



Yo Cuento¹ - Latin American Newcomer Children Tell Their Stories

Monica Valencia²

ABSTRACT Despite considerable interest in studying newcomer children to Canada, few studies include this population group as study participants. This study involved 10 children born in Latin America who have lived in Canada for five years or less. Study participants were between the ages of 9 and 11; five boys and five girls. Five children were from Colombia, two from Venezuela, one from Mexico, one from Bolivia, and one from Ecuador. I conducted individual research sessions where children and I drew, wrote, and conversed. Children drew the most significant events in their migration process and wrote short narratives. The main findings from this study include the impact of grandmother/grandchild separation on immigrant children, children's multiple transitions across countries and within Canada, children's worries due to language barriers, and the value children place on peer cultural brokering. The study concludes with recommendations to listen to newcomer children in order to better serve and help with their transition period in a new environment

Key words: Immigrant children, Latin America, loss, residential mobility, cultural brokering

Introduction

Migrant children tend to be absent from research and policy-related projects. Often researchers consult adults instead of children (Albanese 2009; Morrow and Richards 1996; Hill et al. 1996); however, there is no guarantee that their representations of children's views and understandings are accurate (Albanese 2009). Many studies also tend to focus on either youth or kindergarten children, and often, middle childhood is overlooked (Hill et al. 1996). Other researchers are discouraged from reaching out to children due to the ethical complications and the disconnect that exists between a child participant and an adult researcher (Colbert 2010). Another reason for their exclusion is the "long-held belief that [newcomer] children adapt quickly" and that they do not get homesick (Fantino and Colak 2001). Boyd (2006), for example, states that children acclimatize more easily than their parents. Nonetheless, children's silent approach to immigration issues does not mean they are coping well with their new environment (Fantino and Colak 2001). Fantino and Colak note that perhaps their lack of expression is due to adults' unwillingness to listen. The book *The Inner World of the Immigrant Child* explains that silence is a process in which the child is negotiating and filtering his/her surroundings (Igoa 1995).

¹ *Yo cuento* is Spanish for I matter/I narrate

² Monica Valencia holds a Master's Degree in Immigration and Settlement Studies from Ryerson University. Her research interests include qualitative methodologies, immigration, and newcomer children. She has worked in the non-profit sector as project lead and currently works at CERIS, a knowledge exchange hub for migration research.

That means that although there is no external dialogue there are many conversations taking place internally.

The two types of investigations that do include newcomer children as key informants are clinical studies and evaluations of programs for bilingual literacy development (Esquivel et al. 2010; Dual-Language Book Club 2009; Taylor et al. 2008; Bleiker et al. 2008; Cummins et al. 2006; Rousseau et al. 2005; Bagilishya et al. 1998). Based on this approach, this study sought to discover what children themselves experience as immigrants, how they feel throughout those experiences and what interpretations they assign to those experiences.

Background

Separation from grandparents

The literature fails to address both the separation between newcomer children and their grandparents and the hardships of living with that loss. Many scholars assume that the only separation that can be emotionally devastating for children is from the parents who emigrate (León and Serrano 2010; Todorova et al. 2005; Falicov 2005). Moreover, the literature on migration presents loss only in relation to adult immigrants who miss their extended family members (Todorova et al. 2005; Falicov 2003; Orozco and Orozco 2001). Despite researchers acknowledging that the definition of the nuclear family needs to be extended to include the composition of immigrant families (Thomson and Minkler 2007a; Telegdi 2006; Goodman and Silverstein 2002), their studies continue to overlook the link that exists between the immigrant child and the grandparent who stays behind.

Residential Mobility

The literature teaches about the stress caused by immigration (García Coll and Magnuson 2005; Orozco and Orozco 2001; Bonovitz 2004) and about the negative repercussions that residential mobility has on children (Bose et al. 2007; Hanna 2003; Tucker et al. 1998). However, these two types of “moves” are not explored collectively. Moreover, the use of quantitative methodology in this research area limits the depth of the results (Fong and Hou 2001; Tucker et al. 1998; Hagan et al. 1996). The effects of residential mobility are commonly measured in terms of academic success and rates of high school completion (Bose et al. 2007; Hanna 2003) and not by the psychological impact or emotional wellbeing of mobile children. Consequently, children cannot express their feelings of anxiety and disorientation, nor can they inform on their coping mechanisms.

School Life and Language

A large body of literature explores the school experiences of immigrant students, including language acquisition (Souto-Manning 2007; García Coll and Magnuson 2005), poor academic performance (Schugurensky 2009; Yau & O’Reilly 2009), stigmatization (Entorf and Lauk 2006) and identity conflict (Louie 2006). It is also common to find discussions on the role of parents and the dynamics of peer influence (Perren et al. 2010; Bernhard 2009; MacNaughton 2001). Despite all, it is rare to find data that result from personal interviews with children. This is due

to the fact that a lot of studies are concerned with school experiences but not with the day-to-day lives of newcomer children (Díaz 2002).

Cultural and Language Mediation

Research seems to mainly concentrate on cultural brokering offered by children or youth to their parents (Orellana 2009; Love and Buriel 2007; Morales and Hanson 2005). On the other hand, language mediation (cultural brokering by and for classmates) receives less attention. The literature on language mediation in dual-language classrooms paints a picturesque image. Children scaffold for each other and invest in their peers' second language acquisition (Angelova et al. 2006; Olmedo 2003; Rubinstein-Ávila 2003). But little is known about monolingual classrooms. Additionally, studies on language mediation are concerned with young elementary students (Coyoca and Lee 2009; Olmedo 2003), excluding the experiences of older children. Lastly, measuring scales and observations are the main sources of data, silencing the views of those in the midst of it all (Benner 2011; Angelova et al. 2006; Rubinstein-Ávila 2003).

Theoretical Framework

The new sociology of childhood was the most appropriate approach to guide the research design and data analysis of this study. This theoretical understanding focuses on children in the present and not on who they will become (Corsaro 2005). It positions children as competent social agents who have the capacity for autonomy and decision-making (James et al. 1998) as agents and doers who actively participate in their social environment (Corsaro 2005). Children are viewed as being able to reproduce meaning and interpret the situations they face (King 2007; Matthews 2007).

The other theory employed was acculturative stress – a theory that is common among studies on immigrant children (García Coll and Magnuson 2005). Acculturative stress refers to the stressors present in the migration and acculturation experience of immigrants, their psychological impact, and, to a larger extent, the ways in which children deal with these experiences (Suarez-Morales and Lopez 2009; Caplan 2007; Smart and Smart 1995). Children, like adults, face a range of stressors during their migration and adaptation processes (García Coll and Magnuson 2005). It should be noted, however, that there are discrepancies between adults' and children's acculturative stress.. Hence, the combination of both theories led to thorough descriptions of the particular lived experiences of children as they encountered a variety of stressors during their immigration and settlement process.

Methodology

This study involved in-depth and unstructured qualitative interviews (which included drawing, writing, and storytelling) with 10 newcomer children. These children were between the ages of 9 and 11 and had resided in Canada for less than five years. Unstructured interviews seemed to be a perfect fit for this study's objective because this method focuses on revealing participants' perspectives and experiences (Bryman et al. 2009). Moreover, individual interviews allowed me to invest my undivided attention to one child at a time, take detailed field notes, and be responsive to their cues.

Esquivel et al. (2010, p. 31) explain that “drawings in combination with narratives

provide insights to inner experiences of children related to traumatic experiences such as displacement [...] or planned relocations”. Rousseau and Heusch (2000) concur as they explain that analyzing stories and drawings helps improve the understanding of the processes immigrant children go through.

After obtaining consent from both parents and child, I explained to the child the activities and purpose of the research project. I began by telling them a little about me and then invited them to do the same. They were free to choose the writing and drawing materials and the order of the activities. Usually, they preferred to commence by drawing the scenes that represented important events in their migration and settlement trajectory. Then, they complemented those drawings with written narratives. They presented both drawings and narratives, explaining to me their significance. I accompanied them by partaking in the same activities in order to tell them my story as well. At the end, I asked them for their feedback and thanked them for their participation.

Findings

The most recurring and pronounced theme in the research sessions was the role of grandparents in children’s lives, with particular emphasis on grandmothers. The ten children referred to their extended families and grandparents, but eight of them delved in great detail about their relationships with their grandparents. Another recurring theme was migrations and transitions across borders and within cities. Highly mobile children expressed their anxiety and instability about moving from place to place. School and language were also very important for these children because they had many worries regarding language barriers and peer acceptance. Lastly, children shared their cultural brokering experiences and the way they benefitted from them. From hence forward, children’s pseudonyms will be used to refer to their individual comments.

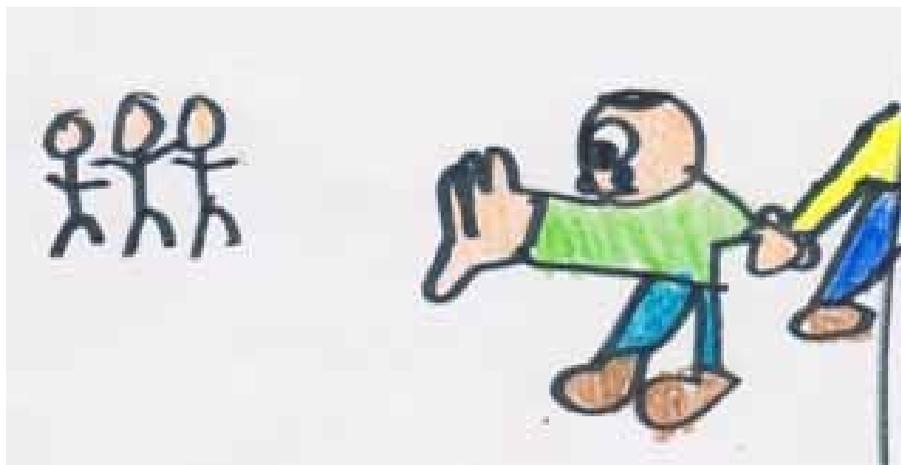
Grandparents – Porque los perdí (because I lost them)

Coni’s simple and striking phrase, “*porque los perdí*” (because I lost them), summarizes the experience of children who leave their grandparents behind. In three words he was able to convey a poignant message. *Perder* (to lose) implies that he can no longer have what he once did. Many child participants used to live in intergenerational homes before coming to Canada so they are accustomed to growing up with their grandmothers. They wish their grandmothers could come to Canada to visit or live with them.

Grandmothers played a crucial role in these children’s lives; they cooked for them, they played with them, they told them stories, they spoiled them, they took care of them, but most importantly, they loved them immensely. Steven said that his grandmothers “*eran las que más me querían. Me mimaban. Me hacían comida. Ellas me querían mucho* / were the ones who loved me the most. They pampered me. They cooked for me. They loved me a lot”. Daniela also used to have a close relationship with her grandmother. She described her grandmother as a vibrant lady, full of energy and “a funny grandma which I love”. Daniela added that grandmothers are “experienced so whatever they make, you love it...somehow they have the magic touch.” Sebastian’s drawing illustrates the painful experience of leaving family behind. He drew a boy extending his hand to reach for his family, looking back at them while his mother dragged him away (see Illustration 1). When he presented the drawing he said his mother was “*tratando de cogerme, tratando de llevame porque yo estaba muy triste y no quería ir* / trying to grab me, trying

to take me because I was very sad and did not want to leave". Sebastian says that if his "*familia en Ecuador estaba en Canadá prefiero Canadá* / family in Ecuador were in Canada, I would prefer Canada".

Illustration 1



Children even suggested implementing the question of grandparents into the research sessions. Steve recommended that I ask children how they feel in order to know "*si extrañan la familia, a alguien* / if they miss the family, or somebody". For example, Isabel narrated that one day in her school "*me puse a llorar porque extrañaba...a mi abuelita, a mi familia* / I cried because I missed my grandmother, my family". Similarly, Daniela used to cry every night before going to sleep because she was "freaking out" at the thought of not seeing her family again. In her drawing of Colombia, Daniela included a red heart to signify where her family is (see Illustration 2).



Illustration 2

It is evident that the bond between grandchild and grandmother has the potential to affect the immigrant child to a great extent, both positively and negatively. In positive terms, children get happy when they remember their grandmothers or when they communicate with them. In negative terms, children get sad, uncertain, and bored when their grandparents and other relatives are absent. They become so melancholic that they cry and desire to return.

Transitions – *Me mudé de casa y me mudé a Canadá* (I moved houses and I moved to Canada)

The sentence above, articulated by Anthony, highlights that there are two types of major moves that immigrant children experience, international and local. Often, research assumes that an immigrant child leaves the sending country to arrive in the receiving country, reinforcing a dichotomy of here and there. In this study, however, I found that four out of ten children lived in the U.S. before coming to Canada. These multiple migrations add layers to children's stories and shape their perceptions of Canada. For example, Isabel and Daniela were afraid to start school in Canada because in the U.S. they had experienced bullying. The issue of multiple migrations should be studied further to investigate how this affects children how they cope with these transitions, and how they differ from immigrant children who make direct trips. Steve's travel map provides a version of a multi-layered trip (see Illustration 3).



Illustration 3

Once in Canada, these children moved several times in a short period of time. In Jessica's case, every time she changes cities she worries about making friends because she does not want to be lonely. She said that when she moves to a new school "I feel nervous because you never know what's going to happen." Changing schools is challenging for any child. However, the difficulty is amplified when the child is new to the country and does not speak the language. Anthony, like Jessica, switched schools three times. This instability has made Anthony uncertain because whenever he moves he expects to move again. In his drawing he

shows his family moving into an apartment and he writes inside a speech bubble "*I wonder where my new home will be*" (see Illustration 5). His comment demonstrates that he questions the permanency of 'home'.



Illustration 4

The phenomenon of multiple transitions needs to be addressed because mobility fails to provide children with a sense of security, stability, and home. Furthermore, it needs to be known if moving aggravates the hardships of settlement and how children can receive support.

School and Language – Mi primer día de escuela (My first day of school) / My biggest weakness [was] my communication.

Isabel's story title, "Mi primer día de escuela / my first day of school," captures a turning point in her settlement experience. Several children wrote about their first day of school, expressing worries about making friends, learning English (Illustration 5) and being mocked. Jessica explained in her narrative that although she was glad to start school in Canada, her biggest weakness, as she described in her narrative, was her communication. She thought that "nunca iba a aprender inglés / I was never going to learn English. Similarly, Isabel and Candice thought learning English was "impossible". In turn, that affected their emotional well-being as Isabel stated, "me sentí triste y mal / I felt sad and bad".

Illustration 5



The children were sad because they knew that they needed to master the language in order to function socially and academically. Jessica acknowledged that if she spoke English she would be able to “*hacer amiguitas / make friends*” and “*hacer todo / do everything*.” For example, Anthony said he likes his last school better than the other two because he has “*muchos amigos / many friends*.” In terms of academics, James discussed how his grades improved once he “knew the language” and Isabel explained how acquiring English enabled her to participate in her favourite class. In sum, children presented language as their major source of worry, given that language is the factor that either allows or hinders a children’s opportunity to partake in their school community.

Cultural Brokering: Children Helping Children – I was lucky that there was this other girl that spoke Spanish and English

In many cases, when we think about cultural brokers, we think about children helping adults. In this study, however, the children talked extensively about relying on (or them helping) other children as cultural brokers. For example, James shared that he “was lucky that there was this other girl that spoke Spanish and English.” He considered himself fortunate to find a bilingual classmate who helped him while he learned English. He said the girl “would explain it all to me.” He appreciated her help because he thought that it would help him “do great in school.” Isabel also had a classmate who helped her with translation and interpretation. However, she engaged in reciprocal brokering where she helped her broker as well. In her story, Isabel wrote: *I helped my friend with math and she helped me with English.*

Daniela discussed her experiences as a broker and the importance of her role. She said she liked to assist non-English speakers because “*ya tenía la experiencia de ser una niña nueva y sabía que es muy duro y me gusta ayudarles / I already had the experience of being a new girl and I knew that it’s very hard and I like to help them.*” Sometimes Daniela even offers to help during after-school hours.

Other children, like Coni, were taught how to “*comportarse, las reglas de la clase / behave, the classroom rules.*” Coni liked to be told this information because he learned what he was supposed to do in school. In a way, peers acted as guides who give newcomer children tips, advice, and warnings on how to navigate their new environments. Overall, mediation among peers proved to be very beneficial to immigrant children as it served to connect them with their teachers, friends, and new surroundings.

Discussion

A common stressor for these newcomer children was family separation. Children experienced loss because they miss their grandmothers’ love, care, companionship, and support. Immigrant children, then, are affected by loss as their adult counterparts due to their separation from family members other than their parents. For that reason, researchers and policy makers should take into account the rupture of the grandchild/grandmother dyad in the case of immigrant children who migrate along their parents.

Another stressor for immigrant children is residential mobility. Children are often not asked about how they feel when they move to a new place and what they struggle with. In

the current study, children expressed that they were anxious, nervous, shy and hesitant about making new friends, leaving old friends behind, overcoming loneliness, making sense of their moves and finding stability. The phenomenon of residential mobility combined with international moves deserves greater attention by parents, settlement workers and teachers so that children can receive proper support during these transitions.

Language was also a major preoccupation for the children interviewed. They emphasized the limitations of having low English proficiency such as not being able to make friends, understand teachers, and read texts. For them, language acquisition was not easy and quick. In their view, learning the language meant overcoming solitude and achieving high grades. Teachers and school staff should be sympathetic and patient with English learners and assist them in their adjustment to a new linguistic environment.

Finally, the children who participated in this study highlighted the significance and the utility of receiving language mediation. They mentioned that providing mediation for peers was a rewarding experience because they could help other immigrant children. Mediators translated school assignments, taught phrases and facilitated the communication between newcomer children and teachers/classmates. In addition, mediators introduced children to new customs and school protocol. Ultimately, researchers should expand the scope of their studies beyond brokering for parents and mediation in dual-language classrooms.

Conclusion

There is extensive and valuable literature on the subject area of Latin American newcomer children, but adults such as teachers, parents and younger adults act as key informants. When immigrant children participate in research, the use of quantitative methods limits their responses to those topics of interest to the researcher. Moreover, studies tend to focus on either youth or kindergarten groups. The particular experiences of the ten children make it evident that when children are encouraged to share their stories they reveal what is truly important to them. Knowing what hampers and facilitates their settlement is crucial to learning about their needs and assets in order to create and implement programs and initiatives that support them..

The age of immigrant children does not mean that they are incapable of identifying their needs, expressing their feelings and voicing their opinions. Their worlds are complex and their narratives are compelling. Learning about their lives as newcomers is not only an engaging experience but also an informative lesson for parents, school personnel, policy makers, researchers and settlement workers. Their stories leave powerful messages that direct us to the questions *they* want us to address.

Bibliography

- Albanese, P. (2009). *Children in Canada Today*. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.
- Angelova, M. Gunawardena, D., and Volk, D. (2006). Peer teaching and learning: Co-constructing language in a dual language first grade. *Language & Education: An International Journal*, 20(3): 173-190.

- Bagilishya, D., Heusch, N., Rousseau, C., and Lacroix, L. (1998). Jouer en classe autour d'une histoire. *PRISME*, 28: 88-103.
- Benner, A. (2011). Latino adolescents' loneliness, academic performance, and the buffering nature of friendships. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 40(5): 556-567.
- Bernhard, J. (2009). "Latin American students in the TDSB: Research findings and recommendations". In Schugurensky, D., Mantilla, D., Serrano, J. (eds.) *Four in Ten*. Toronto: Latin American Research Education and Development Network, Transformative Learning Centre and Ontario Institute for Education Studies 22-25.
- Bleiker, C., Ginieniewicz, J., Madigan, A., Bernhard, J., Winsler, A. (2008). "Read my story!" Using the early authors program to promote early literacy among diverse, urban
- Bonovitz, J. (2004). The child immigrant. *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 64: 129-141.
- Bose, S., Haynie, D., and South, S. (2007). Student mobility and school dropout. *Social Science Research*, 36(1): 68-94.
- Boyd, D. (2006). Resilience in newcomer families. *Canadian Issues*, Spring: 85-86.
- Bryman, A., Teevan, J., Bell, E. (2009). *Social Research Methods*. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.
- Caplan, S. (2007). Latinos, acculturation, and acculturative stress: a dimensional concept analysis. *Policy, Politics, & Nursing Practice*, 8(2): 93-106.
- Colbert, J. (2010). Welcoming Newcomer Children: *The Settlement of Young Immigrants and Refugees*. Kitchener, Canada: Fairmeadow.
- Corsaro, W. (2005). *The Sociology of Childhood*, 2nd edn. London: Sage.
- Coyoca, A., and Lee, J. (2009). A typology of language-brokering events in dual-language immersion classrooms. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 32(3): 260-279.
- Cummins, J., Bernhard, J., Campoy, I., Ada, A., Winsler, A., Bleiker, C. (2006). Identity texts and literacy development among preschool English language learners: Enhancing learning opportunities for children at risk for learning disabilities. *Teachers College Record*, 108 (11): 2380-2405.
- Díaz, E. (2002). Mexican immigrant children in urban Phoenix: Transitions to life, language, and school. *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*. Arizona State University 1-350.
- Dual-Language Book Club*. (2009). "Dual-language book collection". Retrieved from <http://www.duallanguagebookcollection.com/> (accessed July 24, 2011).
- Entorf, H., and Lauk, M. (2006). Peer effects, social multipliers and migrants at school: an international comparison. IZA Discussion Paper 2182.
- Esquivel, G., Oades-Sese, G., Jarvis, A. (2010). *Culturally Sensitive Narrative Interventions for Immigrant Children and Adolescents*. Maryland: University Press of America.
- Falicov, C. (2003). "Immigrant family processes". Normal Family Processes. In Walsh F. (ed.). New York: The Guilford Press 280-300.
- Falicov, C. (2005). "Ambiguous Loss: risk and resilience in Latino immigrant families". In Suárez-Orozco, M., Suárez-Orozco, C., and Qin-Hilliard, D. (eds.) *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader*. New York: Routledge 197-206.
- Fantino, A., and Colak, A. (2001). Refugee children in Canada: Searching for identity. *Child Welfare*, 53(5): 587-596.

- Fong, E., and Hou, F. (2009). Residential patterns across generations of new immigrant groups. *Sociological Perspectives*, 52(3): 409-428.
- García Coll, C., and Magnuson, K. (2005). "The psychological experience of immigration: a developmental perspective". In Suárez-Orozco M., Suárez-Orozco C., and Qin-Hilliard D. (eds.) *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader* (2005). New York: Routledge 105-134.
- Goodman, C., and Silverstein, M. (2002). Grandmothers raising grandchildren: Family structure and Well-being in culturally diverse families. *The Gerontologist*, 42(5): 676-689.
- Hagan, J., MacMillan, R., Wheaton, B. (1996). New kid in town: Social capital and the life course effects of family migration on children. *American Sociological Review* 61(3): 368-385.
- Hanna, W. (2003). Mobility and the children of Langley Park's immigrant families. *The Journal of Negro Education* 72(1):63-78.
- Hill, M., Wager, F., Bailey, N., Day, R., Hamilton, D., and King, C. (1996). Engaging with primary-aged children about their emotions and well being: Methodological considerations. *Children & Society*, 10: 129-144.
- Igoa, C. (1995). *The Inner World of the Immigrant Child*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- James, A., Jenks, C., and Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing Childhood*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- King, M. (2007). The sociology of childhood as scientific communication: Observations from a social systems perspective. *Childhood*, 14(2): 193-213.
- León, A., and Serrano, M. (2010). Si las abuelas se disponen a cuidar, madres y padres pueden emigrar. *Revista venezolana de estudios de la mujer*, 15(35): 91-116.
- Louie, V. (2006). Growing up ethnic in transnational worlds: Identities among second-generation Chinese and Dominicans. *Global studies in Culture and Power*, 13: 363-394.
- Love, J., and Buriel, R. (2007). Language brokering, autonomy, parent-child bonding, biculturalism, and depression. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 29(4): 472-491.
- MacNaughton, G. (2001). Silences and subtexts in immigrant and non-immigrant's children's understandings of diversity. *Childhood Education*, 78(1): 30-36.
- Matthews, S. (2007). A window on the 'new' sociology of childhood. *Sociology Compass*, 1(1): 322-334.
- Morales, A., and Hanson, W. (2005). Language brokering: an integrative review of the literature. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 27(4): 471-503.
- Morrow, V. & Richards, M. (1996). The ethics of social research with children: an overview. *Children & Society*. 10: 90-105.
- Olmedo, I. (2003). Language mediation among emergent bilingual children. *Linguistics and Education*, 14(2): 143-162.
- O'Reilly, J., and Yau, M. (2009). *2008 Parent census, kindergarten-grade 6: System overview and detailed findings*. Toronto: Toronto District School Board.
- Orellana, M. (2009). *Translating childhoods: Immigrant youth, language, and culture*, Piscataway: Rutgers University Press.
- Orozco and Orozco (2001). *Children of Immigration*. First Harvard University Press.
- Perren, S., Grünigen, R., Alsaker, F., and Nagele, C. (2010). Immigrant children's peer acceptance and victimization in kindergarten: the role of local language competence. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 28: 679-697.

- Rousseau, C., and Heusch, N. (2000). The trip: a creative expression project for refugee and immigrant children. *Art Therapy: Journal of the American Art Therapy Association*, 17(1): 31-40.
- Rousseau, C., Drapeau, A., Lacroix, L., Bagilishya, D., Heusch, N. (2005). Evaluation of a classroom program of creative expression workshops for refugee and immigrant children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 46(2): 180-185.
- Rubinstein-Ávila, E. (2003). Negotiating power and redefining literacy expertise: Buddy reading in a dual-immersion programme. *Journal of Research in Reading*, 26(1): 83-97.
- Schugurensky, D. (2007). "Does education equalize opportunities? The implications of the TDSB cohort analysis for democracy and meritocracy". *Diversity in Education Parents' Forum*. Toronto: Ethnocultural Community Network of the Toronto District School Board.
- Smart, J., and Smart, D. (1995). Acculturative stress. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 23(1): 25-42.
- Souto-Manning, M. (2007). Immigrant families and children (re)develop identities in a new context. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 34(6): 399-405.
- Suárez-Morales, L., and Lopez, B. (2009). The impact of acculturative stress and daily hassles on pre-adolescent psychological adjustment: Examining anxiety symptoms. *The Journal of Primary Prevention*, 30(3-4): 335-349.
- Taylor, L., Cummins, J., Bernhard, J., Ada, A., Winsler, A., Bleiker, C., and Campoy, I. (2008). Affirming plural belonging: building on students' family-based cultural and linguistic capital through multiliteracies pedagogy. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy*, 8(3): 269-294.
- Teledgi, A. (2006). Family reunification: the key to successful integration. *Canadian Issues*, Spring: 94-96.
- Thompson, E. (2003, December 10). "Many grandparents raising grandchildren". *Leader Post* A3.
- Todorova, I., Louie, J., Suárez-Orozco, C. (2005). "Making up for lost time: the experience of separation and reunification among immigrant families". In Suárez-Orozco M., Suárez-Orozco C., and Qin-Hilliard D. (eds.) *The New Immigration: An Interdisciplinary Reader*. New York: Routledge 179-196.
- Tucker, J., Marx, J., and Long, L. (1998). "Moving on": Residential mobility and children's school lives. *Sociology of Education*, 71(April): 111-129.