also through intrapersonal changes (Kramersch, 2009), as identity involves the conscious mind and unconscious body's memories, fantasies, identifications, and projections of the individual, all of which are always products of our socialization in a given culture (Kramersch, 2009; Weedon, 1987). In sum, poststructuralists understand identities as multiple, changing, and sites of struggle, reflecting an on-going and

open-ended process of forming multiple identifications as well as social, psychological, and cultural dimensions in everyday life (Hébert, 2001).

MLT emphasizes the folding of virtual and actual, with connections and potentials to reconnect with unpredictable conditions. This can be incorporated with poststructural understandings of identities which attend more on the intermesh of historical and imaginary potentials of identities. In addition, MLT refers to literacies as processes: from a territory to deterritorialization and becoming to reterritorialization (Masny, 2009c). This corresponds to the poststructural understanding of identity as fluid, mobile, contradictory, and temporary. This framework of weaving literacy and identity from poststructural perspectives provides a new lens to understand the relationship between the two.

Transnationalism, transculturation, and translanguaging

The term *transnationalism* includes a plurality of meanings and definitions. Wong and Satzewich (2006) put forward four conceptualizations of transnationalism: a transnational perspective, a mode of adaptation, social space, and transnational communities. First, a transnational perspective conceptualizes many contemporary immigrants not as having completely left behind their “old” countries, but as maintaining multiple links and networks with their homelands (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Szanton Blanc, 1995). Second, transnationalism is a form of immigrant economic, political, and sociocultural adaptation that differs from assimilation (Portes, 1999). Third, transnationalism as social space refers to the “ties and the unfolding strong and dense circular flows of persons, goods, ideas, and symbols within a migration system” (Faist, 2000, p. 2). Fourth, transnational communities are broader and more inclusive than those of the diaspora, defined as “that segment of a people living outside the homeland” (Connor, 1986). Drawing on these four aspects, Louie (2006) refers to

transnationalism as “the phenomenon of immigrants maintaining connections to their country of origin and using a dual frame of reference to evaluate their experiences and outcomes in the country in which they have settled” (p. 363). From a more dynamic perspective, Gardner (2012) believes the concept of transnational “draws attention away from the binaries of ‘sending’ and ‘receiving’ contexts, and towards relationships, linkages and flows” (p. 894). Similarly, transnationalism refers to “multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec, 1999, p. 447), and it is “various kinds of global or cross-border connections” (Vertovec, 2001, p. 573).

Transculturation refers to the phenomena of converging and merging cultures (Ortiz, 1995). Recently, scholars have recognized the possibilities of using transculturation to open up the notions of culture and cultural belonging (Hébert, Wilkinson & Ali, 2008; Hoerder, Hébert, & Schmitt, 2006; Ryan, 2011). In this way, transculturation refers to “the process of individuals and societies changing themselves by integrating diverse cultural life-ways into dynamic new ones” (Hoerder, Hébert, & Schmitt, 2006, p. 13). During the process of transculturation, cultures are fluid. Two or more different cultures interact and envisage the formation of new cultures in which some existing cultural features are combined, while some are lost, and new features are generated (Murray, 2010). “More a perspective than a fixed concept, transculturation permits re-readings of homogenised histories that construct belongings as fixed and that essentialised cultural, ethnic, national, gendered, religious, racial, and/or generational dimensions” (Hébert, Wilkinson & Ali, 2008, pp. 51-52). It is based on the breaking down of boundaries (Cuccioletta, 2002) and reconceptualises difference and diversity as negotiable, intersectorial, strategic, and mobile.

The term *translanguaging* is traditionally described as code switching which has been discussed mostly as a pedagogical practice for bilingual classrooms where two languages are used (García, 2009; Williams, 1996), with potential advantages in developing the learner's academic language skills in both languages (Baker, 2011). García (2009) covers all the traditional descriptions and extends the notion of translanguaging as “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (p. 45).

From a psycholinguistic perspective, Li (2011a) builds on the idea of translanguaging from the notion of languaging, which refers to the process of using languages to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thoughts, and to communicate. This process of translanguaging goes between and beyond different linguistic structures and systems: “It includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships” (p. 1223).

According to Li (2011a), this act of translanguaging creates a “translanguaging space” for the multilingual language user “by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience” (p. 1223). With its own transformative power, the translanguaging space is where different identities, values, and practices combine to generate new identities, values, and practices. The boundaries of a translanguaging space are ever shifting.

Li (2011a) develops two concepts in translanguaging space, *creativity* and *criticality*. Creativity is “the ability to choose between following and flouting the rules and norms of behaviour, including the use of language” (p. 1223). Whereas “criticality refers to the ability to

use available evidence appropriately, systematically and insightfully to inform considered views of cultural, social and linguistic phenomena, to question and problematize received wisdom, and to express views adequately through reasoned responses to situations” (p. 1223). According to Li, these two concepts are fundamental but underexplored dimensions of multilingual practices.

The concepts of transnationalism, transculturation, and translanguaging disrupt the boundaries of nations, cultures, and languages. They draw attention to various kinds of cross-border connections and relationships. They are useful to explore the diversity, dynamics, and changes of multilingual children in this study.

Deleuzian and Guattarian rhizome

By contrasting the metaphors of the rhizome and the tree, Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 2004) articulated their antihierarchical philosophical stance in an attempt to derail modernist, linear thinking:

unlike trees or their roots, the rhizome connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature... It is composed not of units but of dimensions, or rather directions in motion. It has neither beginning nor end, but always in a middle (milieu) from which it grows and which it overflows... (it) operates by variation, expansion, conquest, capture, offshoot... it has multiple entryways and its own lines of flight. (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004, p. 23)

In their book, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) articulated central principles of the rhizome: connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity, asignifying rupture, cartography/multiple entryways and exits (see Kamberelis, 2004 for a

detailed discussion). The metaphor of rhizome stands for connection and heterogeneity. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argued that “any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from the tree or the root, which plots a point, fixes an order” (p. 7). In contrast to the tree, “there are no points or positions in a rhizome, such as those found in a structure, tree, or root. There are only lines” (p. 8), producing multiplicities and making new connections. Dufresne (2009) describes two types of Deleuze and Guattari’s multiplicity. One is quantitative multiplicity, measurable in degrees and homogeneous. Another type “is qualitative, rhizoidal and heterogeneous which belongs to the virtual planes and encompasses Deleuze’s theoretical concept of inside or interiority” (Dufresne, 2009, p.108). Qualitative multiplicities are “neither unities nor totalities” (Deleuze, 1987, p. vii). They are “the relational entities constituted by multiple lines or dimensions irreducible to each other” (Semetsky, 2006, p. 2). Multiplicity, particularly qualitative multiplicity, is the essence of the subject from the Deleuzian perspective. The principle of asignifying rupture states that “A rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines....That is why one can never posit a dualism or a dichotomy, even in the rudimentary form of the good and the bad” (p. 9). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) further distinguished the tree and rhizome metaphors by contrasting notions of tracings (decalcomania) and maps (cartography). A tracing is a reproduction of the world based on existing striated structures. In contrast, “the map is open and connectable in all of its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted, to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group, or social formation” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 12). An essential characteristic of a map is that “it always has multiple entryways” (p. 12).

Deleuze and Guattari contribute greatly to present the rhizome as an “image of thoughts” with the principles discussed above. However, Deleuze and Guattari claim that there are only lines, but no points or positions in a rhizome. They are not entirely correct because there could be points when multiple lines connect and extend in a rhizome. In addition, they do not clarify what count as lines and lines could be limiting.

Positioning the study

This study explores intersections of multiple literacies and identities of children in a Mandarin-English bilingual program mainly from poststructural perspectives. These perspectives are expanded by including transnational, transcultural, and translingual issues to explore multilingual children’s literacies and identities. Moving from homes, communities, and schools, multilingual children are involved in multimodal texts which integrate the written, the visual, the gestural, and the tactile modes. Engaging in literacy practices in two or more written languages and spoken languages, they may draw on different ways and combine various codes to achieve different communicative purposes. They may be engaged in diverse reading and writing practices and the different genres, writing styles, and types of texts associated with various activities, domains, social contexts, and identities (Gee, 1996; Street, 1984). Being mobile among different spaces, time, and relations, linking affectivity and rationality, they are negotiating multiple and fluid identities in complex and dynamic ways.

Meanwhile, this study uses Deleuze and Guattari’s rhizome to map multilingual children’s dynamic and unpredictable connections in literacies and identities, which opens up new avenues for language and literacy research and thinking. The “rhizome as a metaphor” to map the process of deterritorialization and becoming enables researchers to go well beyond binary models for very close, insightful analyses of complex phenomena located on several

planes at once. With its rhizomatic pathways, lines of flight shoot through segmentary lines associated with a territory to disrupt/deterritorialize and reterritorialize. This repetition happens and each time it is different. Through deterritorialization, becoming Other forms and transforms the human and non-human from events. As Semetsky (2003b) writes, “the event itself, the human experience per se, is to be considered as...the inventive potential...or becoming other than the present self” (p. 213). This rhizomatic thinking opens possibilities for questioning assumed sources of knowledge in the contexts of education and encourages a shift from reliance on the static body of knowledge to openness to the dynamic process of knowing (Semetsky, 2006). This fundamental shift in perspective has far-reaching implications for education as a developing and generative practice (Semetsky, 2006).

Review of the Literature

Sociocultural research on immigrant children’s literacies and identities

Literacy and identity research on power, discourse and agency

Social constructivists view identity as a process embodied in social practice, not as a given product (Lee & Anderson, 2009). Identity is socially constructed and mediated in the interfaces between and among power, social structure, agency, and the immediate and longer scale practices and events. This view of identity leads to the New Literacy Studies which have documented various literacy practices outside of school (such as homes and communities). By rejecting deficit views and recognizing the variety of literacy practices, these studies have legitimized out-of-school practices (Lewis & Del Valle, 2009). Meanwhile, the studies of the NLS conducted in the school contexts have critically examined the relationship between power, discourse, and agency, particularly the positional and resourceful nature of literacy practices.

The following sections review the literature on immigrant children's out-of-school literacies, school literacies, and children's agency in negotiating their identities among these literacies.

Out-of-school literacy practices of immigrant children

Some research has documented children's out-of-school literacy and language practices (e.g. Li, 2001, 2006; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). For instance, studies on Chinese immigrant children have revealed the diversity of Chinese immigrant children's home literacy practices and parents' supportive role in maintaining Chinese literacy skills and developing bilingualism in their children. Mostly conducted in the family milieu, these studies have focused on Chinese parents' perceptions on Chinese language maintenance (Hancock, 2006; Yang, 2007), parents' perceptions on children's literacy and schooling (Li, 2006; Zhang, Ollila, & Harvey, 1998), their views on bilingual education (Lao, 2004), parents' involvement in children's biliteracy development (Li, 1999; Ma, 2008), and children's family literacy practices (Li, 2001, 2006; Xu, 1999). Documenting Chinese immigrant children's family literacies, these studies have shown how importantly parents' cultural and educational ideologies underpin family literacy practices.

Recognizing varied and complex literacies, these studies propose a "wealth model," which regards students' social and cultural practices as resources for literacy and language development (Pahl & Rowsell, 2005). By legitimizing students' out-of-school literacy and language practices and validating their informal knowledge and lexicon, multimodal semiotic systems, and sociocultural experiences, these thinkers have broadened what counts as literacy (Lewis & Del Valle, 2009). Generally, these researchers imply that classrooms provide spaces upon which to build out-of-school literacy practices. They also call for critically examining "systems and

structures that students deal with in their everyday lives but that too often serve to marginalize students at school and in other institutional contexts” (Lewis & Del Valle, 2009, p.315).

School literacy practices of immigrant children

Viewing literacy through the social lens has generated a series of ethnographic studies which capture how literacy practices and students’ identities interact within school contexts. Studies have shown that certain literacy practices in the classrooms help children negotiate positive identities. These practices involve students in challenging and collaborative activities, allow them to experience multiple roles ranging between apprentice and expert, encourage them to contribute to the joint construction of knowledge, and validate their personal experiences and community resources (Cummins et al., 2005; Dagenais, Day, & Toohey, 2006; Fránquiz & De La Luz Reyes, 1998; Manyak, 2001, 2004).

Manyak (2001, 2004) particularly noted one typical literacy practice named *The Daily News* in a first and second grade English immersion classroom. The practice involved English-Spanish bilingual children in multifaceted and collaborative tasks. At the initial stage, children were encouraged to narrate their daily events in either English or Spanish. English versions were transcribed by the teacher while Spanish versions were translated into English collaboratively by the class. Later, the children were engaged in collaborative writings on others’ stories. According to Manyak (2001), this practice provided children with many participatory roles, and legitimated children’s sources of knowledge for acquiring literacy. This method of translation and literacy can privilege students’ bilingual competence in the class and promote their identities (Cummins et al., 2005).

Other studies have demonstrated the importance of embracing the hybridity of diverse scripts to set up fruitful contexts for literacy and identity development. For instance, Gutiérrez

and other researchers (1999) described one multi-purpose writing activity in which elementary Latino students used e-mail exchanges to develop their literacy skills with a fictional cyberspace entity. This practice privileged children's informal lexicon and knowledge. It also allowed them to utilize mixed genres, i.e. letters and narratives, and mixed discourses, including problem-solving, narrative, and academic discourse. The research sees hybridity practice as a source for literacy learning by mediating roles of expertise and novices and thus providing a context of children's identity development. The researchers argue for creating such rich contexts for learning, particularly in a time when educational policy and practice are influenced by English-only, anti-immigrant, and anti-affirmative action sentiments. In the same vein, Soltero-González (2008) argues that hybridity and students' varied ways of knowing can be used as both a theoretical lens for acknowledging diversity in classrooms and as a tool for organizing literacy learning. Fránquiz and De La Luz Reyes (1998) have similarly documented how bilingual children were involved a range of language registers and codes in classroom activities. Encouraging teachers to meet children in a middle ground, Fránquiz and De La Luz Reyes advocate an inclusive learning community with a dialogic pedagogy that allows for diverse and even competing meanings and forms of knowledge. In addition, some projects have legitimized and included home literacies within the school curriculum. Taylor and her colleagues (2008) reported how some kindergarten children of visible minorities (the majority being native speakers of Tamil, as well as native speakers of Urdu, Punjabi, Gujarati, Hindi, and Cantonese) were supported by family members in authoring dual language identity texts. Thus, the family's contribution to children's literacy was validated. The practices during the family visits generated new types of class participation, allowed participants to take up different social identities, and

nurtured the awareness of respecting community language and culture (Solsken, Willett, & Wilson-Keenan, 2000).

Regarding immigrant children of Chinese origin, studies have shown that Chinese heritage schools provide children the space for bicultural identity adjustment (Lee, 2008; Lu, 2001; Maguire & Curdit-Christiansen, 2007). For instance, Lee (2008) examined the interrelated issues of private and public domains of self-esteem, ethnic identity formation, and bilingual confidence among Chinese youth at a Chinese language school in a western city of Canada. Relying on survey and quantitative analysis, this study suggests that a sense of belonging, positive attitudes, commitment, and involvement with the Chinese group contribute to a general sense of self for Chinese-language school students. Lu (2001) examined how communicative activities in a Chinese heritage school influenced the adjustment and bicultural identity formation process for children of Chinese origin. The findings indicated that the Chinese school functioned as a community center for new Chinese immigrant children and their parents by creating a cultural and discursive space, as well as promoting their biculturalism. In addition, Maguire and Curdit-Christiansen (2007) found that Chinese children in heritage schools asserted their own ideological stances towards prevailing authoritative discourses, gave voice to their own senses of agency, and responded to the ideological resources that mediated their linguistic repertoires.

In addition to Chinese heritage schools, Chinese-English bilingual programs in public schools can also affirm Chinese children's identities (Wu, 2005; Wu & Bilash, 2000). By locating their study in one Chinese-English bilingual program in a city in the Prairie Provinces of Canada, Wu and Bilash (2000) found that grade six students in this program perceived their ethnic identity positively. Wu (2005) further explored how these children perceived their citizenship, ethnic identity, and multicultural thinking. He found that the experiences in this

bilingual program contributed to students' positive attitudes towards their own language, culture, and ethnic identity, which then projected into their understanding of and sympathy for other cultures and their appreciation of multiculturalism. Taken together, these studies show that the Chinese- English program affirms students' home culture and empowers Chinese minority students in a society in which the minority is mostly silenced through cultural dominance. These studies also support the claim that the bilingual programs in the Prairie Provinces have been successfully operated and have demonstrated the educational feasibility for heritage language maintenance and acquisition (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). However, these studies are among the few studies conducted in these programs, which are still largely unknown to the public (Wu & Bilash, 2000). In addition, these two studies only used interviews to obtain data from the participants. Multiple data collection methods, such as observation and document collection can be employed in future studies on public bilingual programs in order to understand the complexities of multilingual children's multiple literacy practices and identity formation.

In sum, previous studies have documented how teachers and schools implement pedagogical innovations and provide additive and culturally responsive literacy learning communities to affirm immigrant students' multiple identities. The literacy practices have demonstrated the inclusiveness of classrooms in which immigrant children's languages and cultures, informal knowledge and lexicon, and sociocultural experiences are viewed as rich resources. By legitimizing students' multiple identities, teachers have affirmed and extended students' bilingualism and biliteracy (Manyak, 2006).

Meanwhile, research has also documented how the macro and micro school contexts have resulted in immigrant children's problematic identities in literacy practices. These contexts include policies, dominant cultural and language ideology, the institutional curriculum, and the

asymmetrical relationships among classroom participants (Ernst-Slavit, 1997; Michael-Luna, 2008; Soltero- González, 2008; Volk & Angelova, 2007; Wallace, 2005). These studies reveal that immigrant children are constrained and marginalized by classroom cultures that mirror the relationships of power in the larger society (Ernst-Slavit, 1997). These power relations have hindered children in developing literacies and positive identities.

For instance, in revisiting how a “model minority” myth has become a “destructive myth” for underachieving Asian children, Li (2005) found the school’s “English only” approach did not affirm a Chinese immigrant student’s cultural identity nor validate his ethnic pride. On the contrary, the English-only policy enforced in the mainstream school probably contributed to the children’s negative perceptions of the Chinese language and the meaning of being Chinese. Pedagogically, such an approach would have prevented the teachers from providing support for students to strategically transfer first language skills to second language learning (McCarthy, 1999). Psychologically, it may also have had a negative impact on immigrant students’ attitudes toward the target language and culture, which often lead to resistance to learning (Lee, 1996; McKay & Wong, 1996; Valdés, 2001). By exploring minority children’s problematic identities from macro and micro literacy contexts, these studies have put issues of power and identity at the forefront of literacy studies.

Different from a constructive perspective, the essentialist view of identity is often associated with a unified or coherent sense of self. It can also be understood as difference, with a focus on national, raced, ethnic, or cultural identities (e.g., Sen, 2000). This kind of identity is constructed through cultural affiliation in sociocultural literacy research (Lewis & Del Valle, 2009): “It situates literate practice as an artifact of the targeted difference, so that literacy itself is seen as differently practiced dependent on the group to which one’s identity is tied” (Moje &

Luke, 2009, p. 420). This view of identity as an essential self leads to literacy research on children's cultural conflict.

Within this paradigm, immigrant children confronted with two different cultures are always caught between separate worlds of school and home, hence becoming sites of struggle between teachers and parents (e.g., Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Townsend & Fu, 1998; Valdés, 1996; Wan, 2000). For instance, by focusing on two first-grade Chinese immigrant children in British Columbia, Li (2007) examined the students' reading and writing practices at school and home, as well as their parents' and teachers' thoughts, beliefs, resources, and concerns regarding the children's literacy learning. The study found discontinuity between children's school-home language and literacy experiences, largely due to the parents and teachers' discrepancy regarding cultural and educational values. In the same line, studies on other minority groups such as Latinos and African Americans also revealed parents' and teachers' inconsistencies regarding literacy expectations, homework, parenting, and instructional approaches (e.g., Taylor & Dorsey-Gaines, 1988; Valdés, 1996, 2001). These cultural conflicts and educational dissensions between homes and mainstream schools/teachers are detrimental to immigrant children's academic achievement and identity formation. This approach of essentialising cultural (ethnic) identity as stable category and viewing students' worlds of home and school separately should be questioned, because literacies and identities are constructed, multiple, and mobile.

Children's agency in negotiating identities in literacy practices

Other studies show that children have the ability to negotiate literacies, language choices, and identities in many contexts (Andrews & Yee, 2006; Maguire, 2005; Pérez, 2004; Volk & Angelova, 2007). Children may move beyond school-defined modes of expression by fusing

multiple sign-systems and multiple literacies as a means of expressing and exploring complex understandings of themselves and the world (Kendrick, Rogers, Smythe, & Anderson, 2005). They tend to integrate and synthesize representational resources to create meanings which currently concern them.

Individuals have the capacity of resistance and creativity in literacies and identities development (Street, 1995). Immigrant children exert their agency during the negotiation of literacy and identities between home and schools (Andrews & Yee, 2006). In other words, children who are growing up in a bilingual and biliterate environment may, at a fundamental level, experience their worlds not as separate linguistic and cultural entities but as simultaneous (Kenner, 2004). In this sense, they can reach across two cultures rather than being “divided by” or “caught between” two cultures, moving beyond the essentialized self and culture (Baumann, 1996; Wallace, 2008).

Meanwhile, immigrant children are able to negotiate language choices in multiple contexts (Volk & Angelova, 2007). Put in Gee’s *Discourse* framework, children can play a piece of language within a specific social practice where Discourses negotiate, contest, and hybridize (Gee, 2008). Gee (1996, 2008) uses Discourse to refer to the language combined with other social practices within a specific group, such as behavior, values and perspectives, ways of thinking, clothes, food, and customs. According to Gee, Discourses can be broadly divided into primary Discourses and secondary Discourses. Individuals may be part of many different Discourse communities. Primary Discourses, such as home, are where we are given an initial and enduring sense of self, foundations of our vernacular language and our culturally specific vernacular identity. Secondary Discourses are what we acquire in those more public spheres beyond the primary socializing group, such as the school. Gee defines literacy as the “mastery of

a secondary Discourse” (Gee, 2008, p. 176). By arguing the existence of many secondary Discourses, Gee puts forward the existence of multiple literacies.

Similarly, the concept of *third place* is proposed to capture the experience of the symbolic boundary between native speakers and non-native speakers (Kramersch, 1993). With this concept of third place, the notions of native speaker, speech community, and culture were seen as rooted in the nation state and its institutions. It sets intercultural communication as an “L1/C1 self understanding another L2/C2 self from a third place in between” (Kramersch, 2011, p. 359). Third place is a place foreign language learners can create and use to express their meanings apart from the meanings established by either their own community or the target language community.

Regarding immigrant children’s literacy and identity research, *third space* is also an important concept. Moje, Ciechanowski, and Kramer (2004) synthesized three ways of understanding this concept of third space. One view is to think third space a bridge between marginalized knowledge and Discourses and conventional academic knowledge. The second view is to position third space as a navigational space of crossing and succeeding in different discursive communities. The third view is to see third space as a space of cultural, social, and epistemological change where the competing knowledge and Discourses are brought together to challenge and reshape both content literacy practices and students’ everyday life.

Third space theory can be used to extend the concepts of identity and agency (Maguire, 2005). Focusing on how children from non-mainstream backgrounds negotiate their multilingual literacies in heritage language contexts, Maguire (2005) argues the importance of considering the notion of third space in the conceptualizations about identity construction, heritage languages, and multilingualism. In her study, the concept of space is extended from real or imagined socio-

cultural locations to ideological positioning: “Identity construction is a process of negotiation between sites of agency and locally and globally perceived, conceived, or lived spaces of possibilities for belonging and establishing cultural dialogues” (Maguire, 2005, p. 1426).

In summary, in these Discourses, third place or third space, immigrant children can find unique ways to exert their agency, engaging in multifaceted and multiple practices and expressions across different settings (Maguire, 2005; Pérez, 2004; Rich & Davis, 2007).

Some challenges in sociocultural literacy and identity

Engaging in ethnographic documentation of multiple literacies, the New Literacy Studies have expanded literacy studies. However, there have been several concerns raised that the ethnographic focus of the NLS limits accounts to immediate contexts and is therefore not attentive enough to larger social processes (Bartlett, 2007; Brandt & Clinton, 2002; Luke, 2004; Prinsloo & Baynham, 2008; Rampton, 1998). Bartlett (2007) notes that “some [NLS] studies grant too much autonomy to local uses of literacy, others hopefully (but unrealistically) herald the potential for literacy practices to interrupt enduring inequalities, and others pessimistically argue that literacy practices have little impact on social change” (p. 64).

The study of local literacy needs to look at how local literacy practices are constituted in relation to the “travelling cultures” of globalisation, as argued by Prinsloo and Baynham (2008). Similarly, literacy has the potential to transcontextualize, the ability to travel, integrate, and endure, as proposed by Brandt and Clinton (2002). Brandt and Clinton (2002) further argue that literacy is neither a deterministic force nor a creation of local agents. Instead, literacy participates in social practices in the form of objects and technologies. They call for the consideration of both objects and human agents as active participants in literacy practices and argue that dichotomies

between agency and social structure, local and global, literacy and its technologies should be dissolved.

Other critiques of sociocultural literacy and identity relate to *borderland Discourse*, *third space* and *hybridity*, all terms coined to describe people who may cross multiple linguistic and cultural borders in their daily interactions. These terms imply that students should integrate knowledge and Discourses drawn from their first space (home, community, and peer networks) with the second space of Discourses (work, school, and church) to construct a third space or borderland Discourse (Moje et al., 2004). In relation to immigrant children, this process describes how immigrant children create a third space between the culture of their countries of origin (first space) and that of their countries of residence (second space) (Andrews & Yee, 2006; Maguire, 2005). Lemke (2008) argues that even when individuals cross these first two spaces, the notion of hybridity or third space can reify categories as cultural ideals so long as the categories being crossed are presupposed. As Barton and Hamilton (1998) point out, the boundaries of these domains or discourse communities are not clearly defined. Instead, they are fluid and permeable. Similarly, Kramsch (2009) takes a critical view of the spatial metaphor of third place. Although the concept of third place can help to capture people's capacity to question established categories and place them in their historical and subjective contexts, it resignifies and reframes people (Kramsch, 2011). The notion of culture in which the concept of third place was developed is a "modernist notion that defined culture as membership in a national community with a common history, a common standard language and common imaginings" (Kramsch, 2011, p.355). However, cultures are not separate entities from each other but intertwined with brain, in thought and practice, according to Kramsch (2011). In addition, with global communication technologies and people's increased mobility, the notion of a third place seems too static for a

relational state of mind, since predicating it on the existence of a first and second place “seems too smug for a decentred subject that has to navigate several symbolic systems and their cultural and historical boundaries” (Kramsch, 2009, p. 200). Overall, these critiques and reflections suggest the need for a more dynamic view of children’s literacy and identity negotiation.

Despite recent empirical studies that examine the fluid, dynamic, and multiple negotiations of identities in literacy practices, many of the received ways of examining or discussing identity are still trapped in an essentialist paradigm that obscures the crucial elements of identity’s social and discursive situatedness (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). In addition, when alluding to multiple identities, one could infer that these identities are distinctly separate from one another; yet in reality it is probably the case that the intersections between the multiple facets of identities work to influence one another so that blended or even blurred identities are the outcomes (Ochs, 1993). These critiques challenge the constructivist view of identity in sociocultural literacy research, therefore calling for new ways of theorizing and researching literacy and identity.

Research about multilinguals’ trans-lives

In response to the call of research on the “travelling cultures” of globalization (Prinsloo & Baynham, 2008) and on the potential of literacy and identity for transcontextualization (Brandt & Clinton, 2002), some research has been conducted to focus on multilingual children’s mobility in negotiating their identities in their transnational and transcultural experiences (e.g. Gardner & Mand, 2012; Golbert, 2001; Hébert, Wilkinson & Ali, 2008; Louie, 2006). For instance, Hébert, Wilkinson, and Ali (2008) studied the perceptions of youth’s identifications in an increasingly globalized society, based on narrative data collected from second generation youth in three Canadian cities. They adopted a framework consisting of a continuum of mobilities of mind, body, and boundaries, as defined in their paper:

Mobility of mind allows for mobile identities and shifting experiences of belonging between different references of identification. Mobility of bodies refers to migration and frequent movement across places and different spaces of interaction. Mobility of boundaries recognizes shifting territorial, political, cultural, economic, social, and individual boundaries. (p. 51)

Hébert, Wilkinson, and Ali (2008) found that the immigrant youth were mobile in imagining themselves as others, as elsewhere in another place or time. The immigrant youth were familiar with and aware of the journeys of both their parents and themselves across cultural and other spaces of interaction. Being aware of the changes, they could either redefine identifications beyond and across cultural, linguistic, religious, ethnic, racial boundaries, or disregard them. On the whole, second generation youth in this research negotiated transcultural flows and created new identifications woven from elements from diverse sources. Their mobilities were variable, with mobility of mind most likely at this time of their lives. However, their mobilities of body and boundaries were more difficult, as these youth were living with parents, subject to the limitations of family budgets, projects, and objectives.

Li (2011a) explored the experiences of three Chinese university youth in Britain, including how they showed their creativity and criticality in multilingual practices and how they constructed their identity positions in wider social spaces. In this research, Li developed the notion of *translanguaging* to include multilingual language users' various linguistic performances going beyond combining language structures, altering language systems, and transmitting information. He also used the concept of the translanguaging space to focus on

multilingual speakers' creative and critical use of the full range of their socio-cultural resources, including the youths' own cognitive capacity and their personal histories and experiences, attitudes, values, and ideologies that they had acquired through interactions with others under specific socio-historical conditions. Li explored four themes regarding students' translanguaging in this research: fun with words, moving from weekend bilingualism to flexible multilingualism, creating space and cultivating relationships, and transnational space. First, these youth had real fun with their linguistic resources, producing a range of highly creative uses of the languages. Second, these youth were educated as bilinguals in their weekend school and weekday school, using Chinese or English. However, they went beyond being bilinguals, translanguaging at various levels by picking and mixing among the languages they knew. They were comfortable with their identity as multilinguals. Third, they sought out opportunities to make use of their multilingual resources for personal and social gain, such as opening up their spaces and networks. Finally, all participants had a broad and global outlook, not strongly attached to China or Britain. They realized they were living in a world which transcended national boundaries. They loved mobility and wanted a transnational and multilingual space in which to live.

A useful way of theorizing transnational worlds is via the concept of *social fields*, according to Gardner (2012). With this concept, attention is paid primarily to the relationships between people and places that configure the network, rather than geographical movement as the only focus of enquiry. Accordingly, "attention to children's 'places' is thus necessarily multi-faceted" (Gardner & Mand, 2012, p. 978), since places can be analysed as physical locations as well as the social relationships and social practices that take place within the children. With this framework, Gardner and Mand (2012) drew attention to the ways in which British-born Bangladeshi children were mobile across places. By moving across geographical spaces, they

also moved socially and culturally. Children's journeys led to their new social roles and statuses as well as physical and emotional experiences. Meanwhile, children were mobile "across time, as they grew older and moved up (and down) social hierarchies which were realigned according to geography" (pp. 969-970).

Poststructural research on immigrant children's literacies and identities

As previously discussed, poststructuralism provides a new way to understand literacy as a process of becoming, attending more to the improvisational and local literacy behavior, as elaborated in Multiple Literacies Theory (MLT) (Masny, 2009b). Meanwhile, poststructuralism also adds to identity theory the historical dimension, focusing more on its improvisation and mobility. These approaches provide new opportunities for developing literacy and identity theory and practical research. The following section reviews the literature on how poststructural perspectives, particularly the Deleuzian rhizome, are used in literacy and identity studies and how research is conducted within the MLT framework.

Deleuzian rhizomatic research of literacies and identities

Masny and Waterhouse (2011) summarize that Deleuzian concept of the rhizome is useful to help literacy researchers to map different and cartographic practices in visual arts (Hagood, 2002b), dramatizations (Eakle, 2007), and literacy performances (Leander & Rowe, 2006). For instance, Leander and Rowe (2006) argue that "literacy performances are often about creating differences, including differences in the moving, shifting relations of semiotic resources and differences in the performed identities of participants" (p. 429). Critiquing a representational mode of interpretation, they use rhizomatic analysis to map the emergence of relations and differences in literacy performances in a high school American studies classroom. While the presenters and the audience recruited different events, histories, and objects to perform identities

during the presentation in the classroom, many spaces were produced. Spatial relations, involved in literacy performances of this study, include the coming together of textual meaning and spaces, as well as the dynamic linkages and associations of subject positions. Concluding that identities are spatially performed and simultaneous becomings, Leander and Rowe propose that teachers should allow new spaces and permit new actors (e.g., bodies, images, and the built environment) in the classroom.

The rhizome is also used to map the relations and differences among multiple texts, users, and activities engaged in language arts education (e.g. Hagood, 2009). Hagood first mapped the multiplicity of texts which were not only multimodal but also intertextual. Since one text connected in some way to a multitude of others, the reader had to identify and interpret a network of media and discourses. Additionally, Hagood affirmed the plurality of being a reader: a reader was also a writer, viewer, listener, and speaker, when and where multiple literacies intermingled. Hagood employed the term *users* to describe people's relationship to these activities. Users were multifaceted because they took varying roles in the consumption, production, and construction of texts. In addition, they drew different pleasures from the texts they consumed, constructed, and produced and in the identities made from texts. The inevitable variety of responses and roles explains why some people were proficient with some texts in particular contexts but not in others. For instance, some students might be very good at using digital software, photographs, music, and audio recordings to construct narratives of themselves as proficient literacy users but appeared less successful if required to write their stories with pens.

Hagood holds that both traditional and new forms of literacy practices should be used to help users develop a range of abilities, including the “abilities to work collaboratively in spaces

where intelligence is shared among users and where multitasking, navigation and negotiation of ideas to design texts are as important as decoding and summarizing texts” (p. 42). Hagood shows that language arts education, when viewed as rhizomatic, is no longer a set of cognitive skills and competencies to be learned and mastered by individuals in a sociocultural space. Instead, “language arts development must account for social skills necessary to engage with participatory literacies in multiple contexts for a variety of purposes” (p. 42).

Literacy research within the MLT framework

A few studies that use the MLT framework focus on the processes that immigrant children go through as they learn different writing systems (Dufresne & Masny, 2005; Masny, 2005/2006, 2009b; Masny & Cole, 2007). The studies explore some key concepts of MLT, including *deterritorialization*, *reterritorialization*, *creativity*, *differences*, and *desire*.

Deleuze explains deterritorialization and reterritorialization as processes of breaking down old methods and moving into new territories (Semetsky, 2006). Foregrounding these concepts, Masny (2009b) explored a girl’s understanding of writing systems as she learned Spanish, French, and English simultaneously. In one vignette, the girl was making a card. She had intended to write all words in Spanish, but turned to French for words she didn’t know in Spanish. The girl also added some flowers and other decorations on the card. With these narrative and aesthetic lines, she blurred the boundaries between writing in different languages and between writing and drawing. Deterritorialization occurs with reterritorialization. The girl’s creativity, for example can be illustrated with the word “mamagachi” which she invented to name a dessert like an Italian-style meal of pizza. Masny found that in this incident, a number of the girl’s life experiences – the actual Italian words the girl had heard (e.g., mangiare meaning eat), her life with an Italian care-giver, her knowledge of how writing systems work, a meal of

pizza, and her experience of making a new dessert with her mother – came together in her act of creating this new word (see Figure 2). This vignette demonstrates the girl’s awareness of writing systems and the disruptive and ongoing reading in unpredictable ways. This study suggests it is important for teachers to value immigrant children’s creativity drawn from their home, community, and school experiences.

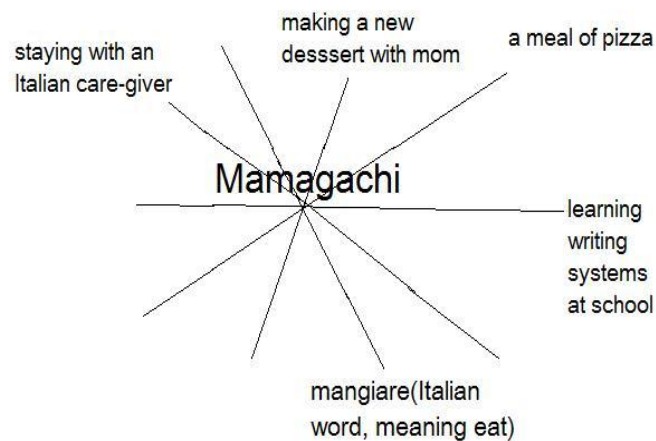


Figure 2. The invention of the word “mamagachi”.

Some studies explored the theme that *differences* of worldviews connect and collide, causing ruptures thus making transformations possible (Dufresne & Masny, 2005; Masny, 2005/2006; Masny & Cole, 2007). For instance, Masny and Cole (2007) conducted one case study in a French language school in west Ottawa, involving a seven year-old girl in Grade two who spoke English in the home environment. In one vignette, the girl had no interest in school-based French writing, but her mother highly valued the formal school based writing in French. The differences of writing views between mother and daughter led to the girl’s resistance. In her French writing, she mixed in informal language of English. Thus, the boundaries of what was acceptable were blurred. The learning of literacies had happened in response to problems and

events of differences, and the individual had changed. This study is one example of using MLT as a way to examine how *differences* are continuously transforming in becoming Other, out of complexity and multiplicity in untimely ways.

In another study, Masny (2005/2006) illustrated that *desire* was a productive and creative force in learning literacies, drawing on Mor-Sommerfeld's study of two children whose first language was Hebrew and who were learning a second literacy in English. In one vignette, one child was engaged in producing a work entitled as *Things I like*. The work turned out to be a poem in both Hebrew and English with opposing directions of calligraphy. According to Masny and Cole (2007), desire is an assemblage of experiences that connect and are constructed. Therefore, this poem is an investment, resulted from the child's desire of future pleasures, which was created from his image of past pleasures and gained from using what he liked (both English and Hebrew).

Most studies in MLT, however, have contributed to the understanding of *the reading* and *the reading of the world*, and few have focused on *the reading of self* (Dufresne, 2009). To fill in the gap, Dufresne (2009) addresses how children in immigrant contexts conceptualize languages and self, applying several of Deleuze's concepts, including *qualitative multiplicities* and *individuals* as changeable *living organisms*. Dufresne set the context of her study by describing her encounter with Mathieu in a washroom, where the boy was drawing a sobbing face with water on the mirror. Dufresne later learned the boy had been asked to sit outside because his teacher thought he talked too much in the class. However, from the boy's perspective, he was trying to help the teacher and be a good boy. According to Dufresne, Mathieu went from feeling like a "good boy," who was adequate, to feelings of insecurity when he regarded himself as potentially being a "bad boy." His emotional progression was qualitative and heterogeneous.

When his world collided with that of his teacher, opposition and difference shook up his stable territorialized assemblage, loosening and folding his world, rendering it unstable, and causing him to read himself in another way. For such a case, Dufresne suggests it is important for the educators to interrupt the virtual before it fulfills its potential and is actualized as a reality.

Rationale

Studies within the paradigm of sociocultural literacy and identity have broadened what counts as literacy. However, while researchers legitimize students' out-of-school literacies and informal knowledge, some studies from sociocultural perspectives are still constrained by boundaries, such as the boundaries between home and school. Therefore, researchers call for more studies that dissolve the dichotomies between agency and social structure, local and global, and literacy and its technologies (Brandt & Clinton, 2002).

As reviewed in this chapter, a few studies have been conducted focusing on the *travelling cultures* of globalisation by depicting multilingual children's mobility in negotiating their identities in their transnational and transcultural experiences. Furthermore, few more studies are conducted in the poststructural paradigm with more attention to the improvisation, mobility, and dynamics of literacy behaviors and identities, with Deleuzian rhizome and MLT as guiding frameworks.

However, the studies within the MLT framework currently focus mostly on French immersion programs although this framework is designed for studies in all bilingual and multilingual minority contexts. Its applicability and the extended framework need to be demonstrated among other minority communities. Meanwhile, in the Canadian context, most studies have been conducted in mainstream English dominant schools and children's heritage language schools, with quite limited research in the public bilingual programs. Therefore,

locating the research in one Mandarin-English bilingual program in the Prairie Provinces will help to address this deficiency.

Additionally, MLT posits that different readings (reading, reading the world and reading self) in different situations become conditions of identity (Masny, 2005). While most studies have focused on reading and reading the world in MLT, the research on the reading of self is in its very early stages (Dufresne, 2009). More elaboration on the constitutive relationship between literacy and identity in the process of becoming is needed. To my knowledge, no study has been done to date on the multiple literacies and identities of multilingual children in a public Mandarin-English bilingual program, using a rhizomatic framework and interweaving poststructural and sociocultural perspectives. My dissertation seeks to fill this space.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to investigate how multilingual children develop multiple literacies and how they portray themselves in home, school and community literacies.

Determined by the nature of the research, a qualitative research approach was chosen as the methodology. According to Creswell (2007), inquirers' philosophical assumptions are important to decide whether to undertake a qualitative study. The philosophical assumptions consist mainly of a stance toward the nature of reality (ontology), how the researcher knows what she knows (epistemology), and the methods used in the process (methodology).

Ontologically, I embrace the idea that the nature of realities are multiple and dynamic, changing with people's perceptions (Creswell, 2003). Furthermore, "All phenomena are nonidentical, provisional, multiplicitous, and a product of difference" (Roy, 2003, p. 190). As proposed by the study, children's literacies and identities are multiple and dynamic and are subject to change. These multiple and dynamic realities can be explored by conducting qualitative research.

Epistemologically, my own experience as a researcher has led to the view that multiple realities are assemblages composed of heterogeneous elements or objects that enter into relationship with one another. In other words, these objects are not all of the same type, and any point could be connected to any other. For instance, one conversation between a participating student and I could lead me to another conversation with him or her or could remind me of other incidents, or arouse my interest in reading more of his or her stories, or could inspire me to finish one page of my thesis. The conversations, memories, interest, and my writing are heterogeneous and are connected to one another. Meanwhile, our same conversation could lead to investment of the participating student of his or her life experiences. Therefore, with multiple realities, there are

“no roots, no starting place, no sequence, no ending place, only multiple sources, interruptions, interceptions, foldings, merging, partings, multiple entry ways” (Tuck, 2010, p. 638).

Methodologically, a qualitative study, conducted usually by going to the field where participants live and study, can help to get to know the contexts (Creswell, 2007). This study intends to investigate how the flows of life experiences are connected to transform the children and how the children portray themselves in multiple literacies. This cannot be done without going to children’s homes and schools, talking to parents, teachers, and children. The study focuses on the local literacy behaviors and improvisational identities which are specific to each individual participant. It is not from a theory or the inquirer’s perspective but follows the logic of induction as mostly used in a qualitative study. In addition, research questions are designed to be quite open, allowing changes during the process of research, in order to have a better understanding of the research problem. All these features, being flexible, evolving, and emergent, fall within the qualitative paradigm. The quantitative approach does not fit because knowledge cannot be developed by using experiments and surveys in this research, such as cause and effect thinking, reduction to specific variables, and hypotheses and questions (Creswell, 2003, p. 18). Meanwhile, data cannot be collected on predetermined instruments that yield statistical results.

Given the nature of the problem being investigated, this study uses a case study approach. Because it emphasises the investigation of processes rather than outcomes, the case study is a suitable design (Merriam, 1998). In this respect, this study aims to explore how the flow among multiple literacies interacts with identity formation. The interest is in the process by which a selected group of children are transformed through becoming and how such a transformation interacts with their identity formation. In addition, this study seeks to recognize the uniqueness

and complexity of identity construction and literacy practices for each individual student in his or her particular circumstances. The case study is a particularly well-suited design for such situations (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2009).

Meanwhile, this is a multiple-case study in which I have included several children rather than one (or two). According to Yin (2006), more cases can help the audiences see some variation among the cases, such as geographic, ethnic, and so on. In other words, a multiple-case study helps to strengthen the findings of the entire study rather a single-case study which is “somehow unique and idiosyncratic” (Yin, 2006, p. 115).

Context of the Mandarin-English Bilingual Program

The Board of Education in Ridgeville² believes students have equitable access to quality and sustainable bilingual programs in a few target languages such as German, Spanish, and Chinese (Mandarin) (Ridgeville Board of Education, n.d.b). By following the provincial educational programs of study, these partial immersion programs aim to develop students’ functional fluency in the target languages, help students acquire and apply language learning strategies, and develop students’ respect for cultural and linguistic diversity. By 2012, the Spanish bilingual programs from kindergarten to grade 12 are located in eight schools in Ridgeville. The German bilingual program involves one elementary school (kindergarten to grade 6) and one junior high school (grade 7-9). The Chinese bilingual program has its own elementary school (k-6), one junior high school (grade 7-9), and one program (k -2) in another public school together with a regular English program. The following section presents an overview of the establishment and development of the Chinese bilingual program in Ridgeville.

² All the names of the students, parents, teachers, and schools in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

In 1996, a group of local parents and educators founded the Ridgeville English-Chinese Bilingual Education Preparatory Committee. Less than a year later, in early 1997, this committee registered formally as a non-profit group called the English Chinese Bilingual Education Association (ECBEA). In March 1997, the ECBEA proposed to the Ridgeville Board of Education a Mandarin-English bilingual program, supported by more than 1,000 parents' signatures with 431 interested children (Marshall, 1997).

In the proposal, the ECBEA provided several reasons in favor of the establishment of such a program. First, there was a need for provincial businesses to recognize the importance of understanding different cultures and languages, according to the provincial documents (Marshall, 1997). For instance, the provincial Education Language Education Policy (1988) specifically mentions the importance of developing links with Pacific Rim countries and states that “opportunities should be available for students to learn languages which will prepare them for taking a leadership role in future economic development” (p. 3). The policy further states, the provincial “education supports the provision of opportunities for students who wish to acquire or maintain languages other than English or French so that they may have access to a partial immersion (bilingual) program or second language courses in languages other than English or French” (p. 16).

Second, the ECBEA considered the increasing interest and demand for Chinese language education in Ridgeville. According to Dong (1997), Mandarin was the second most spoken language in Ridgeville after English (with 70000 to 90000 Chinese people living in the city by 1997), yet only a few Mandarin classes were available in a few secondary schools in the public system. More than 3,000 children attended weekend Chinese schools, with many more turned away at the door every year for lack of space. In comparison, a neighbouring city of Ridgeville,

Horance, had realized the importance of Chinese language education and at that time (1997) had already offered a Chinese bilingual program for 15 years. In addition, the Chinese bilingual program in this neighbouring city had had remarkable success, with over 1,000 students in 5 elementary schools, 2 junior highs, and 1 senior high school (by 1997). By 2009, the Chinese bilingual program had developed into one of the biggest bilingual programs in Horance, with 5 elementary schools, 4 junior high schools, and 3 senior high schools enrolling over 1,800 students from kindergarten to Grade 12(HCBEA, n.d.).

Back in Ridgeville, nonetheless, the trustees in the Board of Education had some concerns about the proposal. Three trustees who voted against the proposal were concerned about the drastic underfunding from the PROVINCE, as well as the possibility that it could turn into a private school based on cultural grounds in the public system (Dawson, 1997). In spite of these concerns, the program proposal was approved by a 4-3 vote among the trustees. Subsequently, a motion approved the bilingual program in May 1997, with some recommendations to facilitate implementing the program in September 1998. These recommendations related to students' entry age, funding, location of the school, staffing criteria, goals of the program and curriculum.

The Mandarin-English bilingual program was established in 1998, as a linguistic pilot project at Kinghart School, beginning with one grade four class. Through the years, it steadily progressed into a full elementary program. During later years, the elementary program has moved from Kinghart to several other schools. It was first relocated in Berryline School due to the closing of Kinghart. However, Berryline was in downtown of Ridgeville, with many homeless people wandering around. As a result, the number of students in the program dropped greatly. It then moved to Campvale School. The program was finally moved to Roseview

School in 2011 when, for the first time, the Mandarin Bilingual program had its very own school (Ridgeville Board of Education, n.d.a). In the same year, the Mandarin program also expanded to include kindergarten and grade one in Eastcroft School in the south of Ridgeville.

There were some disputes and compromises between parents and the board regarding the program's move from Campvale to Roseview. Before the rearrangement of the programs, there were French programs in both Campvale and Roseview. Parents of the Mandarin program suggested integrating the French program at Campvale with the French program in Roseview, thus leaving the Mandarin program in Campvale. These parents preferred the Mandarin program stay in Campvale because they worried another change of its location would influence its enrolment. However, the board explained that Roseview could only hold the Mandarin program but not the two French programs. This official response from the board might have had political reasons: parents from the French program, mostly from Anglo origin, may have had more power than parents from the Mandarin bilingual program. The Mandarin parents finally had to agree that the program moved to Roseview, a comparatively older school.

The number of students in the elementary program in Roseview had increased to 308 by June 2011, with about 65% ESL students³ (interview with the coordinator, June 21, 2011). In the academic year 2010-2011, classes were mixed with students from different grades. At the time, there were three mixed classes of grades one and two, two mixed classes of grades three and four, and two mixed classes of grades five and six. In the academic year 2011-2012, students enrolment was sufficient to have single-grade classes, with two grade one classes, three grade

³ According to the coordinator, there are two types of ESL students in this program, foreign-born and Canadian born. Some students, with their grandparents from other countries but their parents speaking English, are not ESL because English is their first language.

two classes, two grade three classes, and one class respectively for each of grade four, five, and six.

Interestingly, there is considerable diversity among students in this program. Designed for all students in Ridgeville, the program recruits students with various linguistic backgrounds, including children of Chinese ethnic origin, a few Anglophone students, and a few students with origins in other Asian countries, such as Korea and Vietnam. There is also diversity among the children of Chinese ethnic origin. For instance, some children were born in Canada, the descendents of English speaking parents. These children are English dominant and learn Chinese as a second language. Others, for instance, are newcomers from China who have had a few years of formal schooling in China before immigrating to Canada. They usually have more advanced Chinese literacy skills; however, their English abilities are far behind the Canadian local children at the time they enter this program. In addition to these differences, children of Chinese ethnic origin may have different Chinese regional languages as home languages, such as Cantonese and Mandarin.

While offering the same curriculum content as other public schools in the PROVINCE, the program is unique in providing students with the opportunity to acquire basic skills in Mandarin. Regarding the teaching of Mandarin, the provincial education program (2006) provides a curriculum of Chinese Language Arts with general and specific language components. But there are no specific textbooks for Chinese teaching in the program. Teachers can find their own sources, together with some support from Hanban (Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council), and the Confucius Institute. Regarding the Chinese scripts taught in the program, traditional Chinese scripts were adopted when the program was first set up in 1997, based on the models and experience from neighbouring cities. However, the Ridgeville program started to

teach simplified Chinese scripts in 2009, when more students and parents came from mainland China. Moreover, the Han Yu Pinyin⁴ system has been used to teach phonics to accelerate the process of learning to read Chinese.

English and Mandarin are used as the languages of instruction, each taking 50% of the instruction time. Prior to 2010, English Language Arts, Social Studies, and Physical Education were taught in English, whereas Mathematics, Science, and Music were taught in both English and Mandarin. Chinese Language Arts were taught in Mandarin (Ridgeville Board of Education, 2012). However, parents in this program requested that English Language Arts should be taught by native English speakers and Chinese Language Arts should be taught by native Mandarin speakers. Upon this request, there were some changes made in the instruction of different subjects. Since September 2010, for half of the day, one class of students are instructed by a native English speaking teacher in English Language Arts, Social Studies, and Health. English is used as the sole language of instruction for these subjects. For the other half of the school day, this class of students are instructed by a native Mandarin speaking teacher in Mandarin Language Arts, Math, and Science, with Mandarin used as the main language of instruction for these subjects (School handbook, 2011-2012).

Teachers in this program, when employed, are expected to be able to teach not particularly for this program but in any public school. According to the Board of Education, teachers should meet the following recommended staffing criteria: the provincial teaching

⁴ Han Yu Pinyin is the official system to transcribe Chinese characters into Latin script in the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Singapore. It is often used to teach Standard Chinese and spell Chinese names in foreign publications and may be used as an input method to enter Chinese characters into computers.

certificate, teaching experience in Canadian elementary schools, second language teaching training and skills, and demonstrated knowledge of Canadian methodology and behavior, curricular, and achievement standards. Before September 2010, teachers in this program were required to teach all the subjects. Therefore, most teachers in this program are multilingual or bilingual in English and Chinese. Some of them used to teach in mainland China or Taiwan. They were educated in both China and Canada. A few others are Canadian-born, having received public bilingual education in Canada. In 2010, parents requested separating the teaching of English Language Arts and Chinese Language Arts. Therefore, a few English monolingual teachers were recruited. Meanwhile, there is one more criterion for those teachers applying to teach Chinese: they need to pass a high level Chinese language test before being employed.

Academic excellence, citizenship, and cultural awareness are the foci of this Mandarin-English bilingual program. Believing that language learning is very closely intertwined with culture, the program promotes the understanding and appreciation of cultures in Canada and also of the Mandarin-speaking world. It also celebrates Canadian and Chinese customs and traditions and integrates these celebrations into many aspects of learning (Ridgeville Board of Education, 2011).

The Purposeful Sampling Procedure and Ethical Considerations

The present study adopted the purposeful sampling procedure because the bilingual program selected could supply rich information for investigation. Since this research involved human subjects, I explored and considered its ethical implications prior to engaging in the research itself. After obtaining the ethical approval from the Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board of the University and the Ridgeville Board of Education, as well as the participating school principal and teachers, I began a general observation in the two grade five and six classes.

A few weeks later, I sent recruitment notices to all grade five students' families in these two classes. Two principles of the national Tri-Council Policy (2010) guided my research. One is the principle of privacy and confidentiality. The other relates to free and informed consent.

Accordingly, in the recruitment notices, parents and students were informed of the research purpose, the activities in which they were expected to participate, and the procedures of data collection, as well as the promise of privacy and confidentiality. They were also given opportunities to ask questions before deciding whether they would participate in the research. Eight families volunteered to participate in the study. Parents signed the consent forms for themselves and also for the children.

Participating Students

Most children in this program speak English and Mandarin at home, at school, and in the community. Some of them also speak Cantonese, Vietnamese, and other languages. The eight participating students have very different family linguistic backgrounds (see Table 1). Linda, Emily, and Pearl were born in China and came to Canada when they were in grade one with their parents as landed immigrants. Mandarin is their home language most of the time. Linda and Pearl contact their relatives in China quite often in Mandarin. Emily's parents sometimes speak Korean between themselves. Her parents learned to speak Korean when they were young because they used to live in the northeast part of China, geographically adjacent to Korea. Emily can understand but can't speak much Korean. She speaks more Mandarin with her parents. Mark was born in Vancouver but was sent back to China to stay with grandparents before returning to Canada when he was five. His parents speak Mandarin at home, but Mark responds to them primarily in English. The other four children, Mary, Josh, Cindy, and John, were all born and grew up in Canada. For Mary and Josh, their home languages could be Mandarin, English, or

Cantonese, since their parents are originally from Hong Kong and the Guangdong Province of China where most people speak Cantonese. Cindy and John primarily speak English at home, but sometimes use Cantonese or a little bit Mandarin with their grandparents. For Josh, Cindy, and John, whose fathers were all born in Vietnam, the children might have some opportunities to listen to their fathers speaking Vietnamese. These children adopt whatever language they are comfortable with for different occasions or whichever language can serve them best.

Table 1 Participant Students' Profiles

Name (pseudonym)	Gender	Age (in 2011)	Years in Canada (by 2011)	Birth place	Languages spoken at home	Parents' languages
Linda	f	9	3	China	Mandarin, English	Mandarin, English
Emily	f	10	3	China	Mandarin, English	Mandarin, English, Korean
Pearl	f	9	4	China	Mandarin, English	Mandarin, English
Mark	m	10	5	Canada	Mandarin, English	Mandarin, English
Mary	f	10	10	Canada	English, Cantonese, Mandarin	English, Cantonese, Mandarin
Cindy	f	10	10	Canada	English, Mandarin, Cantonese (a little bit)	English, Cantonese, Vietnamese
Josh	m	10	10	Canada	Cantonese, Mandarin, English	Cantonese, English, Mandarin
John	m	10	10	Canada	English, Mandarin, Cantonese (a little bit)	English, Cantonese

Data Collection

Case studies use multiple sources which allow an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and observational issues (Merriam, 1998). Data for this study were collected by multiple methods: 1) classroom observations of eight students across their academic years of grade five and six, 2) semi-structured interviews with their parents, teachers, and the program coordinator, 3) students' documents and artifact collection, and 4) additional conversations and email communications with the students.

My fieldwork observation lasted from March 2011 to January 2012. It entailed daily classroom visits, three to four days a week. From March to June 2011, I observed two classes of mixed grade five and six students. There were 20 students in one class and 21 students in the other. My observations only focused on the eight grade five students in these two classes. From September 2011 to January 2012, I observed one class of grade six, with the participating students entering in this higher grade from grade five.

According to Creswell (2012), "observation is the process of gathering open-ended, firsthand information by observing people and places at a research site. Its advantage include the opportunity to record information as it occurs in a setting, to study actual behavior, and to study individuals that have difficulty verbalizing their ideas" (pp. 213-214). Case study researchers are rarely total participants or total observers (Merriam, 1998). A case study researcher should be one who is partially involved in a social situation so as to function as an information gatherer and a researcher (Merriam, 1998).

The mix of participation and observation is likely to change as the researcher gains familiarity with the case. In this research, I started as an observer in the classrooms and gradually participated in some local activities. The observation at the initial stage helped to get a

panoramic understanding of what was happening regularly and what the routine literacy events were in the classroom. As time went on, the observation focused more to the literacy events that were related to identity issues, such as the identity topics “all about me” or “what it means to be Canadian.” During the observation, I took field notes, including detailed descriptions of the setting of the classroom, the timelines of the main class activities, students and teachers’ use of languages, and other points which I thought were important (such as participant students’ gestures, actions, or words). I also kept some reflective notes to “chronicle my own thinking, feeling, experiences and perceptions throughout the research process” (Creswell, 2003, p. 202). These descriptive and reflective notes assisted me in data analysis and challenged my assumptions (for instance, see p.162 in chapter five).

Interviews were used in this study to gain an understanding of the contexts of students’ literacy and identity development. Each interview lasted about 90 minutes. All interviews were conducted in the language of the participants’ choice, in English or Mandarin or a mixture of the two languages. Interviews were recorded and transcribed afterwards. Interviews in Mandarin were transcribed in Mandarin first and then translated into English.

One semi-structured interview was conducted with the coordinator (see Appendix), focusing on the policy issues, educational goals, curriculum implementation, resources availability, and general instruction arrangements of this program. Two semi-structured interviews were respectively conducted with the two teachers of the participating students, Mr. Wang, the Chinese teacher, and Mrs. Sprau, the English teacher.⁵ Mr. Wang was one of the first group of teachers in this bilingual program. Born in China, he did his undergraduate study in

⁵ The participant students had same teachers of English and Chinese when they were in grade five and six.

China and obtained his Master's and Ph.D. degrees in Canada in the early 1990s. He taught at the elementary school level and university level in China. In Canada, he had taught in senior high schools for a few years before he joined this elementary bilingual program. Altogether, he had more than 30 years of teaching by 2011. Mrs. Sprau, Canadian born, is a young teacher. She had been working for the Board of Education for five years by 2011. The interviews with these two teachers (see Appendix) focused on their educational and teaching experiences, beliefs regarding students' literacy development, views on the instruction languages, goals for students' identities, their communication with parents, and their challenges in teaching. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with parents⁶ of the participating students (see Appendix), eliciting their cultural beliefs, perspectives on children's literacy and identity development, and views on this program and children's literacy practices at home.

These interviews were semi-structured, generally including the topic areas as above discussed, seeking open-ended responses and allowing new questions to emerge as relevant avenues of information (Kelly, 2010). In addition, as the research went on, I conducted many additional conversations with the participating students, teachers, and parents. Derived from the ongoing context, these questions matched individual circumstances, contextualized the situations, and helped to clarify the uncertainties from data analysis.

In addition to interviews and observations, documents were also collected for the present study, including students' folders in the school (such as English writing journals, Chinese

⁶ Most interviews were conducted with children's mothers. Two interviews were with both parents of the participant student.

homework notebooks, notebooks for Science and Social Studies, and character journals⁷). I also collected their photographs, pictures, drawings, and artifacts made both at home and school, together with a vast array of materials, such as e-mails, scrapbooks, students' online chatting, and so on. This wide repertoire of research techniques was used because they could help to discover children's imaginings (Young & Ansell, 2006; Zeitlyn & Mand, 2012).

In addition to these documents collected from the natural environments, Merriam (1988) discusses another type of document which is likely to find its way into a case study investigation. It is a document prepared by the researcher for the specific purpose of learning more about the situation, person, or event being investigated. For example, the researcher might request that someone keep a diary or log of activities or photographs during the course of the investigation. Following Merriam (1988), I involved the children in the following activities: (1) write down or draw or take pictures of different things (objects, activities, people, etc.) that represent who they are; combine these writings, drawings, and pictures into a collage and explain what this collage represents to them; and (2) write down or draw or take pictures of their favorite places and explain in writing or speaking why these are their favorite places. This technique was also informed collectively by studies in MLT which use photos (Masny, 2009b; Masny & Cole, 2007), studies on identities using narrative data (Hébert Wilkinson, & Ali, 2008), and studies on literacies and identities through identity texts (e.g. Taylor, Bernhard, Garg, & Cummins, 2008).

⁷ A character journal is a written diary kept by students to share their thoughts and feelings in response to different activities on character education. Character education is a very important part of the school culture, since the school believes that raising children to be virtuous people is equally as important as their personal academic growth. The school celebrates one virtue per month by intertwining it in students' studies and lives. These monthly virtues include thankfulness, enthusiasm, diligence, determination, generosity, tolerance, assertiveness, and so on.

These data seemed to situate literacy and identity into fixed categories. However, using the rhizome as an analysis tool allows me to view these data from a different perspective, that is, literacies and identities as processes: “from territory (stable and striation) to deterritorialization and becoming (resistance, chaos, instability, and the untimely) to reterritorialization (different mappings)” (Masny, 2009c, pp. 187-188).

Rhizoanalysis

As mentioned earlier, rhizomes are horizontal plant structures such as those found in crabgrass, having no beginning or end points, unlike hierarchical tree structures. Rhizomes can be used to describe theory and research that allow for multiple, non-hierarchical entry and exit points in data representation and interpretation (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This study follows MLT in using rhizoanalysis (e.g. Masny, 2009b), which views data as fluid and in flux with no beginnings or ends but wholly constituted by middles and muddles (Semetsky, 2006, p. x). Rhizoanalysis keeps the way open and asks what connections may be happening between multiplicities: “As an inductive approach, it does not apply pre-established categories. It resists temptations to interpret and ascribe meaning; rather looking for what emerges through the intensive and immanent reading of data” (Masny & Cole, 2009, p. 7). It entails mapping and creating rather than tracing and representing (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). It can help to examine the “potential of thinking differently with respect to the public and current scholarly debates around educational theory and practice” (Leach & Boler, 1998, p. 150).

In rhizoanalysis, data are not empirical in the more traditional way from which researchers seek fixed categories and themes but are rhizomatic (Masny, 2012a; Masny & Cole, 2007). In other words, data transcend experience, dealing with perceptions and the thought of experience creating connections and becoming Other (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994). According to

Deleuze and Guattari (1987), “A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, social sciences, and social struggles” (p. 7). Grosz (1994) uses provisional linkages to represent the “non-linearity, fragmented and processual nature of these connections” (p. 167). Accordingly, I kept asking “What new thoughts does it make possible to think? What new emotions does it make possible to feel? What new sensations and perceptions does it open in the body?” (Massumi, 1992, p. 8), because “Each reading of ‘data’ texts and each selection of vignettes is an event wherein sense emerges; an immanent event suggesting not what data is but rather how it might become” (Masny, 2010, p.341). For instance, when I was reading some writings of a participant, I focused more on asking what connections it made with other events regarding this participant, her families, her teachers, and so on. These provisional linkages were read as assemblages “in that they work within and across elements of various discourses to produce coherent movements and flows between and across the discourses to allow plausible readings” (Honan, 2007, p. 537). Meanwhile, some concepts I read in the literature, such as *territories*, *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization*, *affect*, and *becoming* were useful and helped me to think about the complexity in multiple literacies and identities. Children’s desire, creativity, resistance, deterritorialization and reterritorialization—all of which are involved in the fluidity of local literacy and language practices—come together in the process of becoming.

Rhizomatic thinking also guided me to write rhizomatically. First, in this research, “the complexity of the rhizomatic linkages is presented in the form of selected vignettes around which questions are posed in juxtaposition with the theoretical framework” (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011, p.293). When data are kept open in a rhizome, the focus of providing points and making statements could be shifted to asking questions. Therefore, in some chapters, especially those

presenting data analysis, namely, chapters four, five, and six, a long list of questions are raised. These questions could be considered as part of the analysis. In addition, these questions can acknowledge that readers come to their own type of knowledge relating to what is written (Dufresne, 2009). Second, rhizoanalysis allowed me to understand my dissertation text as non-linear in design. In this respect, “each of the chapters of the thesis focused on a different tuber, a different middle, while still providing connections to other tubers, other parts of the rhizome” (Honan, 2007, p. 533). This is applied particularly in chapters four, five and six, the three chapters which are constructed thematically with some participants’ data. I also included the data description, analysis, and discussion in each of these chapters to make them different but connected tubers. These alternatives in methodology contribute to reformulating research to produce different knowledge and to produce knowledge differently (Masny, 2009b).

Research Validity and Data Representation

Qualitative researchers try to ensure the validity of the research by employing several strategies, such as long term and repeated observations, member checking, peer examination, clarification of research bias, and the use of triangulation (e.g. Creswell, 2003). For instance, the triangulation of data attempts to confirm inferences made from the findings of several research methods and approaches, such as interview, observations, and document analysis (Smith, 2006). However, since different research methods address different aspects of reality, convergence is not expected. And the divergence of contradictions of findings across methods may be fitted together to reveal an alternative construction, theory, or map. Therefore, the confirmation function of triangulation should be extended (Erzberger & Kelle, 2003; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2008; Smith, 2006). For instance, Richardson and St. Pierre (2008) dispute the usefulness of the concept of triangulation, asserting that the central image for qualitative inquiry should be the

crystal, not the triangle: “Crystals grow, change, alter...Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colors, patterns, arrays, casting off in different directions” (Richardson, 2000, p. 943). Viewed as a crystalline form or as a creative performance, triangulation is the simultaneous display of multiple, refracted realities.

Alternatively, Erzberger and Kelle (2003) propose to use the jigsaw puzzle as one way to deal with divergent findings.

I believe that a rhizome works better for the connection, heterogeneity, and multiplicities of students’ literacies and identities in this research. Compared to a rhizome, jigsaw puzzles might be more sequential or linear, and crystals could be less dynamic. A rhizome can work for “creative simultaneity rather than the sequential or linear” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 8). A rhizomatic validity is “a form of behaving via relay, circuit, and multiple openings that counters authority with multiple sites” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 651).

In this research, the classroom observation, interviews, and various documents provide various angles and multiple entryways in understanding the connection, heterogeneity, and multiplicities of students’ literacies and identities. In addition, to ensure external validity of the qualitative research, I provided rich, thick, and detailed descriptions, including the focus of the study, the researcher’s role, the participants’ information, the context from which data is gathered, data collection, and analysis strategies (Creswell, 2003; Merriam, 1988). The aim for fidelity in representing these fieldwork experiences is transparency (Eisenhart, 2006), which could help to provide a clear picture so that anyone interested in transferability could have a good framework for comparison (Creswell, 2003). However, as represented by the rhizome, the picture of students’ literacies and identities could never be complete. Even as I spent two semesters with the students, I entered their life in the middle and the muddle. They had their

dynamic and changing lives before I came and after I left. The data I obtained is only partial and contingent.

Meanwhile, the thesis presents the data of only some participants, because not all participants provided rich data. There was no way of knowing whether participating students would provide rich data or not at the time of recruitment. The recruitment notice was sent to students' parents, and I recruited those students whose parents agreed their children could participate. However, parents' agreement did not mean that children could provide rich data. For instance, some participating children wrote much less than others in their writing journals. And when I tried to approach some boys at recess, they reminded me it was time for them to play. Therefore, participants contributed differently to this research.

In addition, critical researchers and poststructuralists have experimented with other forms of collaborative representation (Eisenhart, 2006), two of which are particularly relevant and important in my research. First, Eisenhart (2006) suggests deconstructing the researcher/author's agenda by analyzing his or her own background and agenda in order to establish trustworthiness. Accordingly, I am more reflective about my own background and include this subjective information in my written accounts. As an immigrant parent, registering my daughter in this Mandarin-English bilingual program gives me opportunities to create a common bond with other parents, to define our realities, and to recognize our experiences. It is easier for me to establish rapport with teachers, parents, and students in a context in which I feel a sense of intimacy and belonging. From a similar background of language and culture, I can gather data that other researchers might not be able to. Meanwhile, I was cautious not to take everything for granted because of my familiarity with Chinese culture. On the other end, as a recently arrived bilingual researcher pursuing my Ph.D. in a Canadian university, I was an outsider, still making an effort

to learn more about the cultural practices in the Canadian educational system. The subject positions located in discourses about immigrant, parent, and bilingual researcher are positions in which I am/have been constituted. As I constitute myself, I am constituted by others in moment-by-moment discursive constructions.

At the same time, these positions are not fixed and stabilized. As previously discussed, “Deleuzian understandings of rhizomatic thinking help disrupt that linear and layered thinking about subjectivity” (Honan, 2007, p. 535). These understandings “remove the straight lines—remove the layers—and what remains is a map of possible pathways. At any one moment, through any discursive moment, the ground shifts, the path alters, the ‘plane of immanence and univocity’ (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 294) forms and unforms, and it is in this process of becoming that one deals pleasurably with contradictions” (Honan, 2007, p. 535). Deleuze (1990) states that there are different ways one might read a book. He explains that everyone takes what he or she needs or wants and what he or she can use: “There is no one, correct way through a rhizome, no one true way of reading rhizomatic texts” (Honan, 2007, p.538). These rhizomatic understandings of subjectivities ensure the variation of my (im)plausible readings of the data on different occasions.

Second, Eisenhart (2006) supports poststructuralists in arguing that representations constructed by researchers have no more claim to accuracy, authenticity, or comprehensiveness than anyone else’s. Eisenhart suggests including multiple perspectives on the issue under study and revealing different voices to establish trustworthiness. Harding (1991) also suggests the way to address the limitation of partiality is to have final representations constructed by many different people. In this respect, this research includes multiple speaking parts, including conversations with parents, teachers, the coordinator, and students. There is no one “correct”

telling and each telling, like light hitting a crystal, reflects a different perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Meanwhile, including multiple perspectives also invites readers to explore the context and to become immersed in and merge with new realities to comprehend (Eisenhart, 2006). As discussed earlier in this chapter, questions are intertwined, woven, problematized, and unpacked throughout this writing. In Dufresne's (2009) words, questions are addressed to acknowledging readers' own type of knowledge relating to what is written or by linking in some way to other experiences and situations.

Another issue of data representation is translation. Temple and Young (2004) propose qualitative researchers should address how translation is dealt with in research projects in which data are collected in more than one language and acts of translation between languages are involved in the research process. They propose that researchers address questions such as: at what stage were the interviews translated and transcribed; what translation and transcription issues were there; and what implications existed for researchers' relative positions within language hierarchies with the participants. Researchers should recognize that speaking for others, in any language, involves the use of language to construct self and other (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1996). Meanwhile, Temple and Young (2004) also claim that "there is no single correct translation of a text" (p. 165).

In the present study, I realize I have responsibility for the way I represent others and their languages. Some interviews or parts of the interviews were conducted in Mandarin, such as those with the coordinator, with Mr. Wang, and also with a few parents who primarily spoke Mandarin. For these interviews, I transcribed their words in Mandarin and then translated them into English. The transcripts and translation were used mostly to explore the contexts of participant students' literacies and identities. Sharing the same Mandarin background with them, I had little difficulty

understanding them during the interviews. And I did back translation and member checking with them to ensure a correct version (Edwards, 1998). In addition, my translation has been double checked by my supervisor who is bilingual in English and Mandarin.

Comparatively, I am less confident in translating children's words. Participating students had many stories, poems, and PowerPoint slides written in Mandarin. In addition, Mandarin was used occasionally in my conversations with them. As an adult researcher, I realized it not easy to understand children's perspectives completely. Moreover, during the translation process, I felt it was not easy to find English words which were as powerful, exact, and vivid as those Chinese words used by the students. Therefore, I might have missed or altered some of their points in the process of translating. To make up for the deficiency of translation regarding children's verbal and written expression quoted in this dissertation, I provided both the English and Mandarin versions. This move also invites particularly Mandarin-English bilingual readers to "produce an understanding of a text during the act of reading by reference to their own understanding of concepts and debates filtered through their own experiences" (Temple & Young, 2004, p. 165).

CHAPTER FOUR: LANGUAGE TERRITORIES BLURRING AND LANGUAGE

CREATIVITY

Deleuze and Guattari's figure of the rhizome (1987, pp. 7-8) provides a new way of understanding semiotic systems and languages:

A semiotic chain is ..., not only linguistic, but also perceptive, mimetic, gestural, and cognitive: there is no language in itself, nor are there any linguistic universals, only a throng of dialects, patois, slangs, and specialized languages. There is no ideal speaker-listener.... Language is . . . an essentially heterogeneous reality. There is no mother tongue, only a power takeover by a dominant language within a political multiplicity. Language ... forms a bulb. It evolves by subterranean stems and flows, along river valleys or train tracks; it spreads like a patch of oil.

The rhizome, which decentres language onto other dimensions and registers, shows that language should never be closed upon itself. This chapter first discusses the divergence between parents' expectation and teachers' practices regarding language use in the classroom. It then presents how the multilingual children in this Mandarin-English bilingual program exceed languages boundaries and reveal highly creative uses of languages.

Contrast between Parents' Perceptions and Teachers' Practices

Some parents in this study indicated their preference for a native English-speaking teacher to teach English and a native Chinese-speaking teacher to teach Chinese. For instance, Linda's family, having been in Canada for three years from mainland China, was more concerned about Linda's English learning than her Chinese learning. For Linda's mother, having

an English native teacher was one important reason that Linda stayed in this program, since she believed the English teacher would teach English more professionally:

I don't worry much about her English if she has a native English-speaking teacher to teach English. Linda told me how her English teacher Mrs. Sprau taught them writing, "to show, but don't tell". I know she also taught the kids to write three rough copies. And there should be many revisions during the process. That is the professional teaching. (Interview with Linda's mother, June 3, 2011, translated from Chinese)

When the bilingual program was preparing to move to another school, Linda's mother worried that Mrs. Sprau would not go to the new school:

We are concerned whether Mrs. Sprau will go to Roseview School next year. If not, we will definitely transfer Linda to another school. Her English is weaker than her Chinese. We want her to improve English fast. After all, she will live in an English society in the future. (Interview with Linda's mother, June 3, 2011, translated from Chinese)

Other parents, like Mary's mother, also believed English should be taught by an English native speaker. Originally from Hong Kong, she thought Mary would have an accent if her English was taught by a Chinese speaking teacher:

This program has improved much. In the past, a Chinese teacher taught the kids all subjects including English. It is bad. Students would have accent if they learned English with Chinese teachers. (Interview with Mary's mother, June 3, 2011)

These parents, among others who requested that native English-speaking teachers be recruited into the program, would like to see English and Chinese taught separately. They worried about students' English learning with non-native teachers and believed that the native English speaking teachers were superior. They believed mixing and switching between languages would have a negative effect on students' learning. With their misconception that teaching English is better carried out by native speakers, those parents have internalized the idealized vision of speakers of English (Guo & Beckett, 2012). Moreover, parents' beliefs that

languages are best to be kept separate, discreet, and pure is part of the One Language Only (OLON) or One Language at a Time (OLAT) ideology (Li & Wu, 2009). This ideology “aims at teaching specific subject or language knowledge to bilingual children, rather than encouraging the bilinguality of these children” (Li & Wu, 2009, p. 193). However, “There is no empirical evidence to support the claim that English is best taught monolingually” (Guo, 2006, p.85).

Different from what these parents thought, the boundaries between Chinese and English were not clear-cut at school. Even if the teachers were assigned to teach English and Chinese in different classes, both the English teacher and the Chinese teacher were not rigid in requesting students to use certain languages. They tended to create an open environment. For instance, in the English class, Mrs. Sprau encouraged the students to finish a project of a claymation movie in both English and Chinese. Not knowing much Chinese, she invited a few parent volunteers to help. To prepare the students for the Chinese New Year’s celebration, Mrs. Sprau selected a Chinese legend with many Chinese words. When she read the story to the students, the students became experts in helping her. Meanwhile, in the math and science classes where Chinese should be the language of instruction, Mr. Wang switched between English and Chinese frequently, particularly when explaining some terms like *photosynthesis* (光合作用), *factor* (因数), *proper fraction* (真分数) and *improper fraction* (假分数). Being open and flexible, he encouraged the students to use the languages at their comfort level, and the languages they were more confident with (English for some students but Chinese for others). Mr. Wang also encouraged the students to finish their science projects (for instance, the project about the cloud) in two languages. These projects involved students in using both English and Chinese for internet information searching, making PowerPoint slides, and class presentations. Students, therefore, exceeded boundaries

between English and Chinese. In my observations, students used both English and Chinese in their writing and their oral discussions in class, during recess, and on the playground.

Furthermore, they drew on various sources to improvise their own writing or speaking.

Language Territories Blurring

Between Chinese scripts, Han Yu Pinyin and English

Similar to English adopting Latin alphabets, Han Yu Pinyin (Chinese pronunciation system) also uses Latin alphabets to indicate Chinese pronunciation. But it is different from English in many respects, for instance, in the pronunciation of some single phonemes, diphthongs, plosives, as well as the position of consonants in a syllable. Most Chinese Pinyin syllables are combinations of an initial consonant and a final sound. They should be pronounced together with an appropriate tone. There are four tones in Pinyin, but not in English. In Chinese, Han Yu Pinyin is used for helping students to read words unknown to them. In writing, students are supposed to use Chinese scripts, not Pinyin.

In practice, students blurred boundaries between Chinese scripts, Pinyin and English spelling. For instance, they mixed Pinyin with formal characters in their writing and ignored the differences between Pinyin and English. In carrying out the project of making a picture book in Chinese, Pearl wrote in Pinyin for the words she did not know, such as *mó gu* (mushroom), *shì jiè* (the world), *měi* (each), *dōu* (all), and *guài wù* (monster), as Figure 3 shows. Not only using the Pinyin in the written form, Pearl spelled out Pinyin using English rather than Pinyin syllables. For example, in speaking *Mó*, the initial consonant of *M* cannot be separated with the final sound of *o*, as well as the rising tone (ˊ). But Pearl just spelled *mó* with the separate English letters of *m* and *o*; *shì jiè*, similarly, were spelled using the English letters *s, h, i, j, i* and *e*.

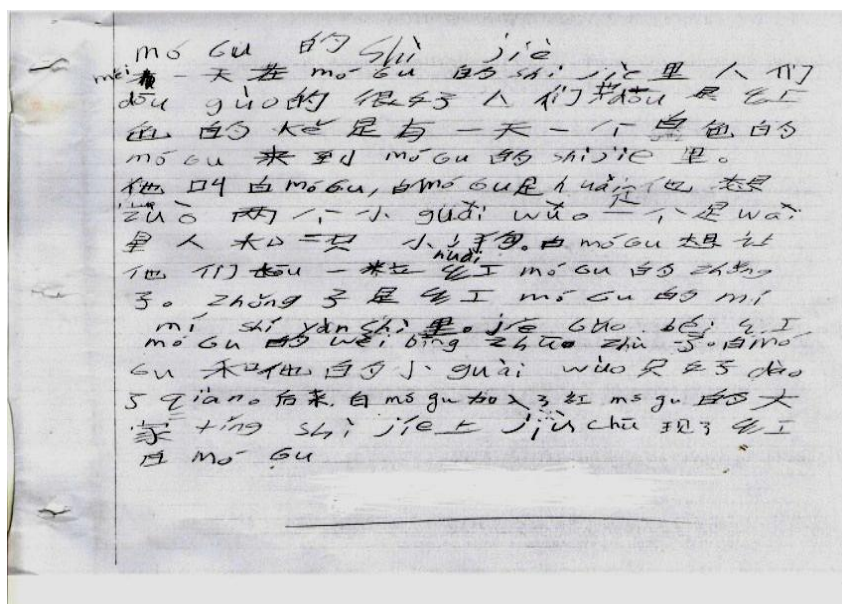


Figure 3. A draft of Pearl's story writing.

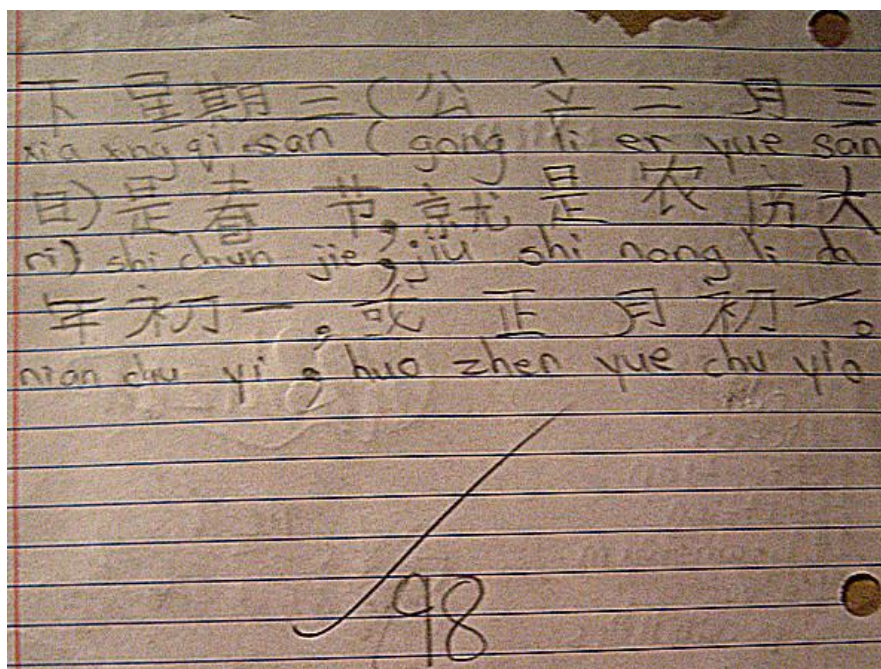


Figure 4. Cindy's dictation in Chinese.

Similarly, in a Chinese word dictation, Cindy wrote both Pinyin and Chinese characters, as Figure 4 shows. The following is part of my conversation with Cindy about her Chinese learning in this Mandarin program.

R: Do you have time to write down Pinyin during the test?

C: We are not supposed to [write Pinyin]. But sometimes there is Pinyin in my head when Mr. Wang said the words. I write Pinyin first, then some Chinese characters. For me, it is easier to learn Pinyin than Chinese [characters].

R: Did you learn Pinyin in grade one or kindergarten?

C: No. I have never learned Pinyin.

R: How do you know them?

C: It is kind of like English except they have different pronunciations.

Many students in this program thought English was much easier than Chinese. In their view, if they knew the sound of an English word, they could probably spell out that word. But this was not the case in Chinese, where the pronunciation and written forms were totally different. Both Pearl and Cindy and some other students might not have acquired the knowledge about these differences. For instance, Cindy came to this program at grade three, and she never learned Pinyin which was formally taught in kindergarten and grade one. However, students didn't differentiate Pinyin from English very clearly. They would think English and Pinyin were similar. Cindy had her own ways of understanding the Pinyin system. Pinyin, in her mind, was like English, despite their different pronunciations.

How could it be in Cindy's mind that Pinyin was easier than Chinese characters? How could it be that Pinyin was kind of like English except for their different pronunciations? Both Cindy and Pearl blended Pinyin into the written form of Chinese writing. In addition, they adapted what they knew of one system of English and tried to make it work in another system of Pinyin. How could their experiences move beyond conventional and normalizing ways of learning Pinyin and English? How could these experiences transform Pearl and Cindy's ways of becoming English and Chinese learners? My talk to Cindy went on:

R: How do you type Chinese?

C: There is a special thing in our computer which helps to change language. I type in Pinyin. There will be the Chinese words coming out. I will try to find the right words.

R: Do you know which word is right?

C: Sometimes. If I don't know, I just chose the first one. For other times, I think of English words or sentences first, and then use Google Translate to get the Chinese version. Mr. Wang doesn't allow us to use Google Translate. He suggests us using the Chinese dictionary. But when we don't have the Chinese dictionary, we use Google Translate.

The school computers have a Chinese input software installed. In order to get the Chinese words, students should first type Pinyin. However, the same Chinese Pinyin may produce many homophones (words that sound the same but are written differently). Therefore, among these different Chinese characters, students would choose the right words for their sentences. For Cindy, if she knew the words, she would choose the right one. If she was unsure, she simply chose the first one. It might not be the right word for her sentences in the written form. But Cindy thought it would be fine, because the inappropriate written words wouldn't interfere with her oral presentation, when she could still remember the words' pronunciation.

Cindy used Google Translate a lot, both at home and school, which helped to translate the English ideas in her mind into Chinese. But Google Translate did not always produce accurate translations, as Cindy's mother explained. The mother wondered whether Cindy could really learn Chinese by using Google Translate. But she knew it could help Cindy to get some key words. Depending on Google Translate, Cindy could work out some Chinese projects all by herself.

Regarding Chinese learning, Cindy also went to her grandfather for help. Her grandfather assisted her to translate all her Chinese assignments into English, which was much easier for Cindy to understand. For instance, he translated for Cindy the weekly sheet of Chinese

sentences. There were five or six Chinese sentences on the sheet, which was usually given to the students on each Friday. Students were supposed to copy one sentence three times per day for the next week and would have a dictation on the following Monday. With the English translation for the sentences, Cindy could remember the words more easily. Cindy also asked for the English translation of other projects in Chinese. Her grandfather once translated for her a Chinese history story. With the English version, Cindy better understood the story and finally finished the presentation in Chinese.

According to Mor-Sommerfeld (2002), “when young children develop literacy in a new language by means of more than one language, this becomes a catalyst which causes them to look into their language and to consider it in a new and creative way” (p. 104). Masny (2005/2006) suggests this could be a folding onto their language itself and provide an environment of differences that produces ways of becoming Other. For Cindy, English is her first language. When she learned Chinese, which she thought more difficult than English, she found new and creative ways to make her learning easier, for instance, by (a) relating Pinyin to English, (b) by thinking in English and translating her ideas into Chinese via Google Translate; and (c) by asking her grandfather to translate Chinese assignments to English. Scholars have found that translation can enrich students’ understanding and privilege students’ bilingual competence (Cummins et al., 2005; Kenner, Gregory, Ruby & Al-Azami, 2008; Manyak, 2001, 2004). During these language translations and transfers, how were the systems of Chinese and English associated with each other in Cindy’s mind? How could she make good use of these systems while recognizing their differences? How did Cindy perceive these different systems while becoming multiliterate?

Between simplified and traditional Chinese scripts

As two written forms of Chinese, simplified and traditional Chinese scripts are different in many respects, such as the number of strokes and the forms of a sizable proportion. There are four major ways that traditional scripts are simplified. First, some simplifications embody graphic simplifications of the traditional forms, such as using printed forms of cursive, 書→书 (book) and 長→长 (long), or by omitting entire components, such as 廣→广 (wide) and 廠→厂 (factory). Second, some characters are simplified by applying regular rules, for example, by replacing all occurrences of a certain component with a simplified version of the component, such as 學→学, thus we have 學→学 (study) and 覺→觉 (sleep). Third, variant characters with the same pronunciation and identical meaning are reduced to one single standardized character, usually the simplest amongst all variants in form, for instance, 裏 and 裡 were simplified to 里 (inside). Finally, many characters were left untouched by simplification, and were thus identical between the traditional and simplified Chinese orthographies, such as 眼 (eye) and 猜 (guess).

Users of Chinese characters have an ongoing debate between simplified and traditional Chinese scripts (“Chinese characters,” 2011). The debate involves many perspectives, such as culture, literacy, aesthetics, practicality, radicals, phonetics, speed of writing, and so on. For example, from a cultural perspective, proponents of simplified characters argue that the majority of simplified characters are drawn from conventional abbreviated forms that have been in use for centuries; the Chinese writing system has always been changing. However, proponents of traditional characters claim that many of the changes of simplification were unnatural. Another aspect of debate focuses on the speed of writing. While proponents of simplified characters argue

that simplified characters have fewer strokes, the opponents argue that the speed advantage of simplified Chinese becomes less relevant in the computer age. Additionally, the debate involves a political facet involving the role of the Chinese Communist Party. After the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, the simplified system was introduced as the official written language for mainland China, as part of the Communist Party's campaign to reduce illiteracy. Proponents of simplified characters remark that the design and adoption of simplified characters shouldn't be overly complicated by political considerations. They claim that the use of simplified characters or traditional characters should be decided based on pragmatic or aesthetic reasons, not political ones. However, proponents of traditional characters think simplified characters are strongly associated with Communism and often have strongly negative associations. The Chinese in Taiwan and Hong Kong continue to use traditional characters as a way of maintaining national identity (Guo, 2004). School children in these areas are strongly discouraged from using simplified characters. In Taiwan especially, simplified characters have been regarded as "Communist" and are studiously avoided (Rogers, 2005).

In other countries, overseas Chinese communities commonly use traditional characters but gradually shift to simplified characters, perhaps because of new immigration from Mainland China (Su, n.d.). In addition, "as China continues with its rapid economic development, expands its share of world trade, and hones its diplomatic prowess, the value of the Chinese language likewise increases" (Ding & Saunders, 2006, p. 19). In Canada, most Chinese immigrants in the early 1990s were from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Therefore, most Mandarin-English bilingual programs in western Canada taught traditional Chinese scripts at that time. So did this Mandarin-English bilingual program in Ridgeville, where traditional Chinese scripts were used from 1998 to 2009. But with more and more students and parents coming from mainland China,

the program began to teach simplified Chinese scripts in September 2009. This, however, was done in the face of discontent from some parents from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Do students in this program have a clear division between the simplified and traditional scripts? Linda, from mainland China, speaks Mandarin and writes simplified scripts. With a great passion for reading Chinese books, Linda complained there were not sufficient books in simplified Chinese in public libraries. Most books she could borrow were in traditional scripts. Little by little, she learned to read books in traditional Chinese scripts. The following vignette is taken from our talk about her Chinese book readings.

R: 你觉得读这里的中文书容易吗?

L: 刚开始不行, 现在容易多了。我现在能读繁体字了。我看它长的像哪个不繁体字, 我就断定它是哪个字。

Translation:

R: What do you think reading Chinese books here in Canada?

L: At first I couldn't understand books in traditional scripts. But it is easier now. I can recognize the words depending on how they look like. If the word looks like a non-traditional Chinese character, I know which word it is.

There is not a one-to-one matching of a simplified character to a traditional character. One simplified character may equate to many traditional characters. Even for those people who know both systems well, converting an entire document written in traditional characters to simplified characters, or vice versa, is a laborious task. However, the two concurrent writing systems didn't hinder Linda's reading and understanding. How did simplified and traditional scripts work in Linda's mind and lead her to blur the two? What could the "look like" between traditional and non-traditional Chinese characters be in Linda's mind? How were the differences or resemblances between the two systems connected with some of her experiences, such as

reading books broadly in simplified and traditional scripts, as well as other unknown experiences?

Unlike Linda's family recently from mainland China, Mary's parents immigrated to Canada from Hong Kong when they were adults (in their 20s). With a profound affection for Hong Kong, they believed traditional scripts should be taught and used. In addition, Mary's mother thought if the words were written in simplified scripts, something was lost. She took the word love (爱, 愛) for an example. The traditional Chinese script (愛) has a radical part of 心 (heart) in the middle, while the simplified Chinese script of love (爱) has no 心 (heart) in the middle of the word. There is a removal of the symbol for heart (心) from the traditional love (愛) in the simplified character (爱). According to Mary's mother, a person should love with her heart (心); without heart (心) as in simplified script, how could one love? To people such as Mary's mother, the new "heartless" love character conflicts with Confucianism which emphasizes humanity and filial piety (Karlgrén, 1974). Filial piety, as a crucial value in a Confucian society such as China, refers to the offspring's care of parents in return for parents' earlier upbringing (Hébert, Ha, Xiao, Alama & Kurihara, 2012). According to Hébert and her colleagues, filial piety has three principles: respect for parents, responsibility for care-giving and honouring, and reciprocity within the family and over the life cycle. Filial piety supports identity formation of the young people, because the practices of respect for elders, duty and obligation, and reciprocity within the family promote awareness, development, and recognition of identity among second and third generation immigrants.

How would Mary's disclosures about the traditional scripts be different from those made about the simplified script? In the following vignette, Mary talked about her perceptions about the simplified and traditional scripts.

R: Do you do some exercises on Chinese writing at home?

M: Last year my mom asked me to copy the story from a book. It is in simplified words, but I changed some words into the traditional ones when I was copying.

R: I noticed that when you were doing Mr. Wang's assignment, you used both the simplified and traditional scripts in your writing.

M: If I know the simplified words, I will write it. If I don't remember the simplified, I use the traditional ones. In addition to this school, I have a Chinese school on the weekend. It is not Mandarin. It is Cantonese.

R: What do you think about the simplified and traditional scripts?

M: Simplified is faster.

R: Which one do you like better?

M: Traditional? ...I am not exactly sure.

Mary was sent to a weekend Chinese school to learn to speak Cantonese and write traditional scripts when she was in kindergarten. She pointed out that in this weekend Chinese school, she learned Cantonese, not Mandarin. Thus, she knew that Mandarin and Cantonese, the two spoken systems, were different. And she also knew that the two Chinese writing systems were different. For instance, she recognized that writing simplified scripts was faster. However, there was no political struggle in Mary's experiences with simplified and traditional scripts. There were not clear boundaries between the two systems in her mind. She was free to use whatever she liked. At one moment, she preferred to use traditional scripts. As she said, she added a traditional character when she wrote a simplified one or she transferred the simplified words to the traditional ones. At other times, however, Mary would like to ignore the differences

between these Chinese writing systems and mixed them together in her writings. As Figures 5 and 6 show, Mary used both simplified and traditional scripts for her Chinese homework and her school Chinese project “About Me” in this bilingual program.

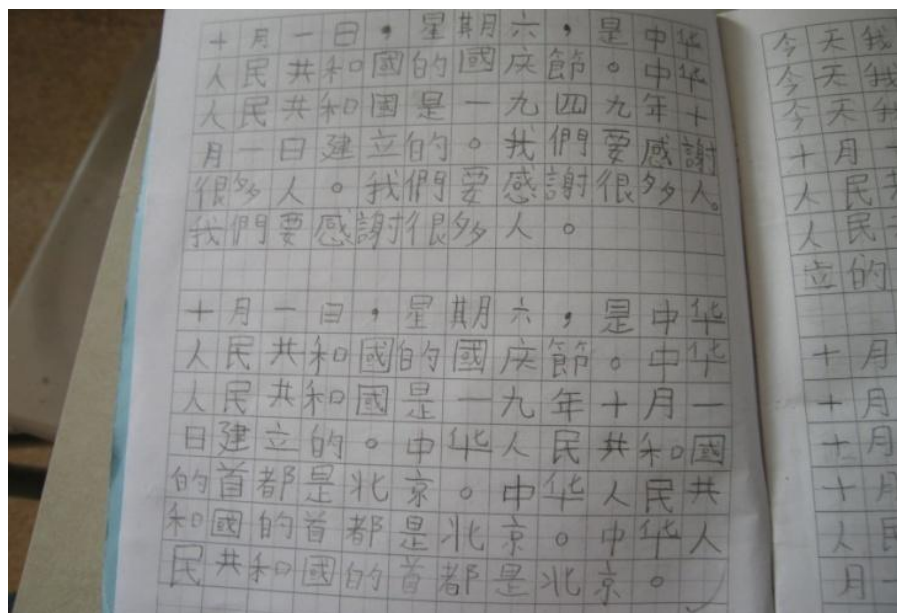


Figure 5. One page of Mary’s Chinese homework.

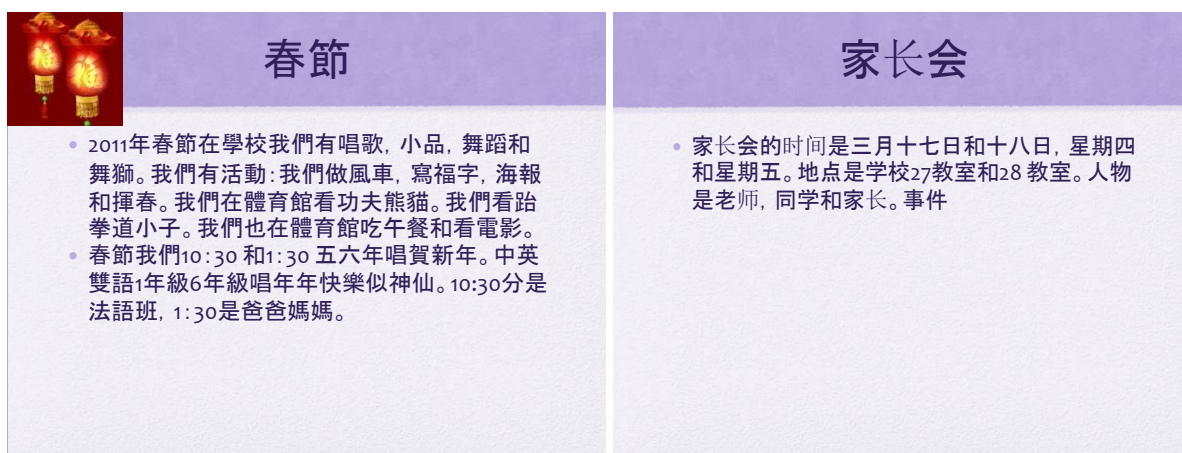


Figure 6. Mary’s two PPT slides.

(The left is in traditional Chinese scripts and the right one is in simplified Chinese scripts.)

With her familiarity with traditional scripts, Mary might have special affections for it. She said she liked art. She might have appreciated the aesthetic value of the traditional scripts in Chinese calligraphy when she learned it at her weekend school. Meanwhile, Mary learned simplified scripts in her weekday school where she was not restricted on using only simplified scripts. She might have been encouraged by her teachers to mix simplified and traditional writings in finishing her homework and projects. From a cartography perspective, simplified scripts were associated with her weekday school; traditional scripts were associated with home and the weekend school. But in Mary's case, these literacies and language territories in simplified and traditional scripts mapped over each other. The overlapping of maps occurred in the creation of her writings in both simplified and traditional scripts. This was an instance in which experiencing two writing systems had become an event and creativity took off in untimely ways (Masny, 2005/2006). How did these various virtual or actual life experiences come together, such as reading and copying the characters, appreciating the aesthetic values of traditional scripts, the communication with classmates, and the encouragement from teachers? What kind of transformation had occurred in Mary during the process of learning Chinese orthography? When she talked about her own experiences, beliefs, and understandings of these writing systems, what investments in multiple literacies produced her as text, reading the world, the word, and self?

Between Han Yu Pinyin, English, simplified and traditional Chinese scripts

Like Cindy, Josh also needed to seek help from his family members to finish the Chinese weekly assignment. His mother and sister could help to add Pinyin, English, or sometimes even Cantonese pronunciation for some Chinese words on Josh's weekly assignment. As Figure 7 shows, 辛亥革命 (Xinhai Revolution of 1911) is marked with Pinyin (xīn hài gé mìng), 联系 (

relate) and 链 (chain) are marked with both Pinyin (lián xì and liàn) and English (relate and chain). 周期 (cycle) is marked with *Jou chi*, which is different from *zhou qi* in Han Yu Pinyin. Josh believed it was a Cantonese pronunciation. With the Cantonese pronunciation, Han Yu Pinyin, and English marked on the sheet, Josh could understand the Chinese words and knew how to read them in Mandarin.

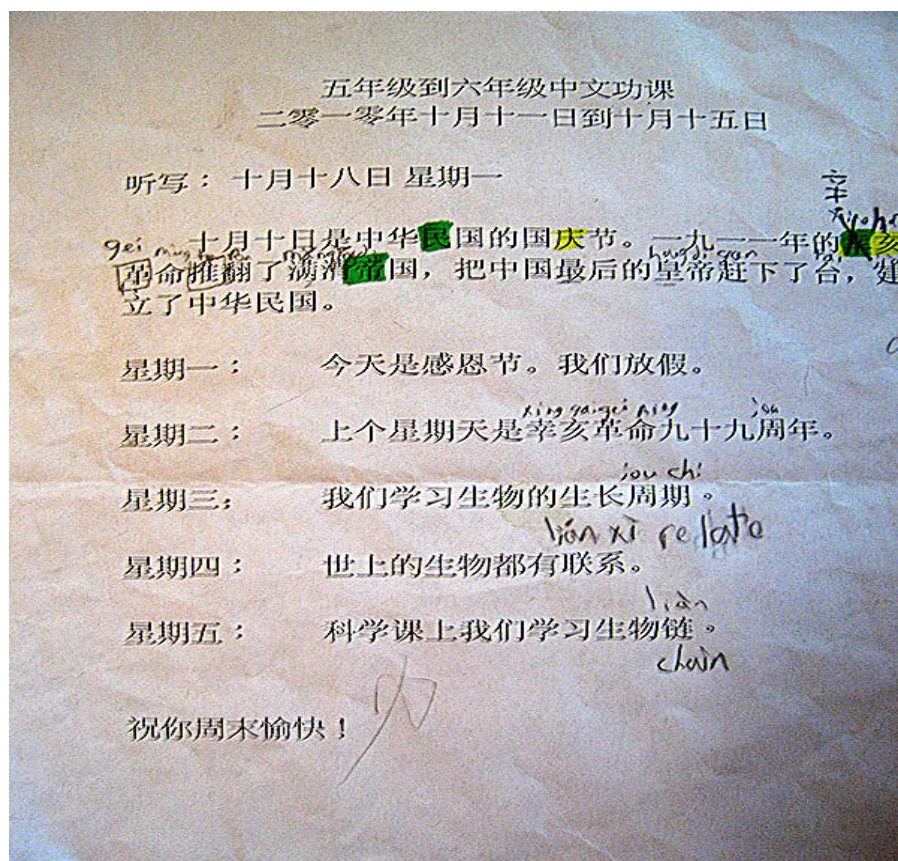


Figure 7. Josh’s sheet of Chinese assignment.

Students like Josh used different languages depending on whom they spoke to. When talking to me, proficient in both English and Mandarin, Josh preferred that I spoke English. He explained to me he could not understand well if I spoke Mandarin. Josh’s father could speak Mandarin and Cantonese but not much English. His mother could speak English and Cantonese but only a few words in Mandarin. The parents used Cantonese between themselves. Josh and his

sisters responded to his father primarily in Cantonese or Mandarin, but primarily in English to his mother. Partly because the father could speak Mandarin but not much English, the parents sent the children to this Mandarin program to learn more Mandarin, so that the father was not left out. Moreover, the parents hired a tutor who spoke both Mandarin and Cantonese to teach the children Mandarin on the weekend. The tutor was a nanny as well, taking care of the children when the parents were busy with their family restaurant. For the weekend Chinese learning with the tutor, Josh's mother usually prepared some copies of simplified Chinese scripts. If she forgot, the tutor would use her own Chinese books in traditional Chinese scripts. The children were accepting of both simplified and traditional Chinese scripts. They were also accepting of either Cantonese or Mandarin used by the tutor. In my visit to his home, I found Josh and his sisters had different kinds of dictionaries (see Figure 8) for learning both English and Chinese, including an English-Chinese dictionary with simplified Chinese, an English-Chinese dictionary with traditional Chinese, and a Chinese-English dictionary in simplified Chinese.

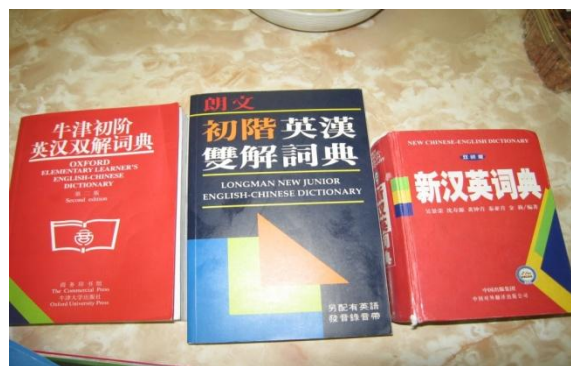


Figure 8. Some of Josh's dictionaries.

“Literacies are actualized according to a particular context in time and in space in which they operate” (Masny, 2010, p. 339). Given their nomadic tendencies, literacies are not wed to a context but are taken up in unpredictable ways across various contexts. As discussed above, when recognizing Mandarin characters, Josh drew from different sources, for instance,

Cantonese pronunciation, Han Yu Pinyin, and English. Josh's various experiences in different contexts assembled, such as learning English and Chinese (Mandarin and simplified scripts) at school, learning Chinese at home (both Mandarin and Cantonese, simplified and traditional scripts), speaking different languages in particular contexts, and using dictionaries and other tools. These experiences were linked to each context and between contexts in complex ways on various planes. How was the multi-layered milieu a space for becoming multiliterate? How did his cognitive capacity, his personal histories and experiences, attitudes, values, and ideologies that he had acquired through interactions with others under specific socio-historical conditions contribute to his "translanguaging space" (Li, 2011a)?

As Hornberger (2002, 2005) describes in her work on the continua of biliteracy, language and literacy features are nested and intersecting. One change along one point of a continuum will cause potential changes along other continua, resulting in a reconfiguration of the whole educational picture. Therefore, any change of contexts would create changes of assemblage of Josh's experiences. What multiplicities could be involved in the process of Josh's reading these language systems?

Reflections

As mentioned before, the parents of some students in my study are among many other parents in this program who believed that English and Chinese should be taught separately. They questioned the feasibility of Chinese teachers to teach English. They were worried that the students' English could be delayed with Chinese teachers. In addition, they were concerned students would have an accent if they learned English from Chinese teachers. As a result, the program accommodated their request to have an English teacher to teach English Language Arts and a Chinese teacher to teach Chinese Language Arts for one class.

Regarding the separation of English and Chinese in the program, the teachers came across some difficulties. For instance, Mr. Wang explained it was hard for him to write report cards with a clear distinction between English and Chinese:

I have some difficulty when writing the report cards. I need to think hard whether to give a 2 or a 3 for those students who respond my Chinese questions in English. They should be given a 2 but not a 3 because they didn't answer me in Chinese as they were supposed to. But it is unfair to give them a 2 because they answered correctly in English. At least they can understand my questions in Chinese. (Interview with Mr. Wang, September 29, 2011, translated from Chinese)

Parental requests tended to set up territories of English and Chinese. In fact, teachers and students found spaces that “can accommodate, resist, or even provide escape routes from boundaries” (Alvermann & Eakle, 2007, p. 147). As observed, in Mr. Wang's class, both English and Chinese were used by the teacher and students. For instance, Mr. Wang used many sentences of mixed English and Chinese, such as 今天是 *Monday* (Today is Monday), *science* 课 我们讲 *cloud* (We will learn about clouds in the science class). As Mr. Wang said:

I always try to use Chinese in my instruction to set up a helpful environment for students, because in Canada, the school is the only place for some students to learn Chinese. But sometimes I have to use English, because students cannot understand if the instruction is totally in Chinese. Like the term photosynthesis, if you tell them 光合作用, they won't understand. And also I take different strategies for students at different levels of English and Chinese. I will encourage Linda, for instance, to use English more. But for Cindy, more practices in Chinese are needed. (Interview with Mr. Wang, September 29, 2011, translated from Chinese)

Students in this Mandarin English bilingual program not only used a mixture of English and Chinese as Mr. Wang did. As previously discussed, they were comfortable with exceeding languages boundaries between English, Pinyin, and Chinese simplified and traditional scripts in their language and literacy practices. How did deterritorialization and reterritorialization take place? How was their comfort related to the school and home contexts? How could teachers'

encouragement and flexibilities have produced the potential for assemblage of children’s linguistic experiences? If their blurring of languages and writing systems had been challenged, what would the students have done? In another words, if their reality about how things worked in English, Pinyin, and Chinese writing systems had been corrected, how would they have responded?

Language Invention and Creativity

Poem play

Linda started to learn Chinese from her grandparents in China when she was two years old. Before she came to Canada in 2008, she was able to recite many Chinese classic poems. After entering this bilingual program at grade three, she learned a few more Chinese classic poems. By the time when she participated in this study in grade five in 2011, she was more interested in writing poems than copying and memorizing poems, which was usually required by the Chinese teachers. For instance, she created two new poems from one Chinese classic poem (see Table 2 for Chinese and Table 3 for English versions of these poems).

Table 2 First Group of Poems in Chinese

中文古诗	Linda’s poem 1	Linda’s poem 2
登幽州台歌		
前不见古人， 后不见来者， 念天地之悠悠， 独怆然而涕下。	前不见包子， 后不见馒头， 念肚子之空空， 因饥饿而趴下。	前面见云吞， 后面见米酒。 念肚子之饱饱， 撑死在山下！

Table 3 First Group of Poems in English

Chinese classic poem On Climbing the Tower at Youzhou	Linda's poem 1	Linda's poem 2
Where are the great men of the past? Where are those of future years? The sky and earth forever last; Here and now I alone shed tears. (Youke, 2008).	There are no Baozi (steamed stuffed buns) ahead; There are no Mantou (steamed buns) behind. I feel so hungry that I fall down on the ground.	There are wantons ahead; There is rice wine behind. I eat so much that I burst to death at the foot of the hill.

This Chinese classic poem describes the poet's feelings of loneliness and grief when his talent was unrecognized by others. The poet expressed such feelings at the top of the tower at Youzhou, overlooking time and seeing the boundless universe. He used touching words with many figures of speech, such as personification, hyperbole, parallel, repetition, and metonymy.

Linda created her two poems when she was hiking with her family. The first poem depicted her first hiking experience, exhausted and hungry but unfortunately having nothing to eat at that moment. She was dying for food and could not walk anymore. The second poem depicted a totally different experience when she enjoyed a variety of food and drink. She ate too much to walk further. In her two poems, she copied the same format of the classic poem. She

used some of the same words from the poem (see the underlined words in Table 2) like 前 (front), 见 (see), 后 (behind), 见 (see), 念...之 (think, or feel about...of the...), and changed others words. Like the author of the classic poem, Linda used figures of speech such as the hyperbole with 念肚子之空空, 因饥饿而趴下 (I feel so hungry that I fall down on the ground.) and 念肚子之饱饱, 撑死在山下! (I eat so much that I burst to death at the foot of the hill.), and repetition with 空空 (Empty, meaning hungry) and 饱饱 (Full, eating too much).

Similarly, Linda created another poem, inspired by Libai, a famous poet from the Tang Dynasty, who expressed his feelings about homesickness and nostalgia when he gazed at the moonlight one quiet night (see Table 4 and Table 5 for the Chinese and English versions).

Table 4 Second Group of Poems in Chinese

中国古诗	Linda' s
静夜思	写作业有感
李白 (唐朝)	邵思宜 (现代朝)
床前月光， 疑是地上霜， 举头望明月， 低头思故乡。	桌前作业多， 疑似大雪花， 低头胡乱写， 到时还得改。

Table 5 Second Group of Poems in English

Chinese classic poem Jing Ye Si (Thoughts on a Tranquil Night)	Linda's poem Thoughts about writing homework
Libai (Tang Dynasty)	Shao Siyi (Modern Times)
Abed , I see a silver light , I wonder if it's frost aground. Looking up, I find the moon bright ; Bowling, in homesickness I'm drowned. (Xu, n.d.)	On the table, a lot of homework, I wonder if it is a pile of snowflakes. Looking down, I scribble, knowing that I have to do it again if requested.

In counterpoint to a poet from ancient China, Linda pointed out that she was a poet of modern times. While the poet Libai expressed his feelings about homesickness and nostalgia, Linda expressed that she had no way of escaping from writing homework. With a visual metaphor, she linked the piles of homework to the big snowflakes. As she described, she scribbled, hoping to finish the homework as soon as possible. Meanwhile, she was clear that she might be asked to rewrite if the homework was not done well.

“With Deleuze and within MLT, creativity is more than producing something ‘original’. It is about life’s creative power: proliferating connections and the continuous formation of different assemblages” (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011, p. 302). In Linda’s experiential and experimental inquiry, some aspects of poem reading and writing were connected with her previous learning experiences. Other aspects were connected with associations that did not necessarily relate to the conventional writing system (Masny & Cole, 2007). For Linda, among her experiences, such as the childhood learning from her grandparents, her learning of the classic poems in this bilingual program, her broad readings of Chinese, her enjoyment of playful use of Chinese, her experiences of hiking, her hunger and happiness at eating meals, her likes and dislikes about homework, her experiences of (re)writing homework, and the long winter with heavy snow in this Prairie city where she lived, what links have been produced between the processes of becoming multiliterate and becoming Other? How have these events created lines of flight and becoming? What different paths have these events offered to her literacies?

Language play

Along with playing with poems, Linda had other ways of playing with languages, including English, Chinese, and other languages among her friends.

Playful use of nicknames

In the following vignettes, Linda was talking about making nicknames for some of her classmates with her friend Emily.

L: 我们班的几个女同学给我们俩起外号，我们也给她们起。我们叫 Karen 膀大腰圆，因为她的额头大。Cicole 叫扣子，Laura 是桂花月兔，因为她的名字是月桂树，还有啊，她长的小小的，像兔子一样。真有意思。

R: 你还给什么东西起外号了？

L: 还有那种巧克力，就是表面疙疙瘩瘩的那种，我叫它鸡皮疙瘩巧克力。

Translation :

L: Some girls in my class make nicknames for us. We (Emily and I) also make nicknames for them. For instance, we call Karen 膀大腰圆 (literally means a person with wide shoulder and fat belly) since she has a big forehead. We call Cicole 扣子 (button). We call Laura 桂花月兔 (Laurel bunny in the moon) , since her name relates to 月桂树 (Laurel). In addition, she is as tiny as a bunny. It is really funny.

R: What names have you made for other stuff?

L: I call that kind of chocolate with uneven surface 鸡皮疙瘩巧克力 (the chocolate with goose bumps).

For a period of time, Linda and Emily did not get along with another group of girls in the class. The two groups of girls made nicknames for each other. Linda and Emily had many ways of playing and making nicknames for the girls. In making these nicknames, they made connections that previously were not thought to be related. Physical appearance connections, phonetic connections, narrative connections, and visual connection were used to “joke, tease and play around” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 110). One way was to relate the nicknames to a person’s physical appearance. For instance, for a girl with a big forehead, they called her 膀大腰圆, which literally was used to describe a person with wide shoulder and fat belly. Similarly, they called another girl 兔 (bunny) due to her small size. In addition, Linda and Emily altered this girl’s English name (Laura-Laurel) and associated Laurel to 月桂树 in Chinese. They called her 桂花月兔 (Laurel bunny living in the moon), which related to a legend in ancient China, *Chang’e flies to the moon* (see Figure 9). There are many versions of the story. One of the versions is as follows: Chang'e and her husband Houyi were immortals living in heaven but were punished to live as mere mortals on earth by the Jade Emperor, because Houyi killed the nine

sons of the Jade Emperor. Seeing that Chang'e felt extremely miserable over her loss of immortality, Houyi requested from the Queen Mother of the West a pill to become immortal. Chang'e accidentally swallowed the pill and flew to the moon due to the overdose. Once on the moon, she became lonely, for she only had a jade bunny and a woodcutter called Wu Gang as companions. The jade bunny manufactured elixirs. Wu Gang, sent to the moon by the Jade Emperor, was asked to cut down a laurel which always grew again each time he chopped.



Figure 9. Chang' e flies to the moon.

In addition to relating nicknames to physical appearances and Chinese legend, Linda and Emily associated Hanyu Pinyin and Chinese characters with the girls' English names. For instance, they gave a girl called Cicole 扣子 (button). The Pinyin of 扣子 is kòuzi, with kòu sounding similar to the cole [Kəul] in Cicole in English. Not only nicknaming people, Linda and Emily also made fun of things such as chocolates. For example, visually associating the image of chocolates to goose flesh, they called chocolates with uneven surface 鸡皮疙瘩巧克力 (chocolates with goose bumps), such as Ferrero Rocher chocolate (see Figure 10).



Figure 10. Ferrero Rocher chocolate.

How had Linda and Emily's experiences with peers, good or not, their knowledge about the Chinese legend, their actual taste of that chocolate with goose bumps become the disruptive relational and connective powers of difference and powers of life that produce lines of flight? How can we map the territories of English spelling, English pronunciation, Chinese Pinyin, and Chinese characters? How were the girls the effects of continuous investment in multiple writing systems during the invention and creativity processes? Linda mentioned that she created these poems and nicknames for fun. Actually, she played much more with languages in her life, whether Chinese or English or a mixture of these two or other kinds of language she enjoyed by herself or with Emily, as elaborated in the following sections.

Playing with homonyms

The tone information is very important for recognizing Chinese words. There are basically four tones in Mandarin Chinese. The first tone [ˉ] is high level; the second tone [ˊ] is high rising level; the third tone [ˋ] is the low dipping level; the fourth tone [ˋ] is the high falling level. Chinese words with the same Pinyin syllable(s) can have the same or different tones. With the same or different tones, these words may have different forms and different meanings. All these words are considered homonyms in this study. Linda playfully ignored the

phonetic and orthographic differences and mixed homonyms for fun. The following examples are from her home diary, her emails, and conversations with me.

Linda wrote and drew what she liked in her home diary. She noted her playing with Emily, her talks with her parents, and her daily life at home. Imagining her all family members were cats, she nicknamed all of them according to their characteristics and hobbies, including her mother, father, brother, grandmother, and grandfather. In this story, Linda used many homonyms. Here are some examples:

猫粉条是一个爱吃粉条的猫，伟口很好，但很少下除。

Translation: Cat Vermicelli is a cat with the vermicelli as his favorite food. He has a good appetite but seldom cooks.

猫冰棒喜欢一切甜十，脾气饱。

Translation: Cat Popsicle likes all sweet food. She is bad-tempered.

猫数学，数学神功已经达到最高静姐。

Translation: Cat Math has reached the highest level of math.

The words underlined in these examples, such as 伟口，下除，甜十，饱 and 静姐 were not correct Chinese characters in these contexts. The correct words should be 胃口 (appetite) for 伟口，下厨(cook) for 下除，甜食 (sweet food) for 甜十，脾气暴(bad tempered) for 脾气饱，and 境界(level in this context) for 静姐. The words Linda used, 伟，除，十，饱 and 静姐 had the same Pinyin syllables with the correct words 胃，厨，十，暴 and 境界，but did not make sense in this context. However, Linda explained she intentionally wrote the words in a “wrong” way, just for fun. She had more fun with the following examples:

你知道甄子丹吗？我以前叫他真子弹。

Translation: Do you know 甄子丹(a Chinese actor's name)? I used to call him 真子弹 (real bullet).

我刚来的时候，我觉得中文和英文是一样的，我管飞机叫 fly chicken (飞鸡)。哈哈，好玩。

Translation: When I first came to Canada, I thought English and Chinese were the same. I named the airplane the fly chicken. It is funny.

The Pinyin of the actor's name 甄子丹 is Zhēn Zǐdān. 甄 (Zhēn) is the family name, and 子丹 (Zǐdān) is the first name. 子 (Zǐ), here, functioning as a starter of a Chinese first name, was used with 丹 (dān) in this actor's name. It could be used together with any other word to form a Chinese name, such as 子涵, 子文, 子平, 子月 and so on. However, Linda changed the whole name into 真子弹. In her creation, 真 (Zhēn), with the same Pinyin and tone to 甄 (Zhēn), means real but is not a family name. For the part of the first name, Linda used 子弹 (zǐdàn), keeping the original word 子(zǐ) but replacing 丹(dān) with 弹(dàn), two different words with different tones, forms, and meanings. It is also worth noting that in the word 子弹, the two characters of 子 and 弹 should be used together to refer to a bullet. 子 in 子弹 differs from 子 in the name 子丹, where 子 can be considered an auxiliary word. Knowing or possibly not knowing these differences, how did Linda enjoy this way to make fun of an actor?

In another example, what boundaries between Chinese and English were blurred in Linda's mind when she first arrived in Canada? The written forms of Chinese Pinyin *jī* could be 机 (plane), 鸡 (chicken) or some other words. But in Linda's mind, 机 (plane) and 鸡 (chicken) are the same. While the character 飞 (fly) could be used to describe a plane that can fly, it can

also be used to describe a chicken that could fly. Therefore, 飞机 became 飞鸡 in her words. It was fun for her.

In one of her emails to me, she wished me a happy weekend with the following words:

猪泥州魔域块! (祝你周末愉快!) (Have a happy weekend!)

Viewed from a conventional perspective, her expression 猪泥州魔域块 didn't mean anything but a chunk of separate words, 猪 (pig), 泥 (mud), 州 (state), 魔 (monster), 域 (domain), and 块 (block). These words were the homonyms of 祝 (wish) 你 (you) 周末 (weekend) 愉快 (happy), which Linda added after that "nonsense" expression, to let me understand her wishes.

With her sense of humor, Linda was flexible in using Chinese writing and speaking. Her plays with homonyms for the pursuit of fun happened outside of school. How could we share Linda's enthusiasm for playful use of language? Meanwhile, her use of homonyms was considered to be inaccurate in conventional Chinese writing. How could her Chinese teacher react to this? How far can we go with this? What are the pedagogical implications for the forces of territorialization (e.g. standards of correctness in writing) in a school setting?

Word play of Chinese orthography

In addition to homonyms, Linda played with Chinese orthography. She enjoyed playing with triassic words in Chinese. One triassic word in Chinese consists of three identical characters, which were usually the names of metal, wood, water, fire and earth, and domestic animals. The following is part of our conversation.

L: 三个口念什么?

R: 品

L: 三个日?

R: 晶

L: 三个水?

R: 淼

L: 三个人?

R: 众

L: 三个鬼?

R: ……不知道

L: 救命，快跑。哈哈。

Translation:

L : How do you read a word made up of three 口(mouth)?

R : 晶 (numerous)

L : How about the word made up of three 日 (sun, daytime)?

R : 晶 (glittering)

L : The word made up of three 水 (water)?

R : 淼 (expanse of water)

L : The word made up of three 人 (person)?

R : 众 (many people)

L: The word made up of three 鬼 (ghost)?

R : ...I don't know.

L: [The answer should be] Help! Run away fast! Haha.

She started our conversation with easily recognized triassic words, like 晶 made of three 口, 晶 made up of three 日, 淼 made up of three 水, and 众 made up of three 人. These words are widely used in Chinese so that I could easily give the answers. As the conversation went on, I was led to think about another triassic word made up of three 鬼 (ghost). No word occurred to me at that moment. Linda explained to me the answer should be “Help! Run away”, because three ghosts were coming. She then laughed loudly. There was not any word in Chinese made up of three 鬼. She just teased me with this brain teaser, as she often did with her peers by asking these tricky and mentally challenging questions. In her mind there was possibly a word made of three 鬼 (ghost), like other triassic words that she had already known. Or possibly she knew that 鬼 cannot be used to form a triassic as other characters such as 口, 日, 水 and 人. Then how had her rich knowledge in Chinese orthography produced her playful naughtiness? How had her knowledge linked to her teasing others⁸ for fun?

Language with Emily

Linda has a special language with Emily.

L: 我和 Emily 之间有一种特殊的语言。你不懂的。你说一句话, 我替你翻译。

R: 王小二是个好孩子。

L: 小二王是个孩子好。

R: 现在几点了?

L: 在现点几了?

⁸ I could figure out that Linda considered me as her good friend. That possibly explained why she liked to play such jokes with me. In my observation, she was not a girl who made fun of others maliciously.

Translation:

L: There is a special language between Emily and me. You won't understand. But I can help to translate your sentence into our language. You may want to try a few sentences.

R: Wang Xiaoer is a good child.

L: Xiaoer wang is a child good.

R: What time is it now?

L: It is now time what.

In this event, the order of the words in my original sentences was changed. The words were jumbled. Chinese language was deterritorialized, escaping the normal word order boundaries, and was reterritorialized, reinvented in the girls' special language. With each deterritorialization and reterritorialization event, difference came into play. Their special language was different from the language they spoke to other people. They changed the orders of the words freely, despite the fact that the sentences might not sound "correct." The invented language was special between the two girls. How had the creativity opened possibilities for the invented language? How might this special language express their pursuit for fun or for a special way to show their special relationship?

The special language between them gave the effect of humour, created a solidarity with the in-group, and was "the 'we'-code understood only by insiders" (Cortés-Conde & Boxer, 2002, p. 140). Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997) asserted that "relational identities" is the creation of identities particular to a group through its past and present interactions, building upon the unique schema and history of the group. The relational identities imply more fluidity than either individual or social identity. For Linda and Emily, their two families kept a very close relationship. They often spent the weekend or holidays together, and the two girls sometimes

enjoyed sleeping over at each other's house. The two girls were good friends also because they had similar linguistic background. As recently arriving immigrants (less than four years by the time of this research), the two girls used Mandarin mostly in their communication. It is through the girls' constant interactions, their words, and their conversations that their relational identities evolve (Cortés-Conde & Boxer, 2002).

The creation of the languages between Linda and Emily has other deterritorializing effects as well. In this event, how does creativity produce a reversal, a kind of deterritorialization of child and adult roles (Masny, 2009b)? How does this invented language reterritorialize me, the researcher as a language novice, from a person who was considered as being proficient in English and Mandarin? Linda and Emily, on the other hand, were reterritorialized as the experts of their languages in contrast to their roles as grade five students? How does this event that involved multiple literacies, in turn, affect the transformation of Linda and Emily?

Reflections

According to Morss (2000), Deleuze's most significant contribution to our thinking about education is that he insists that creativity takes place in a world that is unpredictable. From poststructural perspectives, creativity is manifested in an event that produces new links and different assemblages and becoming (Bonta & Protevi, 2004). This becoming is nomadic, which is "neither reproduction nor just imitation, but rather emphatic proximity, intensive interconnectedness" (Braidotti, 1994, p. 5). Li (2011a) proposed creativity and criticality as two fundamental concepts of translanguaging space. According to Li, "creativity can be defined as the ability to choose between following and flouting the rules and norms of behaviour, including the use of language. It is about pushing and breaking the boundaries between the old and the new, the conventional and the original, and the acceptable and the challenging" (p. 1223).

The previous vignettes are about Linda's language creativity and invention, an important aspect of her learning and becoming (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011): "When an individual learns to read/write, the boundaries between what is acceptable, appropriate seem blurred" (Masny & Cole, 2007, p. 201). In Linda's understanding of Chinese and English writing and speaking systems, deterritorialization of conventions occurred and creativity brought on (re)territorializations. During the process, her playful desire acted as an assemblage of events manifesting itself as a force of deterritorialization. Regarding desire, Deleuze (1962) argues for moving away from viewing desire as a lack-of-being. Instead, Deleuze claims a theory of desire must be based on a more life-affirmative ideal (Jensen, 2007). For Deleuze (1987), desire is an effect of experiences in life that come together. Desire is an assemblage of experiences that connect and are constructed.

Linda wanted to look for fun. The playful creation of poems and playful use of nicknames, mixing homonyms, and the word play of Chinese orthography seemed to be good ways. She might have had pleasure playing with languages in the past. These pleasures could create an image of future pleasure. The desire for future pleasures based on past pleasures resulted in investments (Masny, 2005/2006). The desire-fed creativity enabled the invention of the poems, nicknames, homonyms and the unique language between the girls. For these creations, desire in a rhizomatic and virtual Deleuzian sense acted as the productive power. Such creativity offers an entry point linked to students' becoming (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011).

Linda also showed her criticality in her translanguaging space. Holmes (2005) comments that the Chinese traditional education system focuses on memorization and rote learning. In this system, learning is fragmented, linear, and authority-centered. There is little creativity among students. However, Linda challenged the stereotype of the polite, obedient but passive Chinese

students lacking creativity (Flowerdew, 1998; Hammond & Gao, 2002; Liu, 1998). She was critical of copying Chinese characters for her homework. Additionally, she was not satisfied with rote memorizing the classical poems as instructed by the Chinese teacher. She challenged the authority of classical poems and created her own poems. While imitating the format from the classic poems, Linda created her own words to describe her feelings. Her poems demonstrated her Chinese language proficiency and sophistication, a sense of humor, and “playful naughtiness” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 111). At the same time, she claimed her ownership of learning and reproduced knowledge in her own way. Beyond traditional Chinese learning of copying and memorizing, her creativity and criticality counter the traditional image of learning Chinese.

CHAPTER FIVE: READING, READING THE WORLD AND SELF

Reading, reading the world and self intensively and immanently “extends the power to read differently and to think differently, to go beyond what is to what could be, the virtual-actual interaction: difference and becoming” (Masny, 2012b, p. 78). According to Masny (2012b), reading is a rhizome as it is a process of deterritorialization and becoming. With its rhizomatic pathways, lines of flight shoot through segmentary lines associated with a territory to disrupt/deterritorialize and reterritorialize. Through deterritorialization, becoming Other forms and transforms the human and non-human from events.

This chapter maps out the rhizomatic cartography of reading, reading the world, and reading self of these multilingual children, focusing on how becoming Other happens with continuous virtual-actual assemblage in different contexts (school, home, community, etc.).

Becoming Popular

In learning Chinese culture and history, students were asked to choose one story, read it, and then present it to the group members. Linda chose the story of 桃李满天下 (direct translation: peaches and plums are widely spanned). She explained why she chose the story.

L: 我选的故事是《桃李满天下》。武则天有个丞相叫狄仁杰，非常善于处理复杂的案件。武则天对狄仁杰说，“有人在背后说你的坏话，你想知道是谁吗？”狄仁杰说，“我不想知道。否则，我和他的关系就不好了。”我的思想有时候比较奇怪。你有没有听过一个八个字的成语，桃李不言，下自成蹊？

R: 没有。

L: 就是说桃树和李树不会说话，但是很多人还是路过他们，还夸他们。形容一个人很受欢迎，所以我就选了那个故事，我也能受欢迎。

Translation:

L: I chose the story 桃李满天下. Empress Wu Zetian had a Prime Minister Di Renjie, also a detective, who was very good at complex investigation. Empress Wu told Di Renjie that somebody complained about him and asked Di Renjie whether he wanted to know who the person was. Di Renjie said, “I do not want to know about it. Otherwise, my relationship with him will be broken.” My thinking is rather strange sometimes. Have you ever heard of an eight-word idiom, 桃李不言，下自成蹊 (Peaches and plums do not have to talk, yet the world beats a path to them) ?

R: No.

L: The trees of peaches and palms cannot talk, but they have fragrant flowers and sweet fruits, which attract many people, who form a path under the tree. It implies a person could be popular [although she is not vocal]. So I chose the story and I would be popular.

The chosen story 桃李满天下 tells that, in the Tang Dynasty, Empress Wu Zetian asked her Prime Minister Di Renjie to assist her to recruit talented people. People recommended by Di Renjie all later made great contributions to the country. Therefore, Di Renjie was praised for having good students everywhere, and he was well respected for his ability in recognizing and recruiting these talented people. In Chinese culture, peaches and plums have the figurative meaning of students, so this idiom is used later to praise a teacher who has good students all over the world.

Regarding this story, Linda particularly liked the part in which Di Renjie was strategic in keeping a good relationship with others. Although he might have been misunderstood, he wouldn't want to break the relationship with others. Interestingly, Linda associated 桃李满天下 to another idiom 桃李不言，下自成蹊, possibly because both the idioms contain the words 桃 and 李, or because of the visual image of peach and plum in her mind. However, the two idioms have different meanings and different origins in Chinese history. As Linda pointed out, in

桃李不言，下自成蹊, if a person did something good, he would be remembered and respected without self-boasting. It is a metaphor of a person's strong appeal and popularity because of honesty, sincerity, and loyalty. By choosing to present the story 桃李满天下, Linda imagined herself to become a person of popularity as implied in 桃李不言，下自成蹊.

Linda was popular in her Chinese class, because she had a much higher level of Chinese proficiency than her classmates. She won awards in Chinese Bridge Contests and the provincial Chinese writing competitions. However, she was not vocal in her English class. After being in Canada for three years, she was still worried about her English. She set up her development goals in her writing journal: *"I will have to be brave in Mrs. Sprau's class. But if my essay is not so good/interesting, I will be nervous to say it out loud in front of the whole class. So I will have to improve my writing skills."*

Regarding Linda's English learning, her mother said:

She is becoming more and more confident. She will speak up (in English class) until she is totally confident like in Chinese. She isn't that shy as she appears, but she has very strong self-esteem. She will choose to be silent if she cannot speak well. She looks shy, but not necessarily shy. She is talkative with us. We always ask her to stop talking. (Interview with Linda's mother, June 3, 2011, translated from Chinese)

To improve her English, Linda kept on working hard. She volunteered more and more in the English class in sharing her story writing. She cared about how other classmates and the teachers perceived her. She gave Mrs. Sprau a get-well card when her teacher was injured in an accident. Linda wanted her effort to be recognized by others. Actually Mrs. Sprau gave very positive comments on her report card:

Linda is a positive student Linda has made a strong effort to adequately communicate her knowledge and understanding, through her written work. Linda is working on volunteering more often Linda

wants to be a successful student and has already made huge advances in her study habits. With some support and a willingness to try, Linda will achieve great things this year! Keep being diligent towards your studies! We have faith in your abilities! We look forward to an exciting year and seeing her climb to higher levels to success! You are a pleasure to have in class! Keep up the fantastic work, Linda.

In spite of her efforts and recognitions from the teacher and parents, Linda was concerned about her relationships with a group of girls in the English class. In Linda's view, those few girls sometimes made fun of her or bullied her. They said Linda was mean. They distracted her during class time or asked her some questions she didn't like to answer, for instance, "Which boy do you like in our class?" They assigned Linda's role in a group play without asking Linda's own opinions. The first few times she was mistreated, Linda didn't say anything. But as the bullying went on, Linda cried sadly at home and told her parents what was happening. Her father went to the school and asked the teacher for further investigation. Mrs. Sprau talked to each girl involved and encouraged the whole class to think about how to help to set up a friendly class environment and to make the whole community a family. The girls seemed to understand the problem and agreed to think about it. The teacher's intervention worked. Linda said that one girl apologized to her immediately after the teacher's talk. The second girl was also nice to her. Another girl sent her five emails to apologize. Linda accepted all the apologies and sent the girls part of a bible story (Psalms 1 to 150), from which Linda learned to forgive. As she wrote about thankfulness in her character journal, "...if you forgive the person who had done something wrong to you, the person will be thankful for that". And in her self assessment, she wrote, "I treat people with respect. Although some people are mean to me and my friend (Emily), but we still treat them with respect."

Linda's mother explained to me:

Linda is a girl who likes to amplify others' good points. She has high self-esteem and confidence. If her classmate is kind to her, she would be very happy for the whole day. If her classmate does not treat her well, she will find out whether the kid only treats her badly or treats all the other people badly. She is mature in this aspect. That is one reason why she could make more friends than Emily when they were in XX School⁹. (Interview with Linda's mother, June 3, 2011, translated from Chinese)

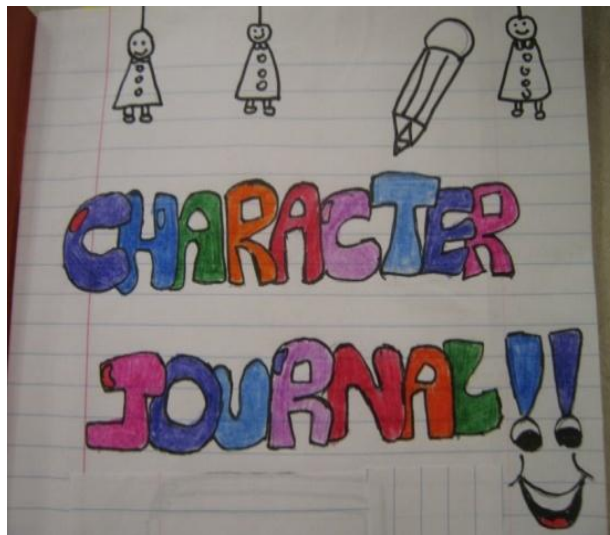


Figure 11. First page of Linda's character journal.

On the first page of Linda's Character Journal (Figure 11), each letter of the two words *character journal* is colored. Besides coloring words, Linda changed the two exclamation marks into a smiling face, with the two dots of the exclamation marks changed into the eyes of the smiling face and the two lines perceived as eyebrows or eye shadow. As the punctuation was related to drawing, two things not previously thought to be related, how were blocs of sensations at work in Linda? Were these exclamation marks turned into a smiling face associated with Linda's wishes to keep a good relationship with others?

⁹ Linda and Emily were in XX School before they entered together to this bilingual program.

Above the word *character*, Linda drew a pencil pointing to the word. On the top of the page, there are three sunny dolls. I learned about sunny dolls from conversations with Linda. Sunny dolls, popular in rural China and Japan, are puppets hanging off the roof, reminding people to pray for sunny days. It is also believed that sunny dolls can shelter humans from disasters and diseases. Linda got to know about the sunny dolls from 摩尔庄园 (Moore Park), which is a wonderful children's on-line virtual park. In this virtual park, children can become cute little moles with different roles, playing games and discussing interesting questions with other partners even far away. Linda explained to me it was not easy to obtain sunny dolls in Moore Park. She needed to buy colourful cloth in the clothing store, feed the spider in order to get the spider silk, and then get glutinous rice into the Mason cottage.

How complicated was this process and how many efforts did Linda need to obtain these sunny dolls? What could be her satisfaction and relief when obtaining these sunny dolls? What could sunny dolls mean to her? What would be her wishes that she put the sunny dolls here in her character journal? What relationships formed in her mind between sunny dolls and her character writing? The thought of one page of character journal was actualized with coloured letters, exclamation marks in the shape of smiling face, a pen, and three sunny dolls. Did their aesthetic quality make them art? Or something else? Assemblages created the connections that bring together all these. How was the process going? What kind of thinking became possible? What kind of becoming happened? How was Linda transformed by multiple literacies? Was this one way she expressed her becoming Other?

The important link between English and social identity must be seen in its relation to empowerment, being heard, and the ongoing process of self-realization (Miller, 1999). The recognition of one's voice depends on his or her relationship with the audience. Different from

feeling proud and confident in her Chinese class, Linda was relatively inaudible in her English class after coming to Canada only a few years earlier. She wanted to become audible and be recognized as a legitimate user of English (Norton Peirce, 1995) among her classmates. She made constant efforts to improve her English and she chose to forgive and to respect others.

How did her constant efforts and persistent pursuit in English improve her confidence? How could her choice of the story produce lines of flight to be more popular in the class? How did she use the metaphor of the story to implicate her own character (not speaking much in her English class, while wishing to gain popularity with other girls)? How did she care about others? How did the disrespect from others influence her? How could her sunny dolls affect her character development as well her relationship with others? What kinds of connections were produced among these multiplicities? How has Linda transformed through the reading, reading the world and self in these events?

Am I a Smart but Lazy Boy?

At the beginning of my research, I gave one notebook to each participating student, inviting these students to write down, draw, or take pictures of different things (objects, activities, people, and so on) that represent who they were and their favorite places. It turned out that most students used the notebooks creatively and noted down whatever occurred to them at different moments in their lives. Figure 12 is a page from Josh.

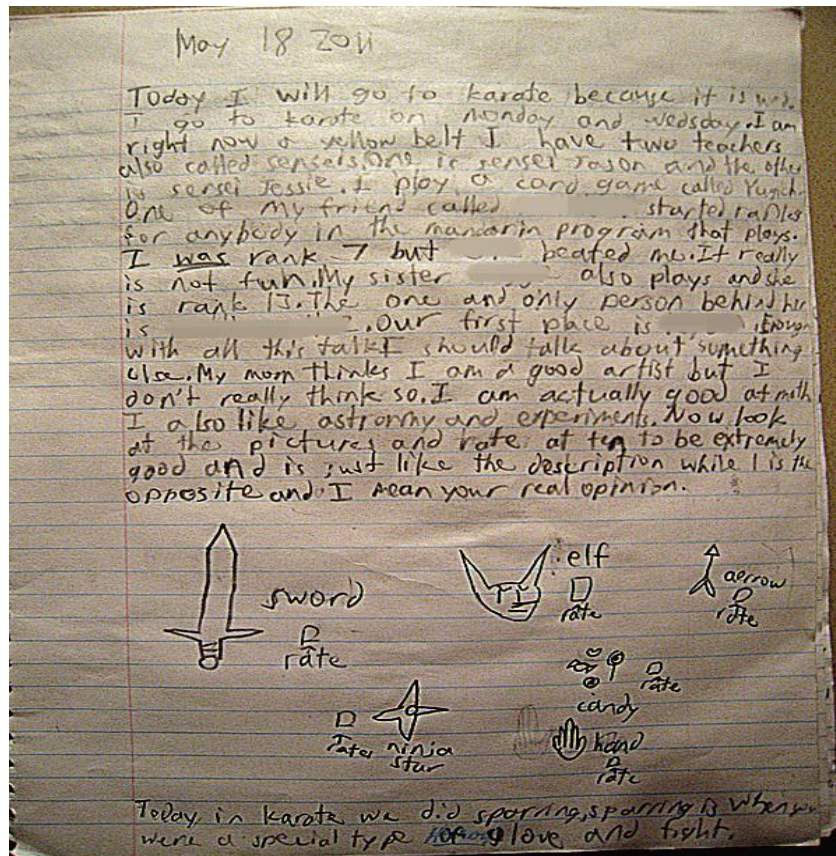


Figure 12. A page of Josh's notebook project.

(May 18, 2011

Today I will go to Karate because it is Wednesday. I go to karate on Monday and Wednesday. I am right now a yellow belt. I have two teachers also called Senseis. One is Senseis Jason and the other is Senseis Jessie. **I play a card game called Yugioh.** One of my friend called Bennis started ranks for anybody in the mandarin program that plays. **I was rank 7** but Richard beat me. It really is not fun. My sister Clair also plays and she is rank 13. The one and only person behind her is Jordon. Our first place is Ryon. Enough with all this talk. I should talk about something else. My mom thinks I am a good artist but **I don't really think so. I am actually good at math.** I also like astronomy and experiments. Now look at the pictures and rate at ten to be extremely good and is just like description while one is the opposite and **I mean your real opinion.** Today in karate we did sparring. Sparring is when you were a special type of glove and fight.)

Following the rhizomatic mapping technique, I took notes for the assemblage that occurred to me while I was reading his writing. Not all the information on this page impressed me at the same level. In my mind, Yugioh cards became a prominent element that had

connections with other information about Josh. He had many Yugioh cards and took them with him all days. He played with the cards whenever possible, during recess, lunch time, and even on fieldtrips. Most of the time, he enjoyed the card playing. He was always very enthusiastic about showing me some cards and explained to me how to play with them. According to Josh, most boys in his class were ranked according to scores. He cared very much about the position he was ranked among his peers. If ranked higher, he would be very glad. If he was beaten, it “really is not fun” as he mentioned in his journal. I once noticed him sobbing very sadly and learned from his peers that he was beaten at that moment.



Figure 13. Two Yugioh cards.

Most cards (see Figure 13 as examples) that Josh played with had English instructions. Some of them had Chinese or Japanese words, since the card games were originally from Japan. Josh explained to me that he could understand all the English instructions on the card. If the instructions were in Chinese or Japanese, he still could figure out the meanings. While he moved freely among English, Japanese, and Chinese, what was the process of Josh’s becoming multilingual? While he read instructions in various languages, counted the scores, made the list

of ranks, and communicated with peers about the game rules, what was the process of Josh's becoming multiliterate in the card playing?

In his journal page (Figure 12), Josh invited me to rate his drawings. He drew a sword, an elf, an arrow, a candy, a ninja star, and a hand, with a square beside each picture for my rating. He instructed that ten would be the highest rating and one would be the lowest. I looked at the pictures carefully and figured out some of his drawings were associated to Yugioh card games, such as the sword and the elf. I explained to Josh that I selected three pictures I liked best. Among his pictures, the elf should be number one since its eyes could tell me something. Sword could be number two, and I liked candies next. I affirmed to him that this was my sincere opinion. Josh nodded while looking at his pictures again. I could feel that he liked his drawings very much and really cared my opinions. However, Josh was not confident enough to say that he was good at art. He said he was only practicing art. Actually, he practiced art a lot during class, such as the following two pictures in Figure 14. Most of the figures he doodled were related to Yugioh games. How complicated are the lines involved in these figures and what images did he want to show? How much love did he reveal for the cards and for drawing? How much had he enjoyed the process of card playing and drawing? What kinds of feelings and emotions had produced his readings of card playing and drawing? How had he been transformed during the process?

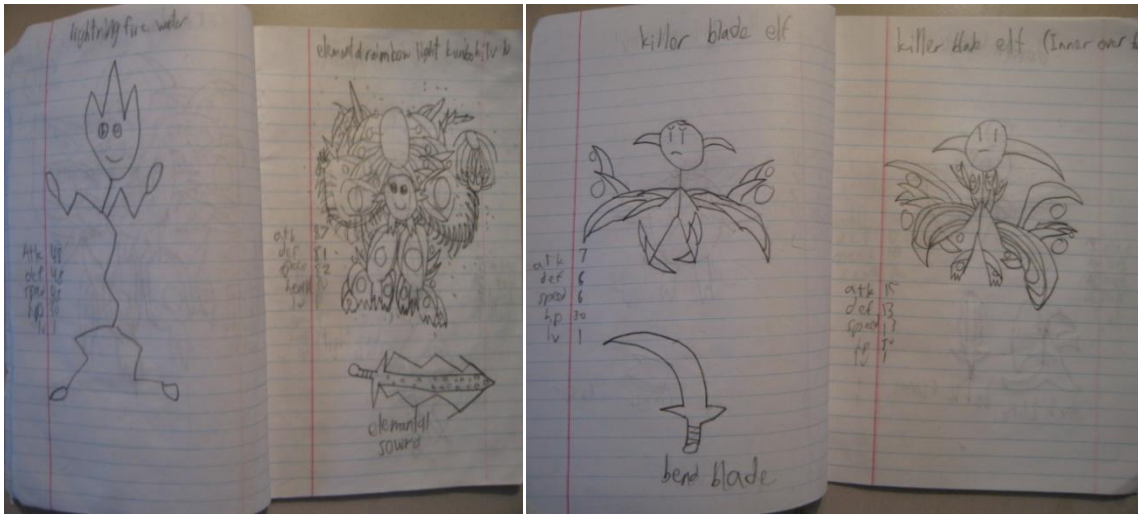


Figure 14. Two pages of Josh's drawing book.

In his journal, Josh reflected he was good at math, astronomy, and experiments. He obtained higher marks in math and was proud to apply his math knowledge to help in his family's restaurant as a cashier (see an example of a math problem in Figure 15). Josh explained to me he expected to go to a science school for his junior high. He also wished to become an engineer in the future, able to design houses, hospitals, and schools. When we referred back to the process of Josh's card playing and picture drawing, several questions were raised. Were there any connections to his math and science learning? What kind of imagined identities did he construct as he wished for his future in the imagined community (Anderson, 1983) of science school and the engineer career? What could be done to help his wish become true?

11-0102

QTY.	DESCRIPTION	TOTAL
- 20		295
- 58		1050
87		1125
4A		950
1A.		525
		<u>3945</u>
		3945
		394
		394
		3551
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		3551

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CASH or DEBIT PICK-UP SUB TOTAL TAX 394

VISA DELIVERY

MASTERCARD TOTAL ORDER ~~394~~

3551

Figure 15. One math problem in Josh’s family restaurant.

Comparatively, Josh didn’t get high marks for Social Studies and English. According to Josh, he preferred the Math and Science classes with the Chinese teacher to Social Studies and English with the English teacher. In our conversation, Josh explained to me,

J: I like Mr. Wang more than Mrs. Sprau. Mrs. Sprau doesn't allow bad things.

R: Bad things?

J: She lets us do homework and other stuff.

R: But Mr. Wang also has some homework for you.

J: Yes, but it is easier.

Josh’s failure to finish the homework was considered “bad things” by Mrs. Sprau. In Ms. Sprau’s eyes, Josh was a smart, but a very lazy boy:

Josh is a smart kid... He is quiet.... But he is extremely lazy. Josh and I have had talks. I said to him, “You are failing.” He just doesn’t study. He would fail. He bumped three tests in social because he didn’t study. I said “Why? What I can do to help you? Do you want to come with me for

lunch to study? When Josh's mom came for parent teacher interview, I made her cry. I felt so bad. When he came in interviews, I said, "Josh, you are lazy." He was there. I was telling him, "What kind of study do you have? You are in grade six, when you get in grade seven, eight, you are going to fail." I don't remember what knocked his mom off; I think she was very disappointed in him. But she knows. She has talked to him a few times. She understands it. Even before I said, she would say, "Josh, you are lazy! She knows, but how do you motivate a kid like that? (Interview with Mrs. Sprau, November 22, 2011)

Josh's mother agreed with Mrs. Sprau that Josh was a lazy boy:

He is lazy. He would take the shortest cut he can. He would write a simple sentence. I would always tell him to expand it, to make it longer. But he will choose not to do. It takes a lot of motivation to get him to do it. (Interview with Josh's mother, June 2, 2011)

Believing that Josh was lazy, his teacher and his mother were concerned that he would fail when he went to the junior high school if he still didn't want to put much effort into his studies by then. Josh also thought he was lazy. In his journal he described himself as a slacker.

R: Why do you think yourself a slacker?

J: Because I don't like to finish my homework. I am lazy. I am sloppy.

His teacher and his mother wanted Josh to finish his homework, focus more in class, and get higher marks in exams. They wanted Josh to study in a way that he found far less interesting. Although his teacher and his mother recognized Josh was smart, they had the authority to impose on the boy a fixed and restrained identity of laziness. Josh internalized this label. Therefore, he hesitated to say that he was smart. In one self-portrayal article, he wrote "I am a smart boy (not really)." Was the boy contradictory? Was he contested? As a child, was he able to decide whether he was lazy or smart? He might think he was smart in playing Yugioh games but not smart at school learning. He might have gone through feeling like a "smart boy," who was

adequate, to feelings of insecurity when he regarded himself as potentially being a “lazy boy.” His emotional progression was qualitative and heterogeneous (Dufresne, 2009).

While Josh saw power for himself in drawing, playing card games, and imagining his future, a rupture point had been created between his plays with literacies and his school-based literacy. When his world collided with that of his teacher, opposition and difference shook up his stable territorialized assemblage, loosening and folding his world, rendering it unstable, and causing him to read himself in another way. How did this tension give rise to ruptures, lines of flight, the thought of transforming and becoming Other? What did this rupture point lead to? Deleuze and Guattari (1994) maintain that becoming takes place in continuous virtual-actual interaction through difference. In this interaction, becoming is in the virtual. Once it is assigned a presence in time and space, it is actualized. While becoming is actualized, it also incorporates virtuality. Therefore, difference is the effect of the constant interaction between the virtual and the actual (Dufresne, 2002). For a period of time, the teacher, Josh’s mother, and Josh himself had been thinking of him as a lazy boy. What can they do so that the labeling of a lazy boy is not becoming a trap? For such a case, Dufresne suggests it is important for the educators to interrupt the virtual before it fulfills its potential and is actualized as a reality.

Another question that could be asked is what space different territories (Math and Science, English Language Arts, and Social Studies) take up in the classroom. How do they function and what do they do? With the separation of English and Chinese in this program, different subjects are assigned to different teachers. Math and Science together with Chinese Language Arts are taught by the Chinese teacher. Social Studies and Health together with English Language Arts are taught by the English teacher. Some parents, especially parents of

English dominant students, preferred that only Mandarin was taught by the Chinese teacher, not the other subjects:

If there is one class taught in Mandarin, that is ok. But if other stuff is also taught in Mandarin, we may not follow the route. Cindy had many problems at the beginning when she entered the program. “Oh, Mr. Wang is doing all the things in Chinese. I have no idea.” She is lost. I think she is better now because she doesn’t complain that much. Possibly Mr. Wang used English sometimes. The teachers are adapting to them. But I think it is still tough, especially math. (Interview with Cindy’s mother, June 1, 2011)

Being assigned to teach different subjects in their own classroom, both teachers talked about the difficulty of integrating various subjects together. Having been teaching in the program for many years, Mr. Wang used to teach all the subjects for one class. He found this previous model much easier and more flexible for integrating different subjects:

Previously, the teacher can integrate all subjects into daily teaching, such as reading and science can be integrated. Students can be asked to read science fictions. It is hard to say this is an English class or Science class. Likewise, Math and English, Social Studies and languages, all can be integrated together. The teaching is very flexible. (Interview with Mr. Wang, September 29, 2011, translated from Chinese)

Mrs. Sprau thought it easier to integrate English Language Arts into other subjects, but other subjects such as Math and Science were not easy to be integrated into English Language Arts. She also implied that one teacher should be careful not to interfere with the subjects taught by the other teacher, with the current subjects’ separation. Possibly the two teachers need more careful planning and communication:

It is harder for integration for sure. I mean English Language Arts is in everything. That is the thing. I mean we can teach specific skills in English Language Arts. But English writing, speaking and communicating and reading, is in every subject. So English is easy to integrate through everything. However, pulling science over here is difficult. Shall we do a math lesson? I tease them [students], like, “Mr. Wang didn’t teach you this? All right, we are going to learn. Then you can teach Mr. Wang?” I

am not sure whether this is ok in a Chinese context...(Interview with Mrs. Sprau, November 22, 2011)

For Josh, Ms. Sprau said:

How do you motivate a kid like that? Because talking something in Science he is interested in, I don't teach Science. How do you get his attention on Social Studies? It is hard.

Admitting that he usually didn't study hard, Josh did emphasize that he could work very well, but he needed motivation, as he described in the self assessment of personal and character development at the end of the semester:

I am not really good at English writing. So I want to improve my spelling, my writing and my grammar. I am getting better at writing paragraphs. I am only good at writing paragraphs as long as I am motivated. (For personal development)

I don't work well unless I am motivated. I also need more focus during class. (For character development)

Listen to the instruction. Not distracted by the stuff and daydream. (For New Year's resolution)

What would the teaching look like that could really motivate Josh, attract his attention during class, and make him study hard? What if the English instruction and assignments were related the Yugioh cards? How can Josh take pride and ownership of his learning in English Language Arts as he does in Math and Science? How could a policy change regarding subject separation and integration help? How could the teachers collaborate with each other toward teaching children as a whole?

I Don't Speak Much, but Can You Hear Me?

In my observation, Cindy seldom participated in the class discussion, whether in the English class or the Chinese class. When talking to me, she only uttered a few words and looked

uneasy sometimes. Cindy told me that in a play that her class rehearsed for the Chinese New Year, she was assigned a very small role of moving things off the stage, “because I don’t speak much.” The two teachers worried about Cindy’s reluctance to speak in public and hoped that Cindy could speak up more. Mrs. Sprau recalled one incident:

With Cindy, she needs to speak out. That is one difficulty she has. I am sorry that day I yelled at the class due to Cindy’s reluctance to share her story with the class. I cannot sleep at night, I feel so bad. But she needs to ...but I think it is personality. (Interview with Mrs. Sprau, November 22, 2011)

In Social Studies, Mrs. Sprau led the whole class to discuss student services within society. She encouraged her students to find a way to show the students in lower grades that they could make a difference in society. Few students responded to Mrs. Sprau’s initiative after school. One student asked her mother what she could do for the church she attended for religious services. Cindy emailed a non-profit organization inquiring about what services she could provide for the organization. The organization staff emailed back to Cindy as well as Mrs. Sprau with a detailed explanation. Mrs. Sprau thought Cindy and few others should be good models for the class. Therefore, she invited Cindy and the other girl to share what they did with the whole class. But unfortunately, in spite of the teachers’ encouragement, both girls were very reluctant. They were silent for a long time. Mrs. Sprau finally became angry and yelled “forget it, I am done!”

Mr. Wang agreed with Mrs. Sprau on Cindy’s difficulty of speaking up:

She doesn’t talk much. Her expression ability should be improved. We need to do more work on that. She is actually a perfectionist, never speaking out when she is not totally ready. (Interview with Mr. Wang, September 29, 2011)

Mr. Wang noticed Cindy didn't speak much in the first few days when he began to teach her class. He learned that Cindy hadn't studied Chinese as long as the other students. Cindy's Chinese was not very good because she came to this program at grade three. Therefore, Mr. Wang thought Cindy's silence was due to her lower level of Chinese. But when communicating with Mrs. Sprau, he learned that Cindy didn't speak much even in the English class, in spite of the fact that Cindy's English reading and writing were almost the best in class. Regarding Cindy's silence, Mrs. Sprau believed it was a personality issue. Mr. Wang thought Cindy was pursuing perfection and would speak up when she was ready. However, was Cindy always silent?

Cindy always scored higher than other students in written tests in most subjects. She studied very hard and always wanted to be the best. She was a perfectionist in the eyes of her parents and teachers. Cindy read widely and was a strong writer. She was able to effectively communicate her knowledge and understanding through her written work. She drew from personal experiences and provided examples in support of her ideas. She could entertain a reader well. Her voice shined through in her writing. One example was that her story in the claymation project¹⁰ was selected by her group and was made into a movie, as explained in the following section.

For two weeks, Mrs. Sprau assigned the whole class a claymation project. The students were involved in story writing, group sharing of the story, learning about the animation technique, and finally working out a movie with clay figures in groups. Mrs. Sprau believed this project could help students with story writing, teamwork, art, drama, and technology. She found

¹⁰ Claymation is an animation technique used with clay figures. Basically, each movement is a new "shot" and the "shots" are connected together at the end to make a movie.

it a very rewarding experience because students could take the finished movie home and kept it forever.

Cindy wrote a story about giant doughnuts. From our conversations and email communications, I learned that her ideas mainly came from a book she once read about the giant jellybean. She also borrowed some ideas from her favorite movie *Cloudy with a Chance of Meatballs*. Cindy introduced me this movie. People in a village in the Atlantic Ocean had to eat sardines as their only food. Therefore, a scientist in the village began to look for ways to make different food. He successfully invented a machine that could turn water into food, and it rained burgers in the village one day. Inspired by these ideas about scientists, laboratory, and invention, Cindy made her own story. To make it different, she set her story in a village in the Pacific Ocean. In this village she named Donutawesomeville, there were lots of statues of doughnuts. A boy named Tim Bit happened to take a magic tube from his father's lab for a contest on creation. But the liquid in the magic tube turned the doughnuts into giant doughnuts that ate everything in the village. The boy had to ask his father's help for turning the giant doughnuts back into regular-sized doughnuts. Cindy thought it would be "funny and different to write such a story." She also thought it would be "easy to make a doughnut" when making the claymation video.

During the two week project, Cindy didn't speak much as always, but she finished each task very well. For instance, in the process of story writing, she showed her enthusiasm by brainstorming ideas, draft writing, self editing, and peer editing. She applied her knowledge on how to make a good prompt and grabber for the story, how to describe the action of the story, and how to use onomatopoeia and rhetorical questions in story writing. Her group members all agreed that Cindy's story was well designed, well written, and interesting. Moreover, they collectively translated Cindy's story into Chinese, as suggested by Mrs. Sprau. On the

claymation day, the group worked together to turn Cindy's story into a "play." To make the movie better, Cindy and her group members applied some of the techniques they learned from Mrs. Sprau and the technical person, such as adjusting the background setting, moving the characters slightly, only looking at the background when taking photos, and paying attention to the music and story line. After finishing the movie in English, they managed to make a Chinese version.¹¹

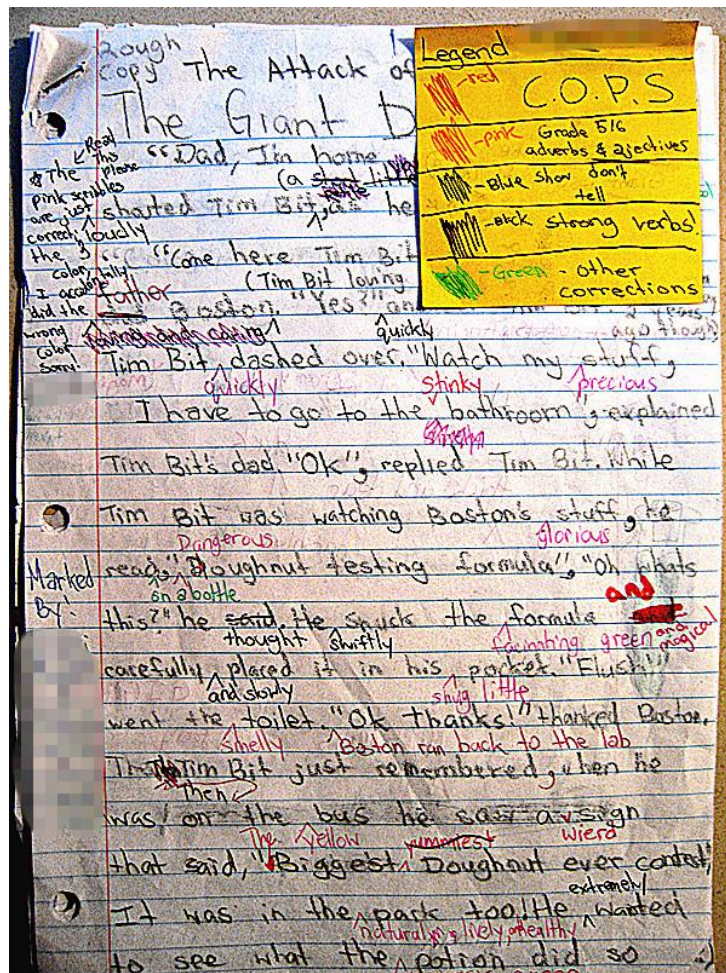


Figure 16. One page of Cindy's English drafts.

¹¹ Only two groups, including Cindy's group, finished making movies in both English and Chinese. Three other groups didn't have enough time to make a Chinese movie.

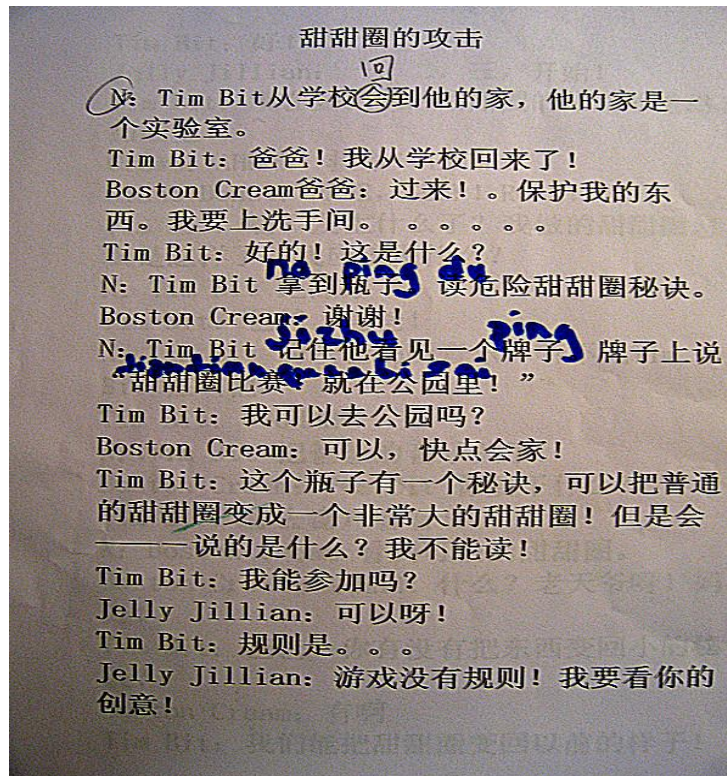


Figure 17. One page of the Chinese version.

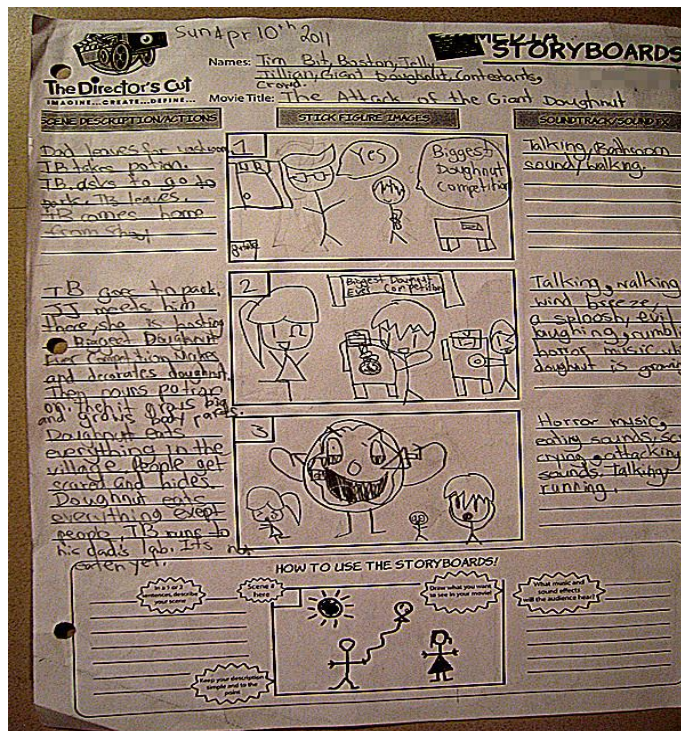


Figure 18. Matching the words and scenes.



Figure 19. Movie shooting.

What power can we see from Cindy's writing, as well as her other roles in making this claymation movie? In addition to her broad reading and good writing techniques, what other investments made her write such a story? As in these writing projects, Cindy presented herself as a different speaker in email communication. Mrs. Sprau showed her appreciation of Cindy's shining voices in her emails:

“Wow, who is this person?” That is what I told her mom. I forwarded the email to her mom, “is this your daughter?” she said, yes, that is the way she goes with email because she is mute anything else. She [the mom] said she is like that. (Interview with Mrs. Sprau, November 22, 2011)

Regarding my email inquiries, Cindy replied in a timely fashion and always invited more questions about her study. With many lovely symbols and her cheerful words, her email messages showed that she was very vocal, passionate, motivated, and competent. The following are some emails from Cindy:

May 25, 2011

Dear Mrs. Yan Zhang

...Hope this helps! Ask me more questions if this doesn't help much!

Have a great day! 😊

May 26, 2011

Hi Mrs Yan Zhang

Well no i don't have access to my 我 project from home, but if you could possibly wait for a little bit i can send it to you.I can get it to you next week on Monday.Sorry for the wait 🙏.I can mail it to you by then!Plus you'r a nice person too!

Hope you have a fantastic weekend 🙏!! I am also ready for anymore questions 🙏 😊

May 30, 2011

1. Dear Mrs Yan Zhang

If you have anymore questions just ask, I am sorry i was in a rush at school,its was 2nd recess i have to hurry,my project is not totally edited i sent you 2 just in care!

Have a good sleep 🙏

2. Dear Mrs Yan Zhang

Your Welcome, if there is anything else you need just ask,ummmm i think i sent you another email with an attachment of my real PPT, did you get it?? If you have anymore questions about anything just ask! Well have a good night also, enjoy the sun 🌞

June 6, 2012

Hello Mrs Zhang

I am definately ready for your questions! Except i can't do it over the lunch hour on Tuesday, Wednesday or Friday because of clubs. I think you might be allowed to pull me out of class. I think its possible!

Have a great day! 🙏+

June 18, 2011

Dear Mrs. Zhang

Ok I can show it to you and I will ask my mom to teach me how to send and then I can send he pictures to you either on Sunday afternoon or

Monday afternoon. You can ask me questions about it. 😊 Have a great day!

Not only showing her passion through words, Cindy also used lovely icons to make her voice “shiny.” In this case, the aesthetic quality of writing systems connects up with affects and contributes to becoming Other: “Affects are the power to disrupt and forces that deterritorialize. They constitute moments of becoming and how we might live” (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011, p. 302). Affect and aesthetics come together to produce singularities that are experienced and actualized or perceived in the way children’s artifacts connect with their love.

On Father’s Day, Cindy prepared a Happy Meal artifact for her father, including a hamburger with fries, a cold beverage, and a few condiments (see Figure 20). Because this present looked like a happy meal in McDonalds, which her father loved very much, Cindy hoped it would make her father happy, as she explained to me in our email exchanges.



Figure 20. Cindy’s Father’s Day artifact: a happy meal.

Cindy typed a few poem lines in a particular font and pasted the poem onto the card (Figures 21 and 22).

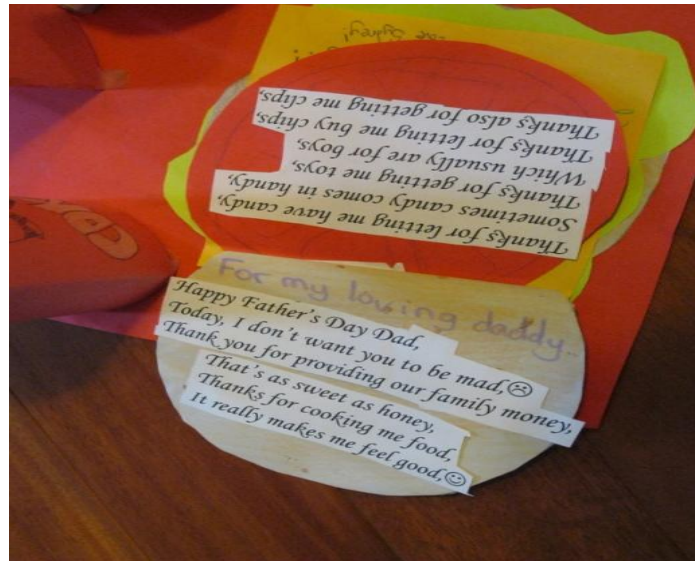


Figure 21. Cindy's typed poem.

Happy Father's Day Dad

Today, I don't want you to be mad, ☺

Thank you for providing our family money,

That's as sweet as honey,

Thanks for cooking me food,

It really makes me feel good. ☺

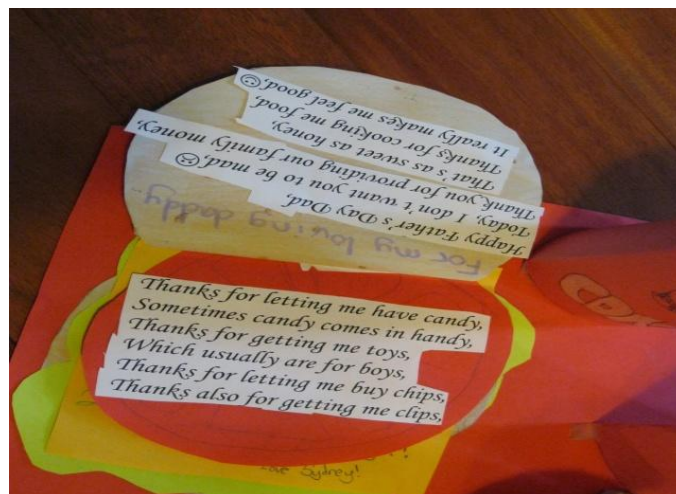


Figure 22. Cindy's typed poem.

*Thanks for letting me have candy,
Sometimes candy comes in handy,
Thanks for getting me toys,
Which usually are for boys,
Thanks for letting me buy chips,
Thanks also for getting me clips.*

In the poem, Cindy added an image of a sad face and a smiling face. In her email to me, she explained:

My dad often gets mad because my little brother Jason is usually not obeying him. Also, because sometimes after his soccer practice, people get him mad and upset because they either hurt him or cheat in a game. He gets mad usually after he is done work, most of his problems happen there; when he comes home he talks to it with my mom when I'm sleeping. (June 22, 2011)

Cindy explained that she learned how to write poems when she was six, and she learned many strategies of poem writing from her English teacher. In addition, she learned writing rhyming poems from reading books such as the Dr. Seuss series, "They rhyme a lot and those are my favorite kind of poems"(from her email, June 22, 2011). What kinds of poems had she read in these past years? What knowledge had she acquired about rhyming poems? What kind of normalization was she taught and how did it deterritorialize and reterritorialize in her Father's Day card making? What affective investments were produced during the process when Cindy was working on these poems? What senses were activated? For Deleuze, sense is an event that emerges (Colebrook, 2002). Did Cindy think of her father's hard work for the family? How did her father's anger and sadness, stemming from his work, his soccer team, and his little son, influence Cindy's thought? Were there any concerns from Cindy? How did Cindy appreciate her

father's contribution to the family and to her because she might have enjoyed the happy moments with toys, candies, chips, honey, and also the real happy meals in McDonalds? How did she love his father and wish him really happy days? How have these poem lines connected up with affects and contributed to Cindy's becoming Other?

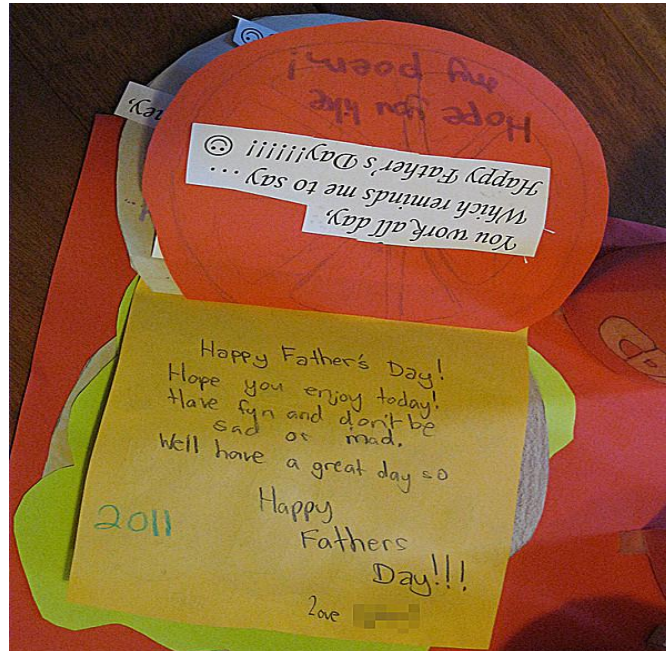


Figure 23. Cindy's handwritten poem.

Happy Father's Day,

Hope you enjoy today!

Have fun and don't be sad or mad,

Well have a great day.

Happy Father's Day!!!

In addition to pasting some typed poem lines, Cindy handwrote a few lines (Figure 23).

When asked why she typed some words but handwrote others, she explained:

Well I guess because so my dad could tell the difference between the poem and the actual writing in the card. I guess that's why.

Cindy said she wanted her father to tell the difference between the typed poems and the actual writing in the card. What were the real differences between the typed poems and actual writing? Was the handwriting more personal to show how appreciative she was of her father? For the typed parts, Cindy worked out the poems herself, typed them, chose the font, and pasted them on the card. Were these typed poems a kind of decoration or a certain kind of art, different from her real handwriting? Were the typed poems and her handwriting intimately connected but still distinct? Were they another mode of thinking, another form of knowledge, or another way of inventing and creating (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011)? Were they features of multiple literacies, ways of becoming Other through reading, reading the world and self?

Cindy also drew some little symbols on one page of the card, to represent her father's favorite foods (Figure 24). She explained drawing these little things made her feel excited and comfortable, because it was what she liked to do. She liked drawing. It was one of her hobbies. “The virtual potentials of affects were actualized as aesthetic figures flowing from blocs of sensations – percepts and affects” (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011, p. 296). Her affect and love of drawing and love of her father and her knowledge about her father’s favorite foods were actualized with these symbols.



Figure 24. Page of symbols.

Cindy's learning multiple literacies is rhizomatic. The activity of making a Happy Father's Day card brought on the thought of a happy meal, which was disrupted and reterritorialized in untimely events, such as her love to her father, her concerns about his anger, her appreciation of his hard work and contributions to the family, her wishes for his happiness, her learning poems from the teacher and books, and her enjoyment of and affection for drawing. These disruptions and different pathways are rhizomatic in relation to each other within the assemblage. This process involves reading, reading the world and self intensively and immanently. Cindy was caught up in a flow of events – experiences, connections, love – and becoming Other.

Cindy's texts were multimodal and intertextual. Cindy herself had the plurality of being a reader, a writer, a painter, a poem maker, an artist, and a listener, when multiple literacies intermingled. Cindy was very good at using photographs, artistic icons, online tools, and writing

to construct herself as a proficient literacy user but appeared less successful as a public speaker. Cindy presented herself to us as a confident and capable self in writing but as a timid self in speaking. What voices could we hear from Cindy's writings and artifacts? How can we hear Cindy better?

Reflections

Reading is about sense (Colebrook, 2002): "Sense is virtual. It is activated when, for example, words, notes and ad icons are actualized in situ and in interested ways" (Masny, 2010, p. 340). For instance, Linda chose to present a particular story in Chinese in a desire for popularity among her classmates. She chose to forgive as a way to keep good relationships with others. Josh revealed his passion for card playing and math learning, and the contradiction in reading himself as smart and lazy. Assumed to be a silent girl, Cindy let her voice be heard through various media and multiple modes of expression and communication in her unique ways, such as emails and claymation movies. Students' vignettes show that "experiences assembled in and across different contexts are complex and multilayered and contribute to sense making while reading, reading the world, and self" (Masny, 2009b, p. 28).

As we can see, "Sense expresses not what something is but its power to become" (Masny, 2010, p.340). It is the disruptive powers of difference and relational, connective powers of life that produce lines of flight. What power lines could be produced when the Chinese stories were connected to Linda's understanding of popularity? What power lines could be produced when Josh's self reading was different from those readings of his parents and teachers? What power lines could be produced when Cindy expressed her love to her father with the Happy Meal birthday card? Since "the trajectories and intersections of these power lines cannot be predicted

or controlled, reading critically as an intensive practice produces untimely transformations in the individual and the world” (Waterhouse, 2012, p. 143).

CHAPTER SIX: TRANSCULTURAL AND TRANSNATIONAL LITERACIES AND IDENTITIES

Kids' identity development is complicated and unpredictable. There is no regular pattern. (Interview with Emily's mother, May 28, 2011, translated from Chinese)

This chapter explores how some of these multilingual children negotiated their multiple identifications in transnational and translingual spaces by incorporating different aspects of varying cultures through the process of transculturation. They took transcultural and transnational identities that allowed for the comfortable circulation among different worlds.

Cindy's Sketch Diary

As previously introduced, Cindy was born in Canada. Her mother, born in Brunei, immigrated to Canada at the age of ten. Cindy's father, born in Vietnam as a Chinese descendent, came to Canada at twelve. Cindy spoke English mostly at home but sometimes used Cantonese or a little Mandarin with her grandparents. Cindy was also exposed to Vietnamese because her father was born in Vietnam and spoke Vietnamese.

Cindy had a sketch diary at home in which she drew pictures and pasted stickers or candy wrappers she collected. Her grandfather bought the sketch diary for her when he visited Japan. The cover page, as Figure 25 shows, is one of the figures from *Harajuku Lovers* which were Cindy's favourite.



Figure 25. Cover page of Cindy's sketch diary.

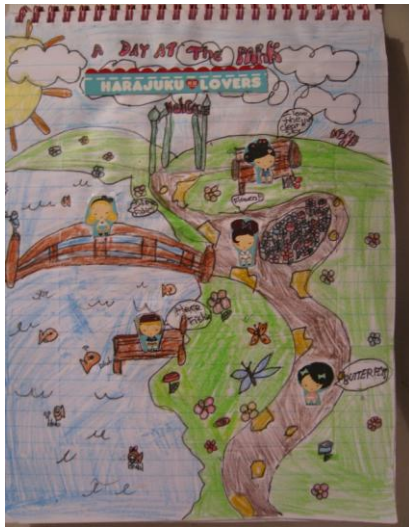
Harajuku Lovers is a brand for different products, such as fragrances, bags, and watches, created by Gwen Stefani, an American singer and fashion designer, who was inspired by Japanese culture and fashion. Gwen Stefani also has four Japanese dancers, an entourage called *Harajuku Girls*, namely Love, Angel, Music, and Baby. Each girl, plus Gwen Stefani, the designer herself, represents a different kind of woman in her dresses. For instance, Love represents a caring person with the symbol of love all over her hair and sleeves. Baby represents a sweet and innocent girl in a pink dress.

These girls held an undeniable attraction for Cindy. In Cindy's eyes, the images and clothing of the *Harajuku Lovers* were cute. They were both symbolic and real. She loved them, collected many of their stickers, and drew the portraits of each person (see Figure 26).



Figure 26. Stickers and portraits of the girls.

In addition, she drew the girls in different forms and styles. As figure 27 shows, the girls enjoyed the blue sky and beautiful flowers in the park, with fish in the water and butterflies flying around; in the fitness center, the girls did body building with their slogan “looking this cute takes hard work”; the girls were passionate about fashion; they were playing the roles of snow bunnies; they swam as mermaids; and they were role playing as cupid girls.



A day in the park



Work out



Fashion fanatics



Snow bunnies



Summer swim



Cupid girls

Figure 27. Harajuku Lovers in different forms and styles.

Cindy did this sketch diary during her summer break. To her, the summer break was boring because she had to stay at home for a long time. Although Cindy had been expecting to travel to Disneyland or other interesting places, she had to wait for a few years until her little brother became older, according to Cindy's mother. Cindy described all the places she liked to go in her sketch diary. She described her favorite places as shopping malls, amusement parks, the

beach, and the lake. She drew many pictures and noted how she liked these places. Figure 28 shows three places she enjoyed.

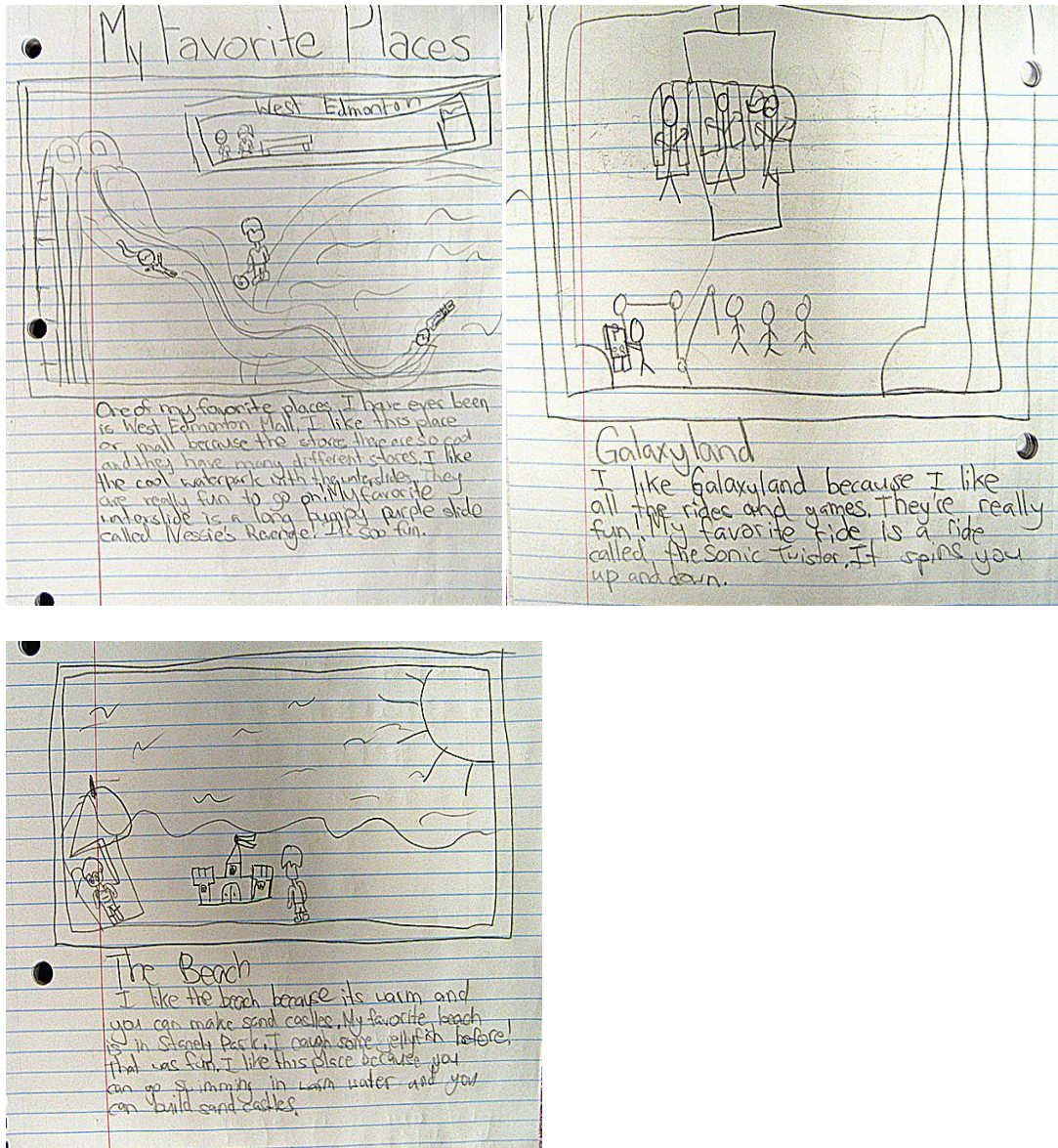


Figure 28. Cindy likes the West Edmonton Mall, Galaxy Land, and the Beach.

(One of my favorite places I have ever been is West Edmonton Mall. I like this place or mall because the stores there are so cool. And they have many different stores. I like the cool waterpark with the water slides. They are really fun to go on! My favorite slide is a long, bumpy purple slide called Nessie's Revenge. It is so fun.

I like Galaxy land because I like all the rides and games. They are really fun! My favorite ride is a ride called the Sonic Twister. It spins you up and down.

I like the beach because it is warm and you can make sand castle. My favorite beach is in Stanley Park. I caught some jelly fish before! That was fun! I like this place because you can go swimming in warm water and you can build sand castles.)

With her favorite Harajuku Lovers having lot of fun in the park, in the water, and enjoying fashion, were these pictures Cindy's virtual tours to escape the boredom of summer? Cindy's mobile depictions of the girls' enjoyment possibly allowed for the experience of enjoyment for herself.

In addition to these interesting moments, Cindy imagined Harajuku Girls as cooks to instruct how to make a dish called Banh Xiao(xeo), literally a sizzling cake, which is a Vietnamese savory fried pancake. The recipe was carefully designed, including utensils, ingredients, and step-by-step written instructions with pictures (see Figure 29). Cindy explained in our conversation:

When I was younger, I like cooking. And I like writing down all the stuff my dad does to cook. I like that kind of food.

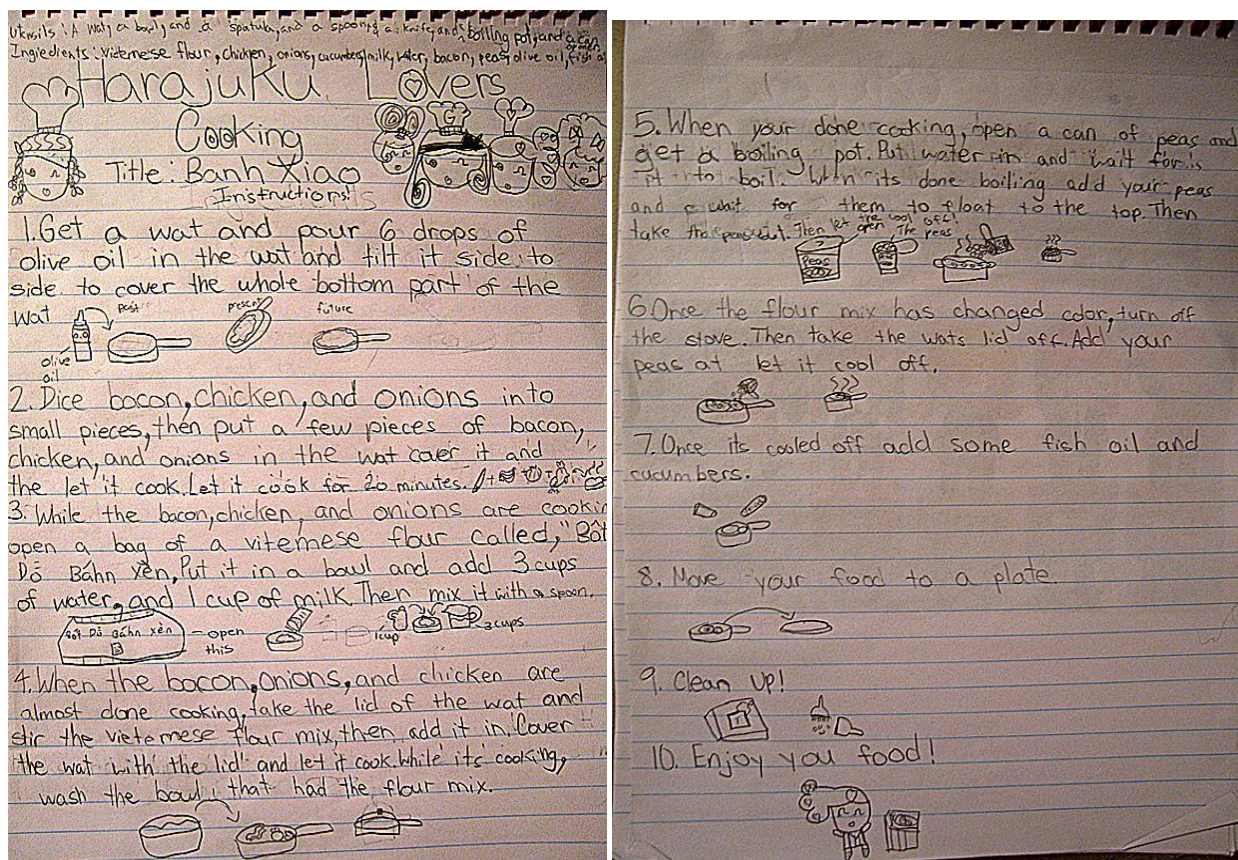


Figure 29. Harajuku Lovers cooking Banh Xiao.

How did Cindy's childhood memory of her father's cooking, her real meal of Banh Xiao, her love of the Harajuku Girls, her learning of writing, and her enjoyment of drawing all come together for the creation of this recipe?

Cindy had other fun with Harajuku Lovers. For instance, she mixed the girl figures with other animated characters from Japanese culture, such as *Kuromi* and *Cinnamoroll*. These are two characters from Sanrio, a Japanese company specializing in creating cartoon characters. *Kuromi* is a white rabbit wearing a black jester's hat with a pink skull on the front and a black "devil" tail. *Cinnamoroll* is a white puppy with long ears that enable him to fly. He has blue eyes and a plump and curly tail that resembles a cinnamon roll. Cindy got some stickers of *Kuromi* and *Cinnamoroll* from her aunt. She put them together with the Harajuku Girls and some other

stickers obtained from the Summer Festival,¹² making two Summer Festival collages, as Figure 30 shows.



Figure 30. Summer Festival collages.

On the first collage, Cindy posted two stickers of “Howdy!” and “Ya-Hoo!”, the popular slogans shouted by people to cheer for rodeos during the Summer Festival. Below the sticker of “Ya-Hoo!” Cindy posted Kuromi, which looked like a cheerleader in this place. Cinnamoroll was riding a horse nearby. Harajuku girls also entertained themselves in the Summer Festival. One girl said, “At Summer Festival, I got to go on a fire truck.” The second girl said, “I saw horses.” Another girl added, “We took many pictures”.

On the second collage, which Cindy named Kuromi+cinnamoroll+The Harajuku, she included various places in the Summer Festival where children had fun. For instance, around the games area, one Kuromi was looking for her daughter. Close to the sugar shack, another Kuromi was thinking hard about what to choose after seeing one Harajuku girl eating the “yummy”

¹² The Ridgeville Summer Festival is an annual exhibition and festival held every July in Ridgeville. The ten-day event attracts over one million visitors per year and features a parade, midway, stage shows, concerts, agricultural competitions and many exhibits.

cotton sugar. Not far away, Cinnamoroll enjoyed the pony rides with “weo.” In the spinning teacups, a group of Kuromis and Cinnamorolls shouted happily “ahh, yeah and whoa,” while one Harajuku girl was watching and worrying that “She looks dizzy.” Near the sign “more ride,” another Harajuku girl waited anxiously with “is it my turn yet?”

What complexity can we see from these collages? What transcultural and transnational spaces did Cindy make for her life situations? She loved the brand figures of Japanese girls launched by an American singer; she loved Japanese cartoon characters. These elements of popular culture have to do with how people relate to style, community, pleasure, and images (Pennycook, 2005). Cindy might have enjoyed the cool clothing of these figures and the exciting music by the singers; she might have shared her feelings with her peers and families; she might have imagined herself to be as cute, lovely, pleasant, and smart as these figures.

All these images from popular cultures “move across space, borders, communities, nations and become localised, indigenised, recreated in the local” (Pennycook, 2005, p. 33). Within a local/global continuum, Cindy located her “everyday experiences and relationships within transnational space, thereby transnationalizing the local and localising the transnational” (Golbert, 2001, p. 713). Being comfortable with the multiplicity, Cindy mingled all these elements together, such as brand figures, lovable characters, stickers from different people and places, her personal experiences of the Summer Festival, her school learning about story writing, her beloved drawings, her love of Vietnamese food, her love of playing, fashion, working outs, swimming, snow bunnies, and cupid bows, and possibly other sources. According to Vertovec (2001), the transnational flow of images, practices, discourses, and perspectives can have a profound effect on people’s identities. In this respect, did Cindy take up new belongings in these

transcultural and transnational modes, while moving across and beyond linguistic, cultural, and ethnic spaces of interaction and boundaries (Hébert, Wilkinson & Ali, 2008)?

I Am a Living Person.

As previously explained, Linda was born in China and came to Canada with her parents as landed immigrants when she was in grade one. She had been in Canada for three years by the early stage of my research (March 2011). At that time, Linda was working on a Chinese project “About me.” She proudly claimed that she was a Chinese. She kept on telling me about her half year’s public schooling in China. One thing that impressed her most was the school’s flag raising ceremony every Monday. At the ceremony, all the students swore to the Chinese national flag that they would be Chinese forever. Linda loved China so profoundly that she thought her younger brother was unfortunate to be born in Canada, because he had to be a Canadian without any choice. She even despised her parents when they considered applying for Canadian citizenship. With such affection for China at that time, Linda considered China to be her only country, as shown in Figure 31.

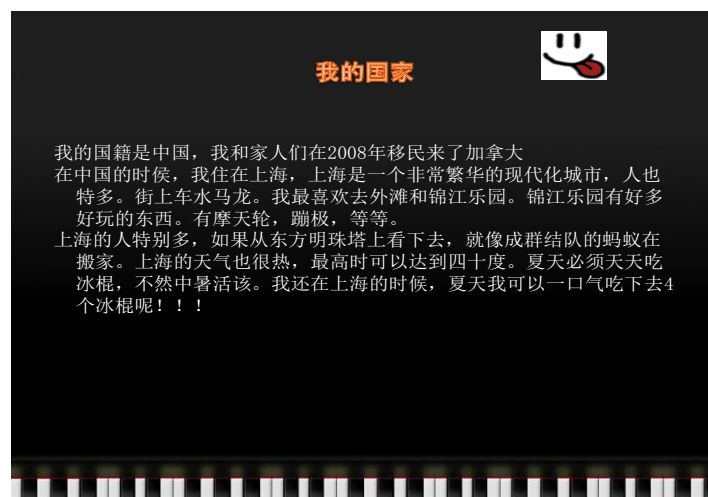


Figure 31. One slide in Linda’s PPT “About me”.

(Translation: My country

My nationality is Chinese. Our family immigrated to Canada in 2008. I lived in Shanghai when I was in China. Shanghai is a bustling modern city with a large population and busy streets. I like to go to Waitan (the Bund) and Jinjiang Amusement Park where people can do many fun things, such as riding the Ferris wheel and bungee jumping. There are so many people in Shanghai, like hordes of ants moving if you look from the Oriental Pearl TV Tower. Shanghai's weather is very hot. The maximum can reach forty degrees. One needs to eat popsicles every day in the summer. If you don't eat popsicles, you could get a heatstroke. When I was in Shanghai, I can eat four popsicles at one time in the summer! ! !)

Mr. Wang, the Chinese teacher, assigned a project "About Me." He suggested that students write about their names, families, countries, schools, classmates, and hobbies. This project gave Linda an opportunity to share her memories about China with fondness. In this PowerPoint slide, Linda described her favorite places in Shanghai and the activities she enjoyed in China. She also demonstrated a sense of pride about living in Shanghai, the largest city in China. Positioning herself as a Chinese, she might want to remove herself from Canada, a cold country with fewer people, an "othering" environment where she still felt out of place at that time. Through this narrative, she may possibly find happiness, "for her safe and homely" (Cole, 2012, p. 40). She might feel a sense of intimacy, safety, and warmth as experienced at home in Shanghai.

Several months later, around Remembrance Day in Canada (November 2011), the school and teachers conducted some educative activities for students in memory of veterans. For instance, the school held one assembly in which students had a moment of silence and listened to the war poem *Flanders Field*, read by two students respectively in English and Chinese. In Linda's English class, Mrs. Sprau played one movie about Remembrance Day and asked students to do more online readings about veterans. She then asked students to write their reflections on Remembrance Day. Most students expressed their appreciation that the soldiers

fought for their freedom. The following vignette is part of my conversation with Linda about her composition on Remembrance Day.

1. We remember the soldiers that fight for our freedom and had died during the wars. (From Linda's writing)

R: Fight for our freedom, 你觉得这里有 freedom 吗?

L: No, 如果有 freedom 的话, 我每天来学校就可以全部上体育课, 我长大想当体育老师, 整天玩。

Translation:

R: [you write "fight for freedom"] Do you think there is freedom here?

L: No. If there was freedom, I could come to the school everyday only for the PE class. I want to be a PE teacher in the future, so that I can play every day.

At this moment, writing about Remembrance Day, Linda understood freedom as her choice of having only PE class, possibly a rupture from the territory of the school's education about freedom, usually from a political perspective. For Linda, having freedom is having only PE class every school day. In her mind, a PE teacher could play every day and enjoy much freedom. For this moment, she wished she could become a PE teacher in the future. In the interview with Linda's mother, she revealed that she hoped that Linda could become a doctor or a lawyer when she grew up. In one conversation with me, Linda also expressed that she wanted to be a doctor or a lawyer, as expected by her parents. Linda could have had many dreams of becoming for the future. How long could she have had her dream of becoming a PE teacher? How had she been influenced by her parents' expectations? How could she be influenced by her own pursuit of freedom? How could the transformations take place?

2. It's more peace in Canada than most of the other countries. (From Linda's writing)

R: 哪些 countries 没有 peace 的?

L: 中国。

R: 中国现在也没有战争啊。

L: 有人对我不好呀, 有一次回上海, 我撞到一个人的行李, 她说, “你走路不长眼睛吗?”

Translation:

R: In which countries do you think there is less peace?

L: China.

R: But there are no wars currently in China.

L: But I was not well respected there in China. Once I went back to Shanghai, I carelessly bumped into a person's luggage. She was angry and blamed me, “Are you blind?”

Linda's understanding of peace was different from what I had expected. In various school activities, such as movie watching or assembly attendance, students had been encouraged to relate peace to real war issues. Linda, however, connected peace to respect. She explained how she was not well respected in China. Linda also expressed her concerns about many other issues in China as our conversation went on.

在中国有很多罪犯, 就在我们小区周围, 你就可以看到被警察通缉罪犯的照片。我害怕得要死。另外, 中国的交通问题太多。上一次我回中国, 过马路时差点被车撞了。中国的司机很少遵守规则, 从不让人。还有啊, 中国的环境很差, 人也不好。

Translation:

There are many criminals in China. Even in our neighborhood, you can see posted photos of criminals wanted by the police. I was scared to death. In addition, there are many traffic problems in China. Last time when I was in China, I was almost hit by a car when I crossed the road. The drivers in China seldom respect the rules that pedestrians should walk

first. By the way, the environment in China is so bad and the people are not nice.

Linda dwelled on her negative experiences in China when she went back for a visit in the summer. In addition, her parents explained in the interview that they sometimes discussed the social and environmental issues in China at home. The parents wanted Linda to know the facts and learn how to protect herself. Overall, how had Linda's school education about peace, her own experiences in China, and her parents' discussions at home influenced her understandings of peace? What other investments had taken place regarding her understanding of peace? How did these experiences lead her to reconsider where she most belonged?

Around Remembrance Day, Mrs. Sprau also assigned students another writing task: describing autumn with five senses. Linda wrote,

Autumn felt quiet and peaceful. In autumn, leaves are falling, when the leaves fall, it looks soooooooooo beautiful ...there is a leaf on the Canada flag. I think the person that created it must think that the leaf represents Canada. (From Linda's writing journal)

The following is part of my conversation with her about her writing.

R: 为什么这么写呢?

J: 因为树叶不会打架, 所以加拿大也不会打架.

R: 那哪里会打架呢?

J: 中国。国旗上所有人都围着共产党转, 暴力。

R: 你为什么这么想啊?

J: 不知道。Bible?

R: 但是 Bible 里面没有提到共产党啊?

J: 但是有关于和平的。

R: 你为什么读 Bible 呢?

J: 最近有一个人来我们家, 给我们讲圣经, 我妈就开始读中文的 Bible, 读到一篇, 还指给我看, 多言的人愚蠢, 那天我就闭嘴了。

Translation:

R: Why did you write like this?

L: Leaves don't fight. Neither does Canada.

R: Where do you think there is a fight?

L: China. All is centered on the Communist Party. We can see it from its national flag. Tyranny.

R: What made you think so?

L: I don't know, [possibly because I read some stories in] bible?

R: But there is not anything about the Communist Party in the Bible.

L: But there is something about peace in the bible.

R: Why did you read the bible?

L: One person recently came to my home and recommended us reading the bible. My mom began to read the bible in Chinese. One thing she learned from the bible was that a person was considered to be stupid if he talked too much. After my mom explained this to me, I talked less.

From this vignette, there was a connection between autumn leaves and the maple leaf on the Canadian national flag. In Linda's mind, since the autumn leaves couldn't fight, neither could the maple leaf on the Canadian flag, nor could the country of Canada. She believed Canada was a peaceful country, where she could feel peace. Fight, however, was connected to the Chinese national flag. On the Chinese national flag, one big star representing the Chinese Communist Party is surrounded by four little ones, which implies the Chinese Communist Party is respected by all the people in the country. How could Linda associate this image on the flag with the fight and with tyranny? Could it be related to the family discussions about social and other problems in China? Could it be related to her negative experiences in China? In the final part of this vignette, Linda mentioned the Bible. What Bible stories had she ever heard about? How were the Bible stories related to issues of peace and tyranny? How did the Bible influence her understanding about peace? How did the Bible influence her character to talk less? How did

these many life experiences connect to be the power of transformation? My conversation with her went on:

R: 那你现在觉得你是中国人, 加拿大人还是中国加拿大人呢?

L: (思考) ……活人。

R: Then what do you think about yourself, a Chinese, a Canadian or a Chinese Canadian?

L: (Thinking)... I am a living person.

At this moment, regarding my same question about her nationality, Linda, a nine-year old girl, didn't choose to be a Chinese nor a Canadian or a Chinese Canadian. Instead, she replied with a different answer, "a living person." Did her response, "a living person," question the fixed identity that was imposed on her? Was this answer of "a living person" a deterritorialization of the dualism of being a Chinese or a Canadian or even a compromise with combining Chinese and Canadian? What changes have taken place in her original thoughts about being Chinese? How had she been transformed and become Other in the process?

Linda's response of "I am a living person" arouses more reflection on my original interview questions which were framed with the categories of Chinese, Canadian, or Chinese Canadian. Rather than making a binary distinction between Chinese and Canadian, Linda refused to choose between particular signifiers, thus rejecting state boundaries or adult discourses of ethnic belonging put on her (Gardner, 2012). Her making of places of belonging "involves the creation of different social sites of belonging connected with the various spheres of life" (Fog Olwig, 2003, p. 217) that she encounters in her everyday lives. Gardner (2012) put it, "if children are straddling places and identities, their place-making and perceptions will, therefore, be quite

different from conventional models of ‘integration’ in which one’s national place is separated from ‘place of origin’”(p. 902).

Therefore, limiting children’s identity choices to certain nationality categories might obscure the opportunities to envisage multilingual children’s lives on a series of multiple planes, and therefore restrict the possibilities for multiple identities (Fog Olwig, 2003). Linda performed different identities depending on her different situations as she grew up. As Linda enjoyed being a living person, she chose what was good for her, as her mother explained:

She negotiated for a day off the violin practice on the children’s day observed in May in Canada. She would also negotiate for another day off on June 1 which is Chinese’s children’s festival. In addition, she requested a present for Christmas, and proposed not going to school for Chinese New Year since all the people in China were having holidays. (From the interview with Linda’s mother, June 3, 2011, translated from Chinese)

Linda’s response indicates that her identity is a work in progress, a process of becoming. Identities are temporary, seemingly contradictory and shifting continuously with fluidity. Identity is not a thing, a noun, but a verb, a movement that flows (V. Andreotti, personal communication, April 19, 2010). All these ideas imply a continuous redefining of various subjectivities (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). As Semetsky (2003, p. 213) put it:

Subjectivity, when understood as a process of becoming, differs from the traditional notion of a self looked at, and rationally appealed to, from the top-down approach of the macro perspective of theory. Instead, Deleuze recognizes the so called micropolitical dimension of culture as a contextual, experiential and circumstantial site where subjects are situated and produced.

In Linda's case, there is no central power from the top to determine and essentialize her identity with culture and ethnicity. Rather, "identity is often complex: feelings change over time and between places, and can be a mixture of the positive and the negative" (Gardner, 2012, p. 901). "If, on a visit to the 'homeland', for example, they (children) feel a strong sense of belonging, they are more likely to pursue their links with the place and people than if they feel alienated, or that they do not belong" (Gardner, 2012, p. 901). In this respect, how could Linda's returning to China influence her thinking on belonging? How could her life experiences in Canada, as well as her other life experiences, past, current, and future, real and imagined, continue to influence her thinking on belonging?

We Like Different Places!

Rather than locating in one place, most participating children traveled to many places, whether to visit their relatives, to tour, or to enjoy life. When asked the places they liked most, participating students had different choices for different periods of their lives. With their mobile minds and frequent travels to different places, they were not tied to any geographical location as their favorite places.

Cindy, as discussed earlier, liked places such as amusement parks, water parks, and shopping malls. But these favorite places were always changing at different moments of her life. For instance, she would rather not go to the Disneyland, her dream place, but to a small town nearby her home to get some snails for her fish tank. As her mother explained:

For Cindy, always Disneyland, or lately Elkfoot, just fifteen minutes out of Ridgeville. She just wants to go there to look at the snails, to get some snails for her fish tank. She is a strange girl. "I'd rather go to the Elkfoot than the Disney land, mom." (Interview with Cindy's mother, June 1, 2011)



Figure 32. Cindy's fish tank.

To what extent did Cindy expect to go to the Disneyland, based on her reading, movie watching, and discussions with peers? How could this expectation lapse when waiting for her litter brother to grow up? What responsibilities did she take as the eldest sister and lovely daughter in the family? How could her dream be changed to a nearby town just to have a look at snails or catch some snails to fill her fish tank? What kind of emotions could be aroused when visiting the nearby town rather than the Disneyland?

Mary also changed her favorite places frequently. She traveled a lot around western Canada, to Vancouver, Edmonton, Victoria, Lethbridge, and so on. She wrote in her journal that the place she wanted to go was France, because she once read a book about France. But at the moment she talked to me, she loved Las Vegas most. She had been to Las Vegas once, "The hotel there is terrific. And they also got a fake Eifel Tower there. I want to go there once again!"

What impressions did Mary have on the tours to many places? How did reading that book with fancy pictures and detailed introduction to France influence her desire to go there? What imaginations could she have about France? How did the hotels and a fake Eifel Tower in Las

Vegas change her ideas of her favorite place? As a young tourist, what other places in the world would she like to travel?

Mark linked his favorite places to places with delicious food, amusement parks and fun, and his family members. As Mark explained to me:

Our family often drives to visit Vancouver, and also take the ferry to Victoria. In both Vancouver and Victoria, there is delicious food. I like the ice cream most. I have been to many cities in China, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqing and Urumqi. I like the lamb skewers in Urumqi. It is really yummy. I want to go back to China again, since I can enjoy many kinds of delicious food. And also, there are amusement parks in China as here in Canada. I can have fun. I like to sing songs in Karaoke rooms in China. I can sing in both English and Chinese. Besides, I have my family there in China, my grandparents, my uncles and aunts are all there. I also like to visit United States since my aunt (my dad's sister) lives there.

Mark explained to me a few times that he liked Vancouver most because he was born there. He came back to China once a year to visit his mother's family in Chongqing and his father's family in Urumqi. Meanwhile, the family took Mark to many other places in China for tours. For Mark, birthplace was always an intimate place. Families in China were also good places to visit, mostly because he could always enjoy delicious food. In addition, he could enjoy singing in both English and Chinese in Karaoke rooms. How much satisfaction did he enjoy when tasting the delicious food? How much pleasure did he have when showing his capacity for singing in two languages? How did Mark enjoy the warm welcome from his relatives, in China, in the United States, or in other parts of the world?

John associated his favorite places with the birthplaces of his mother and father. He looked forward to visiting England and Vietnam:

J: Because my mom was born in England and my dad was born in Vietnam. I have never been to these two countries. I have been to the United States. I have been to Seattle before, Vancouver, Toronto. I have

been to many places just around Canada. I haven't been that far, like six hours on the plane.

R: How about China?

J: I kind of do want to go to China and kind of do not want to go.

R: Why?

J: I have never been to China before, and I want to see all the things there.... (Hesitation)... And I also want to stay here at home, don't go anywhere, and just relax. I like Ridgeville, because it is colder, not that hot.

How did John want to explore the places where his parents were born and grew up? What kinds of stories had he heard about their childhoods? In his imagination, how could a six hours' flight journey be more exciting than his previous short journeys within Canada? Regarding China, the country his family was originally from, he currently had not much interest. When talking to him, I could feel his hesitation when being asked whether he wanted to go to China. I could feel his slight reluctance when telling me he still wanted to see all the things in China. I could feel he was relieved when he explained to me he that liked to relax at home in Ridgeville. How had these subtle changes occurred in his mind?

In contrast, Josh explained to me the country he would most like to visit is China, because he had fun there, in the amusement park with his favorite animated characters. In addition, he bought his favorite Yugioh cards. Besides these, he could even understand the language of Chinese, as explained in our conversation:

There were lots of fun. I would like to go there [China] again. There were Xiyangyang bounces, with Xiyangyang characters¹³ inside it. I bought some Chinese cards. By the way, I could understand the people for most of the time.

13 Xiyangyang characters refer to a group of sheep and a group of wolves in a Chinese animation "Pleasant Goat and Big Big Wolf", popular among children.

The books and movies about the Xiyangyang characters were available in Josh's classroom and also in the school library. How did Josh enjoy the animated characters during his reading and movie watching in Canada? How did he enjoy the bouncing bed with these characters in China? In addition, how did he enjoy his favorite Yugioh cards he bought in China? How did he have a sense of achievement when he could understand Chinese somewhere in local China, not in his Mandarin classroom in Canada? Besides China, Josh also visited other places and countries, mostly where the family's relatives live. For instance, their family went to Vancouver and also to Vienna in the summers for the last two years. Josh took some pictures and noted down his experiences (Figure 33).



Figure 33. One page of Josh's journal about his journey to Vienna.

(Josh's notes: This is a gigantic globe. We went there for the fair for the biggest wheel ferries wheel. This is the biggest Farris wheel ever. It was made in 1897. There is a science center near it. We take a picture around the globe.)

How could the family reunions affect Josh in China, Vancouver, and Vienna? What stories and experiences did he share with his cousins in other parts of the world? When visiting this gigantic globe and the science center in Vienna, how much pleasure did he have? How could this visit be related to his love and learning of Science at school?

According to Gardner and Mand (2012), children move socially and culturally as they move across geographical space. Their journeys lead to new physical and emotional experiences. As these vignettes show, these multilingual children relate their favorite places to places where they have fun, do shopping, enjoy food, take tours, spend holidays, stay with relatives, and explore parents' childhood. However, they are not emplaced in any one location but move between places. They change the favorite places as they change and grow up. As Gardner and Mand (2012) state, "children are mobile not only across places but also across time" (p. 969). As time passes, the children will move into new phases of their lives and experience places differently. They will experience more, physically and emotionally, with more journeys to more places.

Reflections

As discussed in this chapter, the transcultural flows of images, practices, and discourses from the cultures of Canada, China, America, Japan, Vietnam, and other places of the world all had an effect on these children's identities. These factors may change over the course of a lifetime and in different geographical spaces (Mahtani, 2002; Parker & Song, 2001; Root, 1996). Moving beyond being stuck between two cultures, these children "switch identities in different contexts" (Ackroy & Pilkington, 1999, p. 445). Therefore, there is a need to move beyond fixed and essentialized identities and "stable spatial and temporal coordinates" (Bogue, 2008, p. 3).

This chapter shows that the children were mobile to imagine themselves as another, to take up new belongings, and to move across cultural, linguistic, and ethnic boundaries. The proliferation of cultural flows, modes of belonging, and new practices of citizenship mobilize minds and bodies with identifications beyond nation-states (Hébert, Wilkinson & Ali, 2008). As Appadurai (2001) notes, "we are functioning in a world fundamentally characterized by objects

in motion. These objects include ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques. This is a world of flows" (p. 5). Therefore, students can no longer be understood as located in a bounded time and space in and around their classrooms but rather as participants in a much broader set of transcultural practices. Multilingual children can be flexible and become anybody they want, as John's father expressed:

I don't really care what other people think about me. I can be anything. I don't really care, especially in Canada. Here it seems everybody is the same. I was raised up here and don't have any problems. When I hang around with Caucasian people, no problem. When I hang around with my Chinese friend, I have no problem either. I don't have any concerns about John's identity development. No concerns, just being himself, I guess.
(Interview with John's father, June 20, 2011)

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

This research focuses upon multilingual children enrolled in a Mandarin-English bilingual program in a western city of Canada, looking specifically at the complexity of their literacies and identities as processes of becoming. The research recognizes the relational and provisional nature of these processes set within a pluralistic world that is in constant movement, given the mobilities of textual boundaries, means of communication, beliefs, and values as well as the mobilities of minds, bodies, and boundaries on a transnational scale. Meanwhile, the rhizome as metaphor makes it possible to locate the analysis on different planes and to create complex webs of interconnections.

The results of the study reveal that the multilingual children in this Mandarin-English bilingual program engage in their complex, multi-layered, fluid, and context-dependent multilingual communication in different social networks. They not only mix English and Chinese but also exceed language boundaries between English, Chinese Pinyin, and simplified and traditional scripts in literacy practices. In addition, these multilingual students have revealed a range of highly creative use of the languages, thus challenging the stereotype of the polite, obedient but passive Chinese students lacking creativity and depending on rote learning (Flowerdew, 1998; Hammond & Gao, 2002; Liu, 1998).

Meanwhile, these multilingual children negotiate their multiple identifications in transnational and translingual spaces. They go beyond the country of their origin and the country where their parents and they have settled, thus challenging the dominant discourse of any fixed and hyphenated identity, Chinese-Canadian or Canadian-Chinese (Mahtani, 2002). They take up transcultural and transnational identities that allow for the comfortable circulation among

different worlds. They prepare themselves for a cross border life and a global consciousness (Wihtol de Wenden, 1995).

Moreover, students' vignettes show that "experiences assembled in and across different contexts are complex and multilayered and contribute to sense making while reading, reading the world, and self" (Masny, 2009b, p. 28). These students are reading, reading the world and self as texts in multiple environments, such as home, school, and communities (real and imagined). It is a world of multiplicity which "changes in nature as it expands its connections" (Deleuze, 1987, p. 8). Therefore, students are always in an ongoing process of movement and transformation, a process of dynamic becoming, as "the effect of experience that connects and intersects on different planes that fold, unfold and enfold in time and space" (Masny, 2005/2006, p. 150).

Theoretical Contributions

First, this study expands poststructural understandings of literacies (Multiple Literacies Theory) and identities by including transnational, transcultural, and translingual issues. All these strands draw more attention towards relationships, linkages, and flows. These perspectives are woven together to explore the on-going and open-ended process of multilingual children's mobile literacy practices and identity formation.

Moreover, this study extends MLT framework to other minority contexts beyond its current French immersion programs. Conducted in the context of an Asian community, this study contributes to MLT by exploring some of its important concepts, such as creativity, deterritorialization, reterritorialization, desire, and so on. In addition, this study contributes to the area of reading self, which is in its very early stages, compared to research on reading and reading the world (Dufresne, 2009).

Furthermore, this study uses Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome to map multilingual children's dynamic and unpredictable connections in literacies and identities, which opens up new avenues for language and literacy research and thinking. The rhizome theory advances a new way of research about multilingual children, who are diverse, contradictory, dynamic, and changing in their multiple literacy practices and identity negotiation. This rhizome framework maps children's multilinguality, creativity, and intersections of multiple literacies and identities across school, home, and community and across global and local contexts. This study offers the possibility of informing and transforming pedagogies within language and literacy classrooms and programs.

Pedagogical Implications

Teachers becoming co-apprentices with students

Some vignettes described in this dissertation, such as Linda and Emily's special language (see p.110 in chapter four), show that students could be knowledge constructors while adults or teachers could be learners. The creation of the language between Linda and Emily produces a reversal of child and adult roles. This invented language changes my role of a bilingual researcher to a language novice. Linda and Emily, two grade five students, become experts of their languages. To acquire that language, I need to obtain their trust, invite their translation, and ask for more information.

These findings suggest that there is a need for a reconceptualization of both teaching and learning. Teaching and learning are, in Deleuzian terms, both forms of apprenticeship (Bogue, 2008). In this way, teachers become co-apprentices with students (Waterhouse, 2011). A Deleuzian philosophy of education proposes that "the best that teachers can do is to invite their

students to participate along with them in an activity rather than show them what to do or how to do it” (Bogue, 2008, p. 11).

That teachers and students become co-apprentices requires a less hierarchical and more relational learning process which actively engages with difference (Waterhouse, 2011). To create this environment, it is important for teachers to understand and utilize children’s *funds of knowledge*, which specify the “historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills...essential for household or individual functioning and well-being” (Moll et al., 1992, p.133). Teachers thus recognize the importance of a family’s social network in facilitating the development and exchange of knowledge, skills, and labor within their social environments. In addition, students’ cultural resources from peers, families, and communities, including virtual communities such as the internet, popular music, movies, television, and magazines should be acknowledged as powerful funds of knowledge for children’s learning in classroom. In another words, teachers should recognize what students’ everyday home life brings to literacy with identities, dispositions, stories, objects, artifacts, memories, languages, and resources (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez & Chiu, 1999; Moll et al., 1992).

Therefore, when teachers see surprises in children’s literacy practices, it is important for them to respond not by controlling subjects but by facilitating their own processes of deterritorialization out of “comfort” zones (Ling, 2009; Waterhouse, 2011). In this way, teachers are encouraged to read, read the world and self when encountering students’ texts (Masny, 2009a). This meta-reflexive response will enable them to better recognize children’s creativity.

Recognizing students’ creativity

As demonstrated in Linda’s language playing (see p. 97 in chapter four), Cindy’s birthday artifacts (see p. 138 in chapter five) and other vignettes in this research, creativity is

pushing and breaking boundaries in an event that produces new links, different assemblages and becoming. It is fed with students' desire for fun, for good wishes, and for other unrecognizable reasons. Within a rhizome, the alike and unlike things are related and interdependent, producing structures that look different from each other and can appear in different places at the same time or at different times (Stables, 2004).

Therefore, it is important that teachers develop non-linear thinking to understand the complexities of children's creativity in literacy practices. Rather than understanding students and interpreting the meaning of different events in the school according to predetermined standards, teachers must be attentive to the conditions under which novel products and events are generated.

It is important for teachers to have a close collaboration with the children and encourage the children to tell more about their texts (a story, a drawing, and a mathematical equation) and their affective investments in multiple literacies (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011). It is also important that teachers consider the connections happening to the child while reading, reading the world and self, by asking questions like "What machinic assemblages in the child's mind produce the text? How? What are the child's perceptions and their links with different language contexts?" (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011, p. 303).

In addition, through the rhizome, Deleuze and Guattari invite us to consider action and consequence in terms of maps (Stables, 2004). This is an additive consequentialism, in which the addition is often qualitatively and quantitatively different from the cause. To do this, teachers should keep asking what might happen if... (e.g., I try a new method). Asking such questions helps educators to examine the potential of "thinking differently" with regard to current debates around educational practices (Leach & Boler, 1998). It is a significant way to explore processes

of becoming Other with multilingual children. It is also important to help teachers understand and engage learner's desires and whole beings so that learners can be motivated to install within themselves a program that ensures their commitment to life-long learning (Krejsler, 2004).

Unfolding multiple identities

Linda's response of "I am a living person" (see p.155 in chapter six) challenges the findings of some previous research in which immigrant children confronted with two different cultures are always struggling (e.g., Townsend & Fu, 1998; Wan, 2000). Cindy's sketch diary (see p. 146 in chapter six) and other students' travelling stories (see p. 163 in chapter six) tell that many factors contribute to students' identities, and these factors may change over the course of a lifetime and in different geographical spaces (Mahtani, 2002; Parker & Song, 2001; Root, 1996). As these students are mobile to imagine oneself as another, to take up new belongings, and to move across cultural, linguistic, ethnic, racial spaces of interaction and boundaries (Hébert, Wilkinson & Ali, 2008), it is important that educators unfold children's multiple and mobile identities and explore new possibilities for life.

Pennycook (2005) puts forward the need for a pedagogy of flow when he discusses how global Englishes become a shifting means of transcultural identity formation, focusing on the global culture of hip-hop in parts of East and Southeast Asia. With a pedagogy of flow, Pennycook argues the importance of taking into account the movement of transcultural forms but also of the local take-up of such forms. To teach with the flow, according to Pennycook, suggests not only incorporating students' transcultural texts into curriculum but also opening up possible knowledge, identity, and desire and engaging with multiple ways of speaking, being, and learning, with multilayered modes of identity at global, regional, national, and local levels.

An open system for curriculum and literacy theorizing

Teachers becoming co-apprentices with students, recognizing students' creativity, and unfolding their multiple identities indicate an open system for curriculum and literacy theorizing (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011). Teachers should learn to be open, responsive, flexible, and attentive to the complexity in children's literacies learning processes, recognizing the multiple forces that contribute to the complexity (Masny, 2009a). This requires a consideration of the pedagogical potentials of smooth and striated spaces (Masny, 2009a). Deleuze and Guattari (1987) construe space as striated and smooth. The distinction between smooth and striated spaces has a relationship with other contrasts, for example, between the rhizome and the tree representing different modes of organization and different modes of thought (Hodgson & Standish, 2006). According to Masny (2009a), striated spaces are spaces where literacy curriculum, programs, and standardized testing are working forces and establishing territories with expected outcome. On the other hand, smooth spaces are spaces where disruptions occur and changes happen with unexpected and uncertain outcomes. Striated spaces are metric, numerical, and dimensional of mass and of size while smooth spaces are projective, non-metric, and rhizomatic (Amorim & Ryan, 2005; Hodgson & Standish, 2006). However, "the two spaces in fact exist only in mixture: smooth space is constantly being translated, transversed into striated space; striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 474). Smooth spaces cannot operate without striated spaces and vice-versa.

In school settings, most literacy activities are mandated as striated space, with explicit teaching of the basics of reading and outcomes predicted by the curriculum. While these striating forces go on as part of the curriculum, other smoothing forces can be introduced into literacies curriculum creating smooth spaces where literacies contribute to changes in multiple and

different ways. Masny (2009a) illustrates the possibility of taking dance as part of children's physical education class. In dancing, with music and lyrics inspiring bodily movement, children are affected and changed, with various readings of self produced, probably with the desire to encounter other music or dance with one particular child. Following this, how can smoothing forces be introduced into literacies curriculum for the multilingual children in this bilingual program? Take Josh for instance. We can take Yugioh card playing as part of reading and math curriculum. The reading of the instructions, the vision of different pictures, and the discussions with classmates might affect Josh, producing his various self readings and the reading of the world: I am a good card player. I am good at reading. I want to write one article on today's class. I need to be careful in my math exam. I could score higher than the other boys. I should have read carefully, and so on. In this comprehensive multiple literacies approach, literacies permeate school life and connect with children's lives and literacy experiences beyond schools, opening the unknown and unpredictable paths to literacies (Masny, 2009a). This is also an example that teachers learn to set up nomadic classrooms which allow irregular and divergent spaces, allow children to exceed the boundaries of given territories, and encourage the unpredictable connections and creativity (Masny & Waterhouse, 2011). The nomadic classroom is not a static thing but rather a dynamic event that happens. It is a constant becoming, with various interactions among teachers, students, technologies, languages, behaviors, attitudes, and so on.

Policy Implications

First, the study implies that the Canadian policy of multiculturalism shouldn't put ethnicity as a primary marker of identity, as Mahtani (2002) argues. According to Mahtani, multicultural policy encourages individuals to use a hyphen as a way to affiliate with the culture and tradition of their choice while retaining Canadian citizenship, such as Italian-Canadian,

Japanese-Canadian, or Chinese-Canadian. While exploring how ‘mixed race’ women in Canada contemplate their relationship to national identity, Mahtani (2002) examined the problematic nature of the hyphen and the role it plays in articulating ethnic differences in Canada. These hyphens of multiculturalism “produces spaces of distance, in which ethnicity is positioned outside Canadianness — as an addition to it, but also as an exclusion from it” (Mahtani, 2002, p. 78). Meanwhile, the focus of multicultural policy on ethnicity “emphasises the past, putting a person’s identity by her parents’ origins, rather than by her own current set of ethnic allegiances” (Mahtani, 2002, p. 76).

Multilingual children in this study couldn’t be simply framed with their ethnic roots and origins. Most of the participating students have two or more ethnicities following parents and grandparents, such as John, Josh, and Cindy. More importantly, these children are not static between two or more ethnicities. They are mobile through transcultural processes and have complicated identity routes, changing with time and space, as shown in the vignettes such as Linda’s “I am a living person” and Cindy’s imagination of Harajuku Lovers.

Second, this research implies that the conceptualization of bilingual programs should take the practices of the classrooms into consideration, regarding the curriculum division and speaker division. According to Leung (2005), with curriculum division in a bilingual program, different teaching and learning activities are language-tagged. With the speaker division, teachers of the dominant language and the minority language are responsible for half of the curriculum in their own languages. Curriculum division and speaker division are used to conceptualize this Mandarin-English bilingual program in Ridgeville. As introduced in chapter three, the school handbook describes that for one class in the program, a native English speaking teacher instructs English Language Arts, Social Studies, and Health in only English. A native

Mandarin speaking teacher instructs Mandarin Language Arts, Math, and Science, with Mandarin as the main language of instruction.

Leung (2005) argues that these macro-level indices of curriculum division and speaker division are always abstract. They should be complemented with, and adjusted to what is done in the classrooms. According to Leung, two related pedagogic issues should draw attention. The first is the ways languages are actually used in classroom interaction and activities. The second is the demands and affordances of language learning in the context of curriculum subject learning.

Regarding the first issue of language uses, the classroom practices in this Mandarin-English bilingual program are complex. As discussed in the research, languages were not clearly separated in terms of moment-by-moment activities. Multilingual children in this bilingual program cross various language boundaries. Meanwhile, both teachers are not limiting their instruction in their own languages but encouraging students to use the languages at their comfort level. To a great extent, both teachers don't believe that code switching and languages mixing have a negative effect on students' learning and school achievement (e.g. Baetens Beardsmore 2003; Grima 2001).

Teachers' views are supported by researchers who have questioned the boundaries around languages regarding bilingual pedagogy (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2007; Hornberger, 2002, 2005; L'opez, 2008). For instance, Creese and Blackledge (2010) coin the term *heteroglossic* in their study to describe the teachers' creation of combining Gujarati and English, such as *bookma* and *yearma*. According to Creese and Blackledge, these heteroglossic phrases serve as a linguistic resource that the teacher uses to keep the classroom tasks moving forward. Usually coined by the teacher, these phrases are taken up and used by the students, as a seemingly acceptable form. L'opez (2008) also argues that "in indigenous everyday life, the two

-- or in some cases three or more -- languages are needed many times in connection to one another and not as discretely separate as is often supposed” (p. 143). Similarly, Hornberger (2005) suggests that “bi/multilinguals’ learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two+ languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices” (p. 607). Creese and Blackledge (2010) describe some of the specific knowledge and skills shown by classroom participants in practising flexible bilingualism and flexible pedagogy. These include the use of bilingual label quests, repetition, and translation across languages; the ability to engage audiences through translanguaging and heteroglossic; the use of student translanguaging to establish identity positions; recognizing that languages do not fit into clear bounded entities and that all languages are “needed” for meanings to be conveyed and negotiated; endorsement of simultaneous literacies and languages to keep the pedagogic task moving; recognition that teachers and students skilfully use their languages for different functional goals; and use of translanguaging for annotating texts, providing greater access to the curriculum and lesson accomplishment. All these strategies could be useful for students such as Linda and Cindy who haven’t developed a good balance of the two languages. The allowance for languages blurring could help to promote their confidence and academic development.

A second pedagogical issue to be considered regarding the conceptualization of a bilingual program is the demands and affordances of language learning in the context of curriculum subject learning (Leung, 2005). According to Leung, “students in bilingual programmes are also second/additional language learners of one (or more) of the languages used as mediums of instruction; as a consequence, successful outcome of second/additional language learning cannot be taken for granted” (p. 250). Therefore, the research developed in ESL

regarding the issues of language learning in the context of curriculum subject learning can be recontextualised and made relevant to the bilingual education research.

As introduced in chapter three, this Mandarin-English bilingual program recruits students with diverse linguistic backgrounds, with about 65% ESL students. In the classrooms, there is a good deal of variation in the ways that students and teachers respond to the language division and curriculum division. For students, they might take pride and ownership in one class or certain subjects but feel less comfortable and confident in the other class. For instance, Josh enjoyed Math and Science class but had little interest in English and Social Studies. Linda, with her profound knowledge in Chinese, couldn't take pride in the English class. Cindy had much difficulty following Mr. Wang if the instruction for Math and Science was all in Chinese. Regarding this language and curriculum division, the English and Chinese teachers discussed the difficulty of integrating the subjects they didn't teach into those subjects they taught. They also explained the difficulty of motivating children who had more interest in certain subjects which they were not assigned to teach. Some of their accounts were hesitant and vague, possibly due to their awareness of the program's official models which could prevent their classroom experiences that were divergent from the recommended practice (Leung, 2005).

In bilingual programs, students are expected to develop their knowledge and skills in two or more languages through the study of curriculum subjects, as well as languages. In this light, what space should different subjects such as Math, Science, and Social Studies take up in the classroom by territories? How could these territories be mapped with English Language Arts and Chinese Language Arts in this bilingual program? Some studies have been conducted on curriculum content-oriented second language teaching, where teachers identify subject-specific use of vocabulary and discourse expressions and build classroom strategies to promote both

understanding of the subject content and learning of English (e.g. Baker & Saul, 1994; Dale & Cuevas, 1987; Lee & Fradd, 1998; Stoddart, Pinal, Latzke & Canaday, 2002). These studies collectively provide implications for how to integrate academic subjects (such as Math, Science, Social Studies, and so on) with English language learning. They are helpful for moving teachers from viewing academic subjects and English as discreet, unrelated domains to creating a synergistic relationship between academic subjects and English development (Stoddart, Pinal, Latzke & Canaday, 2002).

These approaches can also be used to integrate academic subjects to the other language involved in a bilingual program, such as Chinese in this Mandarin-English bilingual program. In fact, there was a good deal of instructional integration of content domains and Chinese in Mr. Wang's class. For instance, in his Science class, he explained anemometer with “风速仪” (anemometer) and “是用来测风的速度的仪器” (a device used to measure the speed of wind) . When the academic content was about electricity, he listed “电灯”(lamp), “电池”(battery), “电视”(television), “电冰箱”(refrigerator), “电脑” (computer) and other Chinese words containing word “电” (electricity). These integrated instructions could assist students in mastering the Chinese language and simultaneously improve their achievement in academic subjects.

Therefore, in conceptualizing this Mandarin-English bilingual program, language uses (Chinese and English) could be integrated to curriculum content and communication processes in the classrooms. In addition to outlining in which curriculum areas English or Mandarin should be used as the instructional medium (for instance, Social Studies should be instructed in English; Math and Science should be instructed in Mandarin), we should add what key target language

should be prioritised, taking students' language and curriculum learning needs into account (Stoddart, Pinal, Latzke & Canaday, 2002).

Finally, regarding motivating students such as Josh who had more interest in subjects taught by another teacher, some alternative ways could be proposed. Take Science for instance. The two teachers could work collaboratively in teaching Science for the whole academic year. For the first half of the year, Mr. Wang could instruct Science and Chinese; Mrs. Sprau could take the second half of the year instructing Science and English. This pattern can also be made in the context of Math and Social Studies.

Implications for Future Research

While collecting data, I found these multilingual children were involved in more participatory and transcultural exchanges than were previously possible with only page-bound texts. They read current events via digital newsprint, inscribed ideas in blogs or emails, spoke with friends on sites like Facebook, Twitter, MSN, and Skype, played games on computers, I-pods, and I-pads, and watched movies and downloaded songs and stories in different languages. Their transnational communication and media use, rupturing the textual information and narrative forms implied by conventional forms of literacy, have extended the literacy resources and practices of young migrants and children of immigrants (Cruickshank 2004, 2006; Fitzgerald & Debski, 2006; Lee, 2006). Due to time and budget constraints, I did not explore further their broad range of languages, literacies, and identities in complex digital networks but did make note of this phenomena for further study.

Therefore, future studies can focus on literacy practices associated with transnational digital networks which are understudied in the education literature (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, 2009). As these children are acculturating within a world in which the movements of bodies,

media, technology, beliefs, and values occur on a transnational scale, literacy educators and researchers should ponder “how we could envision societal education that recognises and leverages these habits of mind and multilingual literacies as human resources to enhance our young people’s capacities as citizens and workers in a pluralistic world” (Lam & Rosario-Ramos, p. 187).

Future research could also try to adopt new ways to capture varied literacies, such as through the construction of cam-capture literacy (Cole, 2007), through self-recorded literacy videos of the students. The findings with such a method may represent a playful and multi-layered representation, such as boredom, time, face, inarticulation, teacher intervention, chaos, and self-consciousness, rather than fixed terms of pre-defined categories (Masny & Cole, 2007). These students’ reactions to literacy practices can be used as starting points for learning (Doecke & McClenaghan, 2004).

Limitations of the Study

I planned to observe participating students’ home literacies, however, I could not do this due to participant families’ time restraints or their reluctance for me to visit their homes. I collected some of participants’ journals and artifacts they completed at home. Data would be much richer if more home literacies could be observed, which would help to explore how the home learning environments influence children’s literacies and identities.

Moreover, this study did not examine how parents’ social classes influenced children’s literacies and identities. In future studies, a short survey could be conducted at the beginning of parents’ interviews to obtain some information about parents’ education, occupations or the family income. Such information would help to explore how families’ social classes contribute to children’s literacies and identities.

Reflections

I started exploring my Ph.D. dissertation topic by reading articles about the New Literacies Studies (NLS). As discussed by most researchers in this sociocultural paradigm, I tended to view literacy as a social and cultural practice and identity constructed as a position. However, the reading of Multiple Literacies Theory (MLT) and my subsequent readings about poststructural literature, particularly the work of Deleuze and Guattari led me into a world of confusion and enlightenment. On the one hand, poststructural vocabulary includes a rearticulation of familiar terms (Peters & Burbules, 2004). For instance in MLT, the terms *events*, *texts*, *investments*, *reading*, *transformations*, *creativity*, and *desire* are used in new ways and are combined with new concepts such as *deterritorialization*, *reterritorialization* and *becoming*. For Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor of rhizome, with its endless connection to anything familiar or unfamiliar, known or unknown, it can signify a sense of loss. Thus, the "philosophy of education can appear not as hegemonic, 'root-like' or 'rhizomatic' but, simply, as 'confusing'" (Gregoriou, 2004, p. 238). I was frustrated from time to time at reading and comprehending these concepts, questioning their applicability to my research.

With growing familiarity to MLT and Deleuze's works, I was inspired by the power of these terms for their disruption, linkage, and mapping. For instance, the rhizome as a metaphor allows analyzing complex phenomena located on several planes in complex webs of interconnections. These concepts can help to imply a generative education practice, challenging dominant institutions with most familiar and comfortable modes of speaking, thinking, and writing and asking us to see the danger or the harm even in what we take to be "good" (Peters & Burbules, 2004). These ideas would be inspiring for today's milieu of relatively conservative education research (Peters & Burbules, 2004).

Compared to weaving theoretical frameworks and reviewing literature, rhizomatic analysis of the data was most challenging for me. As discussed in chapter three, rhizoanalysis looks for what emerges through the intensive and immanent reading of data, rather than interpreting and ascribing meaning. Data, therefore, are transcendental, with perceptions and the thought of experience creating connections and becoming Other, rather than those viewed from the traditional way in which researchers seek fixed categories and themes. I struggled in this transfer from “traditional method” to “rhizomatic method,” attempting to map the connections through reading intensively and immanently the data created by students’ perceptions and their thoughts of experience. Meanwhile, I kept questioning to what degree these two methods differed from each other. Since the rhizome is used in flexible and varied ways in the scholarly articles that I reviewed, I was wondering how I could best make use of rhizomatic analysis in my research. My doubts, contradiction, and uncertainty continued for a long time.

However, I felt more confident when I read Deleuze (1990) on his explanation that everyone took what he or she needed or wanted and what he or she could use when reading. Honan (2007) also proposes that there is no one, correct way through a rhizome and no one true way of reading rhizomatic texts. These views ensure my (im)plausible readings of the data and greatly encouraged me to move along.

Reflections were going on during the whole research process. I kept thinking about the ways I collected my data, the activities I invited participants to participate in, and the questions for interviews. For instance, at the beginning of data collection, I obtained mostly the students’ works as a product, including their finished writings, Power Points, and so on. I read and went back to the students with more specific questions regarding their works. While I read more about MLT, I began to focus more on the literacy process, looking for what emerged and what

connections happened to the participants. I stayed closer and longer with them, asking questions to capture their momentary perceptions and thoughts.

I also realized it was difficult to limit these students on certain activities. These students, to some degree, didn't pay much attention to my predesigned activities such as telling stories or drawing pictures about who they are and where they like. Instead, they represented themselves in their favorable ways, such as writing personal stories, sending me pictures via emails, creating artifacts, chatting with me online, and so on. How could I restrain their freedom and creativity through my predetermined ways?

I did not have opportunities to observe participants' home literacy as I had originally planned. However, rhizoanalysis is temporal, only reflecting a certain period of time, no matter how much data I collected. It is not an analysis of starting and finishing, but an analysis of coming and going, of offshoots and new directions (Hagood, 2002b). Following Hagood, I use rhizoanalysis as a means to jump into the lives of my participant students—all of which happened before my arrival into their scene and continued after I departed from their lives.

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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

With the coordinator

1. Can you please describe the provincial and national policies regarding the bilingual programs in the Prairie Provinces of Canada? What do you think of such policies?
2. Can you please tell me about the history of this bilingual program? Why and how was it established?
3. What are the goals of this bilingual program? What are the goals specifically for children's literacy and identity development in this program?
4. How are the provincial education curricula implemented in the program?
5. What do you think about the financial, human and teaching resources for this program?
6. Are there any models of instruction for some particular subjects? How are they implemented in the daily teaching?

With the teachers

1. What is your educational background?
2. How do your learning experiences influence your teaching?
3. How do you feel about the bilingual instruction in this program?
4. What does it mean to be literate in English/Chinese? Can you please give me an example?
5. What are your goals for students' literacy development?
6. Do you know something about students' family literacy practices? Do you use some of these family literacy practices in your teaching? In what ways?
7. How do you understand students' identities?
8. In what ways do you communicate with parents?
9. What are your challenges in teaching in this bilingual program?
10. What would you change about the current teaching situation?

With parents

1. What are your values and beliefs on education? 你怎样看待对孩子的教育?
2. What does it mean to be literate? 你怎样理解 literate?
3. What are your expectations for your child's literacy development? 你对孩子读写能力发展的期望是怎样的?
4. How do you help your child with her/his literacy learning? 你怎样帮助孩子发展他们的读写能力?
5. What are your family literacy practices? 孩子在家里的读写行为有哪些?
6. What kinds of identities do you hope your child can develop? 你希望孩子发展怎样的身份认同?

7. How do you help your child with her/his identity development? Can you give some examples?
你怎样帮助孩子发展他们的身份认同？能举一些例子吗？
8. What does it mean to be a Chinese in Canada? What does it mean to be a Canadian? What does it mean to be a Chinese Canadian? Can you give some examples? 你怎样理解在加拿大的中国人？成为一个加拿大人是什么意思？中国加拿大人是什么意思？能举例说明吗？
9. Why do you choose this bilingual program for your child? What do you think of the bilingual education your child is receiving? 为什么为孩子选择这个双语项目？你觉得孩子在这里受到的教育是怎样的？
10. What are your concerns and difficulties in helping with your child's literacy and identity development? 你在帮助孩子发展读写能力和身份认同方面有什么担心和困难吗？