Teachers! This is the kind of work required of you: You must get acquainted with these people of divers nationalities and interpret to them what our Canadian citizenship means. The solution of the racial problem lies almost wholly in your hands; the future of our glorious country largely depends upon your attitude on this national issue. (Anderson, 1918, p. 135)

Defining Canadian culture and preparing L2 teachers to integrate it in a comprehensive and relevant way in our multicultural classrooms is certainly one of the greatest challenges our profession has faced in the last few decades. (Courchêne, 1996, p. 14)

The quotations above are taken from the works of two leading educators who have been fairly often cited in commentaries dealing with immigrant second-language education. Although they differ greatly in terms of time and orientation, they share the common belief that second-language teachers have an important role in the cultural integration of newcomers to Canada. This belief is similarly reflected in government documents related to the current structure of national English as a Second Language programs (Government of Canada, 1991a, 1991b) and in a plethora of teaching materials and curriculum guidelines (Ilieva, 2000).

The role ESL teachers play in regard to Canadian culture and identity is also at the heart of an increased debate found in issues of the TESL Canada Journal. Recent articles have attempted to provide an analytic framework for cultural content in ESL instruction (James, 2000), recommended the development of cross-cultural awareness in classes (Murray & Bollinger, 2001), and outlined an interesting and exciting methodological approach in which learners and teachers explore different attitudes toward identity and culture (Ilieva, 2001).

How should ESL teachers help newcomers in their classes conceive of themselves as “Canadians”? This has been one of the most problematic questions I have grappled with as a teacher and curriculum writer. Like many in our profession, I have been disturbed by the stereotypical descriptions and definitions of Canadian identity and culture found in many curricula and teaching guidelines. My own curriculum development work is not beyond criticism in this regard. It seems that teachers are often encouraged in these documents to conceive of their students as passive objects to be molded
into a monolithic version of Canadian national identity. The case I make here, however, is that learner identity construction is an active, dynamic, and complex process. Along parallel lines, definitions of Canadian identity are changeable, multifaceted, and, most important, contested. The evolving links between personal and nation-state identity construction are important for both teachers and learners to understand, especially in an age of globalization.

I begin with some personal comments to illustrate the problem that I am addressing. I then cite Norton (2000) to provide a definition of identity in the context of second-language education, before providing an outline of some pertinent issues related to multiculturalism. I note that state identities are also changeable, complex, multidimensional, and moreover contested. I then return to quotations at the beginning of this article in order to illustrate how expectations of ESL teachers by policy-makers have historically changed. An explication of four exemplary research studies follows this, which draws out some concrete recommendations about emancipatory educational practice. I conclude by referring to recently published work on globalization as a way of pointing out the directions debates about culture are now taking and to underline the importance of these issues to our learners and ourselves as teachers.

The Problem

Many of us in the profession undoubtedly remember The Sourcebook (Government of Canada, 1991b), a notorious set of teaching guidelines that the federal government commissioned for Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC). This document defined a static version of Canadian culture and recommended that teachers instruct their learners in things like proper hygiene and morals. Like many, I refused to use a document so filled with condescending stereotypes and was delighted when it was later withdrawn after a flurry of protest by immigrant-serving agencies.

Despite this history, however, most ESL curriculum documents and teaching guidelines still tend to exhibit the same orientation toward Canadian culture and learners. Most of the more popular teacher training textbooks, for example (Brown, 1994; Nunan, 1991; Larsen-Freeman, 2000; Ur, 1999), treat culture in a cursory manner if at all. Moreover, when culture is treated, it is usually described as being expert knowledge that a teacher simply transmits to students. Brown's text, for example, advises teachers that "whenever you teach a language, you also teach a complex system of cultural customs, values, and ways of thinking, feeling and acting" (p. 25). As is typically the case, there is no reference to culture as a dynamic or mutually constructed entity in this popular and otherwise authoritative training textbook. Although it is true that we have a responsibility to ensure that our students are well armed with cultural knowledge for high-stakes situations,
our teacher training and curricula pay scant attention to how immigrants to Canada contribute to the construction of our national identity. We are often advised to teach culture as if it were a set of immutable facts.

This approach to treating culture can cause major problems for our learners. I will always remember an experience I had while teaching a job-search component in my level 3 LINC class. I had prepared my learners for a series of information interviews I had arranged for them with employers by going through "Canadian cultural expectations." You can probably guess the sort of thing I taught: the importance of direct eye contact; a firm but polite handshake; and no need to display certificates or diplomas. One of my students was angry with me when she returned from her interview. She had been interviewed by a woman of Middle-Eastern descent who appeared to have different assumptions than those I had taught her to expect. Most of the "norms" I had covered in class were not applicable to the situation in which my student had found herself. I had neglected to include in my lessons the important points that not everyone follows strict Anglocentric sets of expectations in job interviews and that one should be flexible in such high-stakes situations.

In the process of writing this article, I have reevaluated my own teaching in light of the concerns that Cummins (1988) has raised about learner identity construction and larger social contexts. He succinctly expresses these concerns in a recent question he asked educators online: "Are we preparing students to accept the societal status quo (and in many cases their own inferior status therein) or are we preparing them to participate actively and critically in their society as equal partners with those who come from dominant group backgrounds?" (2002). I take the concept of identity as my starting point in dealing with this question.

Identity

Identity theory has increasingly become an area of interest and research in second-language education. Recent studies in the field have provided broad theoretical backgrounds (McNamara, 1997), concentrated on the formation of learner identity in relationship to language and culture (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Thesen, 1997; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Guardado, 2001; Parks, 2000), and looked at the formation of teacher identity (Tang, 1997; Amin, 1997).

In her influential study, Norton (2000) used the term identity "to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed over time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 5). She notes that poststructuralist theory depicts individual subjectivity as non-unitary, "diverse, contradictory, dynamic and changing over historical time and social space" (p. 125).
As her starting point, Norton (2000) provides a useful critique of Schumann's (1978) acculturation model in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theory, which holds that learners progress largely to the extent that they identify with, or acculturate to, the target language community. Norton's critique of this well-known model is that "differences between language learners and target language speakers are not theorized in terms of power, which compromise efforts by language learners to interact with target language speakers and promote SLA" (p. 119). Any theoretical analysis along these lines, as Norton notes, must include a discussion of the social structures involved in the production and replication of power relations.

Significant theoretical work has also looked more closely at the collective or cultural contexts of identity as they relate to postmodernism (Hall, 1992; Ivanic, 1999). This trend is mirrored in recent research studies that have examined how identities are constructed in a multitude of contexts (Bhabha, 1996; Hartley, 1994; Saxena, 1994; Walter, 1998). I examine below four research studies along similar lines that provide particularly relevant and practical insights for teachers. First, however, I set the context, first, in terms of Canadian culture and second, in terms of what is expected of second-language teachers.

Please note that the discussions that follow are from the perspective of an ESL educator. I cannot claim to have any experience or expertise in how French as a Second Language (FSL) programs operate in the context of Canadian multicultural language policy. Nor am I making the assumption that FSL educators face the same set of issues as the one I examine below. I would highly value any comments FSL educators would like to make regarding the issues I raise in this article.

Multiculturalism and Changing Visions of Canadian Culture

As a number of theorists have pointed out (Hall, 1992; White & Hunt, 2000), personal identity is closely interconnected with collective or national identities. National identity and culture often appear to be unchanging and unidimensional, systems of symbols, behaviors, and values that are somehow immutable or even ethereal (Fulford, 1993). Every nation-state must "create a coherent national identity and ... subordinate sub-regional or diverse ethnic identities in order to complement ideologically the economic union" (Teeple, 2000, p. 164). The construction of this coherent or "ideal" culture is through the interaction of individual and group variations of "real" cultures (Murphy, 1971). Conceptions of real and ideal cultural identities, of course, change over time and are continually contested. In the case of the Canadian identity, these struggles have been significant (Kymlicka, 1992; Burt, 1986; Kaplan, 1993).

Since 1971 multiculturalism has been an important aspect of Canadian state policy. This policy was in response to increased immigration, the need
to develop a distinct national identity in the face of an increasingly aggressive United States presence, and the discontent expressed by immigrant groups about the designation of French and English as official languages (Esses & Gardner, 1996). The policy became an important step in the creation of an officially bilingual and multicultural state and was essential, according to Prime Minister Trudeau (1971), for Canadian unity and economic development.

As Tomkins (1978) has pointed out, however, multiculturalism as a physical reality existed long before it became official state policy. In fact, the first educational institution in what would become Canada, Quebec’s Jesuit school founded in 1632, had a multicultural student body from its beginning. Moreover, the education of immigrants with backgrounds that were neither French nor English was always problematic for Canadian educators, long before Quebec’s Bill 101. In the Upper Canada of 1844, for example, Egerton Ryerson, the first Chief Superintendent of Schools, agonized over how to assimilate the newly arrived Catholic Irish into a system designed to promote Protestant “Anglo-conformity.”

Canada’s multicultural policy has had many critics. Young (1987) condemns the policy as assuming that “inequality is based on individualistic prejudices stemming either from ignorance or from fears about unfamiliar cultures” (p. 10). He contends that this kind of analysis is not sufficient in that understanding relations of exploitation or oppression is impossible without making sense of them in terms of “The Nation.” Each and every form of ethnic, linguistic, religious, racial and indeed national social identity in Canada has been fabricated into a certain nationality through maintaining the dominance of some social identity (a certain patriarchal Englishness) against and under which ... all others are subordinated.

(pp. 10-11)

Multiculturalism has been criticized not only in terms of how it has applied specifically in Canada, but also in general theoretically. Critical multiculturalism, a term first coined by the Chicago Cultural Studies Group (1992), is a way of critiquing how multiculturalism has been dominated by Anglo-American discourses, shorn of its critical content by corporate interests, and filled with western-orientated identity politics.

The exact perimeters of this perspective are highly contested academically (Dalaimo, 1998; Kincheloe & Steingerg, 1997). McLaren (2001) and McLennan (2001), to cite but one example, have engaged in debate in which McLennan argued that critical multiculturalism to date has been inconsistent, especially in its emphasis on the differences between identity groups. McLaren, on the other hand, called for a materialist foundation for the perspective with greater emphasis on class struggle and critiques of global capitalism.
However or whatever one wishes to define or include in critical multiculturalism, the common thread among those who claim this perspective is how culture is viewed as contested and ever-changing, not an immutable set of racial or language-group characteristics.

Critiques of multiculturalism in the context of education have also been substantial. Building on Cummins (1988), Corson (1990) notes that multicultural education is laudable only if it is augmented with anti-racist pedagogy. Without this addition, multiculturalism “may provide only a veneer of change that perpetuates discriminatory educational structures. It does little to examine the causes of minority students’ academic difficulties nor to mitigate variations in achievement that different groups have” (p. 150).

Kubota (2001) provides a good example of the usefulness of critical multiculturalism specifically in the field of second-language education. In her influential article, Kabota outlines how SLA research commonly compares and contrasts stereotypical images of classrooms in the US and Asia. Characteristics supposedly common in Asian classrooms such as subservience to authority and passive learning styles were given different values when found in western classrooms. These characteristics were negatively portrayed when found in Asia, but given positive attributes when found in North America. For Kubota, definitions of culture are dynamic points of struggle. Like other educators who hold critical multicultural perspectives, Kubota believes strongly in pedagogical practice that opens the possibilities for emancipation. I now turn to an examination of how teachers in Canada have been viewed in this regard.

Changing Expectations of the ESL Teacher

In the works from which I took the quotations at the beginning of this article, Anderson (1918) and Courchêne (1996) charge second-language teachers with tasks that have quite different goals. Anderson was a highly influential educator, an inspector of schools and director of education for new Canadians in 1918. He emphasized the need for teachers to adopt a “missionary spirit” for the task of stamping out bilingualism and promoting Anglo-Canadian values and culture. Anderson was later elected premier of Saskatchewan. His notoriously conservative government restricted French and minority language rights until they were defeated at the polls in 1934, accused of corruption and having links with the Ku Klux Klan.

Whereas Anderson’s (1918) definition of citizenship and culture is static and chauvinistic, Courchêne (1996), the director of a language institute in Ontario, uses one that is dynamic and inclusive. He draws on Damen (1986) to emphasize that culture is learned, changeable, a universal fact of human life, a network of relationships and values, transmitted through language, and a filtering device. Courchêne also makes the case for a new cultural vision that reflects Canada’s past, is built around a series of common rights
and freedoms, is reflected in common traditions and symbols, and explains why inequalities exist and what should be done about them. Courchène’s advice to ESL teachers is explicitly framed in terms of critical multiculturalism. He recommends that teachers provide a balanced and critically aware view of Canadian culture so that they can “internalize it, transform it and return it to us in a new form that incorporates the content of their first culture” (p. 25).

Four Research Studies

With the context set theoretically and historically, I now illustrate how identity operates in four research studies conducted by (a) Wong, Duff, and Early (2001); (b) Morgan (1997); (c) Duff and Uchida (1997); and (d) Norton (2000). I do this in order to concretize the issues I raise above into a practical set of guidelines that can be used to inform the pedagogy that Courchène (1996) calls for. In the interests of clarity, I summarize these guidelines in point-form at the end of this section.

I have chosen to focus on the four studies in question because they examine slightly different aspects of how identity operates in ESL classes and afford me the best opportunity to examine a wide range of practical issues for the classroom. In addition, they stand as excellent examples of how research can productively interact with practice.

Wong, Duff, and Early

Wong, Duff, and Early’s (2001) study focused on the employment barriers and personal benefits nine respondents experienced as a result of their completion of a combined ESL and healthcare aid training program. The learners under study were all immigrants to Canada, although several had lived in the country for an extended period. The study was qualitative and exploratory; data were collected through the use of structured interviews and document analysis. Three categories of learners were identified: those who were foreign-trained nurses; those who had previous work experience in health care; and those who were seeking a new career path. The findings were analyzed in terms of the effect of the training on employment, the participants’ interactions in public and private spheres, and their identities and settlement. The study concluded that the training had significant positive effects on the employment, identities, and integration of the participants interviewed and recommended that ESL professionals become advocates for similar programs.

The study explicitly linked the development of personal identity with the settlement integration of the respondents. Several examples were given of the importance of learning English in developing confidence to make contacts and interact with “Canadian people” (p. 22). One participant elected to turn down full-time employment where her first language was the predomi-
nant language of the workplace in order to take a part-time position where
she could improve her English and integrate faster into Canadian society.
Another respondent expressed frustration with her co-workers because they
chose to speak their common first language in the workplace and not
English.

Wong et al.’s (2001) study is interesting in the context of my discussion
because it explores relationships between a learner’s English language
ability, self-confidence, career goals and integration. These relationships are
complex and fluid. The study also illustrates the importance of realistically
appraising barriers to language learning and employment in the context of
settlement. These barriers do exist and learners should be armed by their
teachers with realistic methods to deal with them. Classroom activities re­
lated to hiring procedures, for example, should include a discussion of the
realistic options learners have when they encounter racism, sexism, or other
forms of discrimination. Romantic or noncritical treatments of this topic can
be highly detrimental.

In addition, Wong et al.’s (2001) study provides more than a concrete
example of the advantages of a learner-centered approach. It also underlines
the importance of taking affective variables such as self-confidence into
account. Teachers must frame the language content, activities, and materials
in terms of both a learner’s goals and sense of worth. Previous accomplish­
ments, for example, should be acknowledged by linking them to present
activities or future goals. These elements all help make up a learner’s iden­
tity. It is no good to tell a learner that his or her past or current occupation are
poor compared with a future career toward which he or she might be striv­
ing. Rather, their previous and present jobs should be validated.

Morgan

Morgan’s (1997) study was conducted in a settlement ESL program and
focused on a series of interconnected classroom activities that dealt with the
sociolinguistic implications of sentence intonation. The learners were first
asked to read a description of an immigrant family in which the husband
exerts control over the interactions his wife has outside the home. The
learners then debated how the wife could resolve the conflict she anticipates
having with her husband when she expresses a desire to take English classes
in a nearby community center. Incorporating some of the ideas that the
learners discussed, the instructor prepared a lesson that demonstrated how
communication could be conveyed in this situation through intonation to
convey annoyance, acceptance, confidence, displeasure, or surprise. The ac­
tivity was then extended to role-play and dialogue writing.

The study employed an unorthodox methodology. Morgan (1997) him­
self was the teacher who designed and implemented the lessons studied. He
used no formal methods of discovery, confining his data collection largely to
the notes that he himself took during and after the activities he described. Morgan took this stance toward research in the interests of establishing a more equitable relationship with his learners. He pointed out that many of his learners would view “traditional” research techniques as forms of surveillance similar to the police activity they had experienced in their first countries.

This researcher’s study is interesting in the context of my discussion because it reveals the role a teacher can play in the construction of identity. As an instructor, Morgan (1997) explicitly designed his lessons to teach his learners how to say “dangerous things” (p. 446), using an example of marital conflict. The study shows how he presented ways for learners to experiment with identities related to changing roles in the family in the context of immigrant integration. The students clearly enjoyed the opportunity to try on different roles.

In addition, Morgan’s (1997) study reveals that cultural content should be presented critically and role-play activities should provide opportunities for experimentation with identities. Cultural content should not be presented as unchangeable, monolithic, or privileged. Models of Canadian family life, for example, should be represented as complex and multifaceted, not as a set of proscribed ideals. His study is also an excellent example of the teacher as researcher, pointing to the role practitioners can play in the construction of cultural knowledge and theory.

Duff and Uchida

Duff and Uchida’s (1997) study was a six-month ethnographic exploration of how four teachers in an English as a Foreign Language setting shaped their sociocultural identities. It looked at the interrelationship between their identities, teaching practices, understandings of culture, and modes of cultural transmission in the classroom. The teachers were employed by a Japanese postsecondary institution to teach English and North American culture. Two of the teachers were born in the US and two in Japan. In order to collect data, the researchers used teacher-student questionnaires, participant journals, taped classroom observations, post-observation interviews, field notes, life-history interviews, reviews of instructional material, and research journals.

The study found that although the teachers perceived themselves in terms of their personal histories, they were also continually negotiating their own identities in terms of pedagogical and professional contexts. This process was complex due to the continual changes in classroom or institutional culture, instructional materials, and reactions from student and colleagues.

Three important and common themes emerged from the data. First, the process of identity formation was complex for the teachers under study. Contradictions and paradoxes sometimes arose; changes in identity were not uniform or predictable; many aspects of identity construction were often
invisible to the participants; and institutional and societal demands were important factors. Second, the teachers sought interpersonal and intercultural connections in the construction of identity between themselves, their students and a wide variety of contexts. Third, the teachers expressed great desire for personal and educational control over their professional lives.

In terms of my discussion, this study is important even though it was conducted in an English as a Foreign Language setting because it examined the identity construction of teachers. It showed that a teacher's identity is also not unidimensional or static. In the classroom, this concretely means that teachers must be aware that they are not simple conduits for the transmission of cultural content. Their task is to interpret critically and negotiate cultural meanings with their learners. Teachers must then avoid attempts to provide "objective" truths in their presentations of culture and acknowledge their own subjectivity in the classroom. This does not mean that teachers have the right to force opinions on learners, but it does mean that teachers must recognize their own responsibilities in the interpretation of culture. Teachers should not be afraid, for example, to describe their own family history in the context of immigration and settlement.

Norton
In an extended study that took two years for data collection, Norton (2000) investigated the relationship a group of learners developed with the social contexts in which they lived in an effort to see how they constructed identity. She made initial contact with them as one of their instructors in a community college settlement ESL class and followed up with writing samples, interviews, questionnaires, and a diary study. In designing the study, Norton took time to ensure that "questions of gender, race, class and ethnicity were in the analysis" (p. 22) and that the learners were able to make sense of their own experiences and the investment they were making in language-learning. In conceptualizing her own role as a researcher, Norton took pains to develop empowering relationships with the learners, respecting them as participants rather than as mere subjects for analysis.

On the basis of her study, Norton argued "that the learning of a second language is not simply a skill that is acquired through hard work and dedication, but a complex social practice that engages the identities of language learners in ways that have received very little attention" (p. 132). These identities were not static or unidimensional, as Norton demonstrated in her close examination of her learners' experiences. They often contained contradictions and changed over time and space. The study also showed how power relations affected these learners in the construction of their identities.

Norton's work is especially pertinent to my discussion when she examines multiculturalism. In a description of a classroom activity in which
other learners gave presentations about their native countries, one of the students complained that she was learning nothing new or meaningful. In view of this, Norton developed three recommendations for classroom instruction. First, teachers must help learners critically examine their experiences, both before and after coming to Canada. Second, teachers must go beyond simple affirmations of different cultures and explore how perceptions of cultural differences are produced. Third, the teacher cannot be invisible during such activities, but must provide directions and critiques to help learners examine cultural issues critically.

Norton's work shows that teachers must provide directions and critiques to help learners examine cultural issues critically in the context of their own experiences, both before and after coming to Canada. It also demonstrates that teachers must go beyond simple descriptions of different cultures in order to indicate how culture is produced. Again, cultural and identity construction should be viewed as a dynamic process. Culture must also be contextualized in terms of the totality of a learner's life experience, including those that are celebratory or painful. Discussion about one's first country, for example, must be more than descriptions of ethnic dances or food. The difficulties associated with immigration cannot be confined to learning what might be unfamiliar tasks like using ATM machines. Teachers do not have to turn ESL lessons into group therapy sessions, but we do need to give learners opportunities to engage in class activities with their entire identities.

In the interests of clarity, I now summarize in point form the conclusions drawn by these studies that pertain to my discussion here. In choosing treatment options for the classroom, these studies show that we should:
- stress the importance of linking learners' English language abilities with their self-confidence, career goals, and integration into Canadian society;
- recognize the importance of learner-centered approaches in strengthening self-esteem;
- realistically appraise the concrete societal barriers learners face in achieving their goals;
- explore different approaches to interacting with our students in ways that take power dynamics in the classroom into account;
- present cultural content as complex and dynamic processes to which learners have contributions to make;
- recognize that as teachers we also have identities that change;
- not act as if we were mere conduits for the transmission of "objective" cultural information;
- understand our responsibilities in helping learners develop a critical awareness of the dynamic aspects of culture and the vital role that they themselves play in constructing Canadian national identity.
Globalization and Future Directions

The importance of our roles as second-language teachers in the construction of personal and national identity will not change. The nature of those roles will change, however, linked as they are to the vast changes that larger social structures are undergoing as globalization rapidly strengthens its influence. The pace of change is dizzying, so fast in fact that the second-language policies of most nations are ill equipped to deal with changing notions such as community and native speakers (Harris, Leung, & Rampton, 2002).

Canada may have had some advantages that other nations have not had in regard to the formulation of multicultural language policy. However, it appears that Canadian second-language programs have not yet seriously come to grips with how literacy is developing in complexity and purpose (New London Group, 1996) or how new formulations of civic and social spheres are challenging established forms of discourse and genre (Luke, 1997).

These issues have great importance to how language policy manifests itself in our communities and classrooms as several important academic studies have recently shown. Mitchell’s (2001) research study of the struggles about the goals of public education in British Columbia, for example, illustrates how public debates often feature competing claims from first- and second-language communities. She demonstrates the strong influence of transnational narratives on these struggles. Heller’s (2002) revisiting of Canadian bilingual education programs is another striking example of this kind of inquiry. She notes that in an age of globalization, contradictions have arisen between language as a mark of authenticity and belonging or identity, and language as an acquirable technical skill and marketable commodity (p. 47).

Connecting globalization to our practice is a fundamental part of understanding how, as ESL teachers, we connect with our learners’ identities. As Norton (2000) has suggested, it is imperative that we understand identity “in reference to larger, and frequently inequitable, social structures that are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction” (p. 5).

As the processes of globalization intensify, the pressures on second-language programs will increase. The outmoded assumptions that I refer to in my discussion above are deeply disturbing in view of the important position SLA teachers occupy in terms of the construction of Canadian culture. We cannot regard Canadian culture as a pristine set of immutable facts to be transmitted to our students. Presentations about hockey, for example, are one-sided if limited to mythic representations of frozen ponds and Canadian team sweaters. Nor should our history be represented as an unproblematic and inevitable progress toward our status as the world’s “best place to live.” The critical perspectives I outline above are important for us to consider. Our
practice must reflect the fact that our learners are dynamically constructing their identity as Canadians out of what they find useful. In real ways they are transforming what they encounter both in and outside our classes into a new vision of our national identity.

We influence this process as ESL teachers in important ways. We can stymie this process by continuing to transmit the mythos of a monolithic and Anglocentric Canadian culture, or we can seriously engage our learners and ourselves in the construction of the kind of Canadian culture we want to build. Links between the construction of personal and nation-state identities should be explicitly made in the classroom. This task is of vital importance not only to ourselves as teachers and learners, but also to the nation in which we live.

Acknowledgments
I would like to thank Drs. J. Willinsky, L. Shi, and B. Norton for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

The Author
Douglas Fleming is a doctoral student in the Language and Literacy Department at the University of British Columbia. He also teaches LINC/ELSA for the Surrey School District. Since 1984 Doug has been an adult ESL teacher, curriculum developer, and program supervisor in a variety of programs in Louisiana, Toronto, and BC. His current research focus is on how community literacy practices shape immigrant identities in the context of multicultural language policy.

References


