

The Scarborough Review

2019-2020



Undergraduate Academic Journal
by the Students of English Literature and Film
at the UTSC English Department

The Students of English Literature and Film (SELF) is a student-run organization at the University of Toronto Scarborough Campus. SELF works in close partnership with the Department of English to build a community of students in English and beyond by providing student services and organizing academic and social events.

The Scarborough Review is the UTSC journal for undergraduate critical essays in English and the humanities run by SELF students. This year the journal was also open for submissions of reviews, microfiction and poetry.

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Editor's Note

In the fall semester, when we discussed what theme to pick for this year's *Scarborough Review*, we thought that "distance" was something that could point out a direction for the journal without being too limiting for the contributors. Little did we know back then when "distance" was just a word among many others, how differently it would sound by the time this issue reaches its readers.

So far, this has been a challenging year for many of us, including our contributors and editors who have had to finish a semester that abruptly moved online. It has not been the completion of the school year that we envisioned. Similarly, we were hoping to present this publication in print and meet with contributors, editors and readers in person to celebrate.

While things have not turned out the way we were planning, we are nevertheless exceptionally happy to be able to present this publication in a way that can reach its readers regardless of the ongoing pandemic.

Contributors, we are so proud of the intelligence, originality and creativity shown through your writing. Editors, I'm so happy to have had the opportunity to learn through this process together with you and I'm very grateful for your continuous positive attitude and your never-ending patience.

Eva Wissting

These are my Scarborough Dreams

by Maisha Mustanzir

Stuck within the four walls of their immigrant dreams
The pain and the struggles, stories of fallen soldiers
Sweaty palms, broken nails, blistered hands and money schemes
Who knew the land of freedom was Scarborough

I paint the town in my own colour
Because words are for the privileged
I'm only one brown face in the flood
Only the smell of intense stench turns them my way

I'm stuck within the Scarborough lanes
The immigrant whispers fill the streets
Of their children's fake pains
Because no pain is greater than theirs

Children of freedom and constraint
They learn value of different versions
At home it's prayers and outside it's drinks
At home it's lies and outside I'm free
Sometimes I speak Bengali
But most times it's English
Sometimes I yell
But only in my head
My professors speak of freedom
My parents speak of destiny
Islam speaks of faith
Allah speaks to my heart

“Do not marry Hindus, do not marry Pakistanis, do not marry Blacks.”

“Marry whoever you want.”

“Love is a sin.”

“Love is part of life.”

“You have to become someone; your value is only monetary.”

“The system is skewed.”

“Creativity doesn’t earn bread.”

“You should embrace your creativity.”

“You will grow up only to take care of us.”

“I didn’t give birth to you in turn for your labor.”

“Your dreams belong to us.”

“Shoot for the stars.”

“You’re a woman, you only leave this house when you’re married.”

“Become an independent woman.”

“You will be a straight Bengali, a Muslim and you will be a substitute for a son.”

“Your identity is who you

define as You.”

“These are the rules of society that you must follow.”

“These are the rules of society that you must follow.”

Twelve years in the land of freedom and I’ve spent six on line 2
Green is hardly a colour for a path covered in concrete
But I’ve grown accustomed to the underground wires
Between Vic Park and Warden, I see the reflection of sweat from
the subway heat

I live on the other side of the line
Where the dreams are truly still alive
Where a full day’s labour will get you just enough to eat
Where a mother is taunted while struggling to take care of
everyone

This is the land of freedom
Of labor cuts and gentrification
Of suppressed rage, masked under carpe diem
Where minimum wage jobs build commodified nations

Stuck between these borough lanes, my heart aches for them
When we have to turn the tap on and wish for hot water
Or when my father's job is to be an ATM
They remain immigrants, but their dreams go under

And then I wonder
Maybe my pain is truly fake compared to theirs
Maybe I'll surrender my sanity and keep their dreams
Maybe, just maybe, I'll bite my tongue and give in

My thoughts are just blood on these pages
They're easy to burn
My labour to fight
Might as well just give birth to more hatred

I have spent 4571 days in these Scarborough plains
Trying to relive memories of a child who is now gone
Suffering to understand different lands and memories of a soul not
capable of holding memories
Trying to find the document where I signed my life away
Trying to understand the different generations
Suffering to live beyond their dreams

What line do I follow? Line 1 or 2?
East or west?
From Kennedy to Kipling,
I am drowning.
Trying to revive the life of a pig-tailed child
But little did she know
Canada is their prison and
Scarborough is mine.



Tara

by Jawad Talut

I can't close my eyes even for a minute without being waken up by the roar of an engine or the wind knocking on my window. Now and then headlights from the street illuminate this cave of mine and reveal all garbage and gadgets thrown about. Alone in my room, the rain tapping outside, I pick up the cassette with TARA scrawled on in permanent marker. The PlayBack hums after I flip the switch and insert the tape. I grab the dust-covered headset and place it over my eyes.

Retina burning sunlight invades. The mess on the floor disappears, replaced with silky white sand. Gulls fly overhead, screeching over the shuttles that were taking off. Miles away, the rockets stand on their launch pads. Some having their final checks done, others already boarding; all heading to that distant solar system. She is standing next to me with her bags.

Go back three months. The sand now the hardwood floor of her room. The ceiling light is off. She sits on her bed crying. I beg her to stay while she tells me to leave with her. She always wanted to explore the universe. But I couldn't go to Centaurus, I didn't want to. We wouldn't be starting a new life, we'd be living the same one with different scenery.

Rewind three more years to the first time we met. The rain melted holes through her umbrella and she asked to borrow mine. It wasn't the first time we spoke, but when we actually talked. I didn't know how much my life would change after that day. The digital rain falls through me.

The memory ejects on its own and I'm back in my room. I drop the headset on the floor and lay on the lumpy bed. It's been five

years since Tara left. I could leave this dungeon and catch the next ship to her. I'd rather be with her in the heavens than spend another night of solitude on Earth.

I could be with her again, without this desperate machine.

But I can't go back. Everything has changed since then. The people we once were are years away. I can only visit them in memories.

If Tara looks towards Earth now, she would see the world that we lived in ten lightyears away, back when she was here.

But right now, it's just me.

**Adrian de Leon's *Rouge*:
A Book Review**

by Jingshu Helen Yao

Rouge is
a poetry collection by
Adrian de Leon;
a journey through subway transit,
stories along the way;
a scene from day-to-day life
that most people choose to neglect.
de Leon portraits Toronto
from Kipling to McCowan,
Finch to Union.
A twisted yellow U
with a tiny purple branch
crossed by a long green dash
and a little blue tweak at the end.
You never know a city
from the surface,
but underground.
The simple map comes to life
with de Leon's
words
and
F
O
R
M
With every flip of a page
there's something new.
Rouge is not only
a culture guidebook
but an inside joke

that makes Toronto smirk.
de Leon's poems are like this city,
so diverse,
yet you feel no distance;
so unique,
yet you are so used to it,
that you hardly notice.

**Téa Mutonji's *Shut Up You're Pretty*:
A Book Review**

by Eva Wissting

It's little over a year since UTSC alumna Téa Mutonji's short story collection was published by Arsenal Pulp Press and chances are that it hasn't passed you by unnoticed. The book has awarded Mutonji both the Trillium Book Award and the Edmund White Award for Debut Fiction as well as the *Globe and Mail* Best Book of the Year.

For anyone who has read the book, this should come as no surprise. This is the kind of book that you just step into and it lets you in right away. As a commuter to the UTSC campus and a newcomer to this country, this book helped me get to know Scarborough beyond the straight blocks outside the 905 windows and beyond the campus space that has become my second home. The people inhabiting the stories feel truly real and so does the world they live in, and I just have to turn the page and read the next story and then again, the next one after that.

I called it a short story collection and it's what the publisher has labelled it too, but I read it more as something in between a collection of short stories and a novel, because even if each story has its own focus, it's the same main character throughout and the chronology is fairly consistent.

Even though the characterizations and the environment is skilfully narrated and the book worth a read for those alone, it's really the on-point language, with just the right amount of humour in just the right places, that makes this such a pleasure to read – even when it hurts.

On-point should be an odd word-choice, because what do I know about the authenticity of this story? I don't have the same

experiences to draw on, so who am I to make that judgement? Well, it's just how this book lets me feel as a reader: like I'm let in to share a bit of Loli's life. You should let it too.

**“They Cannot Represent Themselves”:
The Ramifications of Hollywood Representation in
Viet Thanh Nguyen’s *The Sympathizer***

by RYANNE KAP

In August of 2018, #AsianAugust, a hashtag coined by CAPE (Coalition of Asian Pacifics in Entertainment) went viral on social media after the release of several movies with Asian-American leads, including *To All the Boys I’ve Loved Before*, *Searching*, and *Crazy Rich Asians*, the latter of which was heralded as the first studio movie in twenty-five years to feature a predominantly Asian-American cast (Ruben). But Hollywood’s self-congratulatory attitude towards *Crazy Rich Asians* and other movies like it is certainly unwarranted. The unfortunate truth is that Western media has a long history of failing to thoughtfully represent Asian-Americans and other ethnic minorities. While movements like #AsianAugust indicate significant progress, Hollywood’s tense relationship with representing people of colour continues to be problematic and cannot be so easily dismissed. This is particularly evident in its treatment of the Vietnam War, a significant event in both American and Vietnamese histories that Western films have presented in a variety of offensive and inadequate ways.

In 1979, American director Francis Ford Coppola released *Apocalypse Now*, a film about the Vietnam War from the perspective of a U.S. army officer. At the 1979 Cannes Film Festival, which honoured *Apocalypse Now* with the prestigious Palme D’Or Award, Coppola gave a statement to the press in which he explained, “My film is not about Vietnam. It is Vietnam. It’s what it was really like. It was crazy . . . And little by little we went insane”

(Corliss). Twenty years later, notable film critic Roger Ebert described *Apocalypse Now* as “more clearly than ever one of the key films of the century,” with this sentiment being echoed by many of today’s influential critics and scholars. In a 2011 review of *Apocalypse Now*, Philip French claimed that it “is not merely the greatest film to come out of the Vietnam experience but one of the great works about the madness of our times.” French’s choice of words illuminates a key issue surrounding representation of the Vietnam War, particularly in terms of how Americans conceive of it and, to a greater extent, the Vietnamese and the Asian-American community. Describing it as “the Vietnam experience” diminishes its seriousness as a military conflict; many more can participate in and understand an “experience” than a war, and thus the Vietnam War and the various communities involved with and affected by it lose a certain degree of gravitas and respect by becoming subject to various problematic interpretations.

In 2015, Vietnamese-American professor Viet Thanh Nguyen published *The Sympathizer*, a novel narrated by a Vietnamese-American Communist spy that frequently addresses and reacts against America’s conception of Vietnam. In an interview with *World Policy Journal*, Nguyen explains, “Part of the point of the novel is to forcefully remind people that there are serious limitations to this American point of view, and there are other perspectives we should take into account” (66). Upon publication, the novel won the 2016 Pulitzer Prize for Fiction (*World Policy Journal*). Much of the attention it received centered around its thinly-veiled parody of *Apocalypse Now*, *The Hamlet*, which raises questions about Hollywood’s racial politics concerning the Asian community and its treatment of the Vietnam War. While representation does in fact matter, what’s also important is the way

in which representative stories are told, and who is in charge of telling them.

By reflecting the politics and practices of Hollywood films, *The Sympathizer* portrays American representations of the Vietnam War as a form of discrimination and violence against Vietnamese and Asian-American communities. The novel's engagement with *Apocalypse Now*, as well as the prejudices involved with its creation, examines the ethics and significance of representation and challenges the racial politics involved. Through analyzing the parallels between *Apocalypse Now* and *The Hamlet*, it becomes evident how films create and propagate patterns of discrimination and violence that ultimately have negative real-world consequences.

Firstly, *The Hamlet* exemplifies the racial discrimination rampant in Hollywood through the actions and attitudes of white characters, such as the Auteur and Claude, that reflect the actual individuals involved with the making of *Apocalypse Now*. Nguyen himself writes that “the inspiration for the Movie can hardly be a secret” (384) and goes on to list various sources on the making of *Apocalypse Now* in the acknowledgements of the novel, thus actively encouraging and supporting these comparisons. Questions of representing the Vietnam War from an American standpoint include who the story is for and who is in charge of telling it—in the case of both *Apocalypse Now* and *The Hamlet*, the story is for an American audience and its director is a white man with a painful lack of sensitivity regarding racial representation. Over the course of the production, the Auteur frequently acts in a way that reveals an underlying prejudice against the Asian community, first demonstrated by his reaction to the narrator's criticisms of his script. His aggressive dismissal of the narrator's attempts at adding authenticity, specifically in terms of the Vietnamese roles, suggests a strong disregard for the Vietnamese perspective. In claiming that

Apocalypse Now actually embodies Vietnam, Coppola revealed a similar lack of concern for alternate perspectives by assuming his understanding of the Vietnam War—a distinctly American understanding—was the definitive one. Notably, the film’s main cast is predominantly white; as Linh Dinh notes in his scathing review of the film, the only Vietnamese speaking role is that of a south Vietnamese army translator whose sole line condemns a man as Viet Cong. Furthermore, Dinh claims that *Apocalypse Now* barely constitutes as a Vietnam War movie because of the way it presents the War itself. Rather than acknowledging it was a civil war between North and South Vietnam, its emphasis on American characters and its lack of Vietnamese perspectives make it more of a story about “a bunch of pale guys, Coppola included, wading into their own hearts of darkness” (Dinh). Dinh attributes this misrepresentation to the enabling of an American fantasy, noting that “to concede that it was a civil war is to relegate America to a supporting role in someone else’s drama . . . To call it a civil war would also be to acknowledge ideological differences among the Vietnamese, an impossible concept if one perceives them as monolithic and incapable of squabbling among themselves.” This inability or perhaps sheer unwillingness to distinguish between the south and north Vietnamese is evident in the production of *Apocalypse Now*, and of course *The Hamlet*, by virtue of the treatment of the Vietnamese extras.

Much of *The Hamlet* reflects actual practices of Coppola’s, who for *Apocalypse Now* “cast Vietnamese refugees living in refugee camps, paying them meager sums to portray the bombed, the victimized, and the villains. Some refugees even assumed the roles of Viet Cong villains, the people they fought against during the war” (Tzu-Chun Wu 238). This exact scenario is reproduced under the Auteur’s direction, with the narrator acting as a primary recruiter

and handler of the Vietnamese extras. Naturally, those who are asked to play the Viet Cong react negatively, but are ultimately convinced through doubled wages; this reinforces the superficiality of their presence, and the lack of seriousness that they are given and also able to afford within this project. In one telling moment, the Auteur directs the extras playing Viet Cong rapists, who consist of “four resentful refugees and former freedom fighters” (Nguyen 165), to “have fun, be [themselves], and just act natural!” (164). This emphasizes the Auteur’s racial insensitivity—and, through *The Hamlet’s* paralleling structure, that of Coppola’s—by suggesting that any Vietnamese individual is capable of acting savagely, with this ability actually being inherent. In response, the extras code-switch amongst themselves by shifting between languages. They make it clear in Vietnamese that acting as the Viet Cong requires the exact opposite approach, but raise no opposition in English. In this predominantly white environment, there is nowhere to refute racial prejudices except within these private, improvised, and limited spaces, thus reinforcing the divide between the Vietnamese and the Americans. The lack of care and sensitivity towards the former is even evident in the script’s directions; for the interrogation scene, the script only offers “*VC interrogators curse and berate Binh in their own language*” (167). Within this direction is another assumption that verbal abuse and aggressive behaviour can be readily improvised by the Vietnamese.

Claude, an American CIA agent, is also a source of discrimination. As another consultant, he decides to have the Viet Cong castrate Binh and “[stuff] his manhood in his mouth,” which “according to Claude . . . was something certain Native American tribes also inflicted on trespassing white settlers, despite being of a different race thousands of miles away and more than a century past” (166). For people like Claude and the Auteur, certain impressions of

a nonwhite race can be extended and generalized to other nonwhite races without hesitation. This white imperialist mindset is woven into the fabric of *Apocalypse Now*, which is itself a modernized adaptation of Joseph Conrad's 1899 novella, *Heart of Darkness*. While Conrad's writing dehumanizes Africans, Coppola's film gives Asians a similar treatment. The documentary about the creation of *Apocalypse Now*, aptly-titled *Hearts of Darkness: A Filmmaker's Apocalypse*, does little to counteract the insensitivities of its subject, particularly concerning the efforts (or lack thereof) taken by the crew to ensure historical accuracy. *Apocalypse Now* was filmed in the Philippines, chosen due to its supposed topographical similarity to Vietnam—which is also the case with *The Hamlet*. In the documentary, Coppola's wife Eleanor brings him to a ceremony involving the slaughter of a carabao, an animal native to the Philippines. This ceremony is recreated in the final scene of *Apocalypse Now*, intercut with Willard killing Kurtz with the same kind of weapon, a machete, in what is supposedly Vietnam. From Coppola's point of view, there is essentially no distinction between the traditions of one Southeast Asian people and that of another, and certainly no issue with appropriating such a tradition for his own artistic vision.

Moreover, *The Sympathizer's* portrayal of Hollywood reveals American representation of the Vietnam War to be a form of violence in and of itself. By immortalizing violent imagery in a way that supports discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, films like *Apocalypse Now* reproduce and inspire harm towards marginalized communities. In her review-essay of *The Sympathizer*, Judy Tzu-Chun Wu marks Hollywood as a key perpetuator of “the violence of war through both the representation and production of war memories” (238). In *Apocalypse Now*, which highlights “the white American male tragedy of war” (Tzu-Chun Wu 238), said war

memories are preserved in a distinctly biased, Americanized manner; regarding *The Hamlet* and *Apocalypse Now*, the American perspective is deeply entwined with the denigration of Asian communities. In an iconic scene from *Apocalypse Now*, American soldiers open fire on a Vietnamese village from a fleet of helicopters, the nameless extras either blown up or gunned down. The scene is scored with an instrumental of the “Ride of the Valkyries,” imbuing the Americans’ actions with a sense of heroism. But this is of course only senseless, large-scale violence, a fact *The Sympathizer* mocks when its narrator comments that “to satisfy the Auteur’s need for realistic bloodshed, all the extras also had to be killed off. As the script called for the deaths of several hundred Viet Cong and Laotians, while there were only a hundred extras, most died more than once, many four or five times” (175). Apart from providing a moment of levity at the production’s expense, this emphasizes the overabundance of gratuitous violence in such productions against the Vietnamese.

Although some may draw the conclusion that these films are simply entertainment, unable and unintended to shape personal views on such an intimate scale, the novel suggests otherwise. The narrator describes movies as a form of propaganda, explaining that in *The Hamlet*, “killing the extras was either a reenactment of what had happened to us natives or a dress rehearsal for the next such episode, with the Movie the local anesthetic applied to the American mind, preparing it for any minor irritation before or after such a deed” (Nguyen *Sympathizer* 179). By portraying violence against the Vietnamese onscreen, these films work to normalize violence against Asian communities and reinforce the idea that violence can and must be enacted against them to defend American ideals. Mai’s rape scene in *The Hamlet* is a key example of how a film’s narrative can be structured to elicit such a negative and limited view of

minorities. When the audience finally glimpses Mai's VC rapists, numbered (but not named) in the credits, they see the repulsive image of "faces flushed from home-brewed rice wine, bared teeth crusty with lichen, squinty eyes squeezed shut in ecstasy" that successfully creates "the desire for their utter extinction" (287), which is ultimately satisfied by the film's violent ending. In her analysis of this scene, Sylvia Shin Huey Chong notes, "What initially was presented as the refugee extras' self-aware performance of something "not natural" becomes naturalized through narrative and editing into their essential inhumanity" (375). For non-Asian audience members, this encourages anti-Asian sentiments and justifies violence against many for the sake of justice against a few. For Asian or Asian-American viewers, this has the dizzying effect of having to identify "with the enemy on-screen" while simultaneously being "interpellated by the narrative into the position of the American soldier" (Shin Huey Chong 375).

Films like *Apocalypse Now* also encourage the possibility of violence against minorities by perpetuating harmful stereotypes. Specifically regarding Asian-Americans, there have been two dominant stereotypes in Western culture: the yellow peril and the model minority. The former refers to the West "[fearing] the yellow race as a menace that would threaten the domination of the White race," manifesting in America as "the fear of Asian migration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries" and leading "to the exclusion of Asian immigrants and the U.S. colonization of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, [and] the Philippines" (Kawai 112). In 1941, Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour "inflated the yellow peril stereotype and led to the detention of Japanese Americans in concentration camps" (113). Hollywood films certainly helped to perpetuate this stereotype; the character of Fu Manchu, first introduced on screen in 1923, presented Asians as villainous and subhuman (113). *Apocalypse*

Now and *The Hamlet* also encourage the yellow peril by presenting dehumanizing images of the Vietnamese. In the case of *Apocalypse Now*, John Kleinen criticizes the film's "historical fabrications which border on stereotypes of the 'yellow peril' genre," specifically the "mountain people who attack the Willard party with spears, bows and arrows" and "the 'Viet Cong' hacking off arms of inoculated children" (31). In both examples, the Vietnamese are portrayed as savage and distinctly other, clearly inferior to the Western protagonists. In terms of *The Hamlet*, the film's rape scene is made no less tone-deaf by the context the narrator provides from his on-set experience. He explains the Auteur's choice of extras to play VC rapists was partly based on "their distinctive physical features: the rotten banana brownness of their skin and the reptilian slits of their eyes" (Nguyen 164). This is an incredibly racist description that, while not completely untouched by sarcasm, still forces the reader—and the narrator—to see the Vietnamese from the Auteur's perspective. The result is a severely undesirable image of a minority, one that Hollywood is all too comfortable with maintaining.

Additionally, the most recent and current stereotype, the model minority, positions Asians as the most successful and palatable type of foreigner in the West. While some believe this stereotype is actually beneficial, others argue that it "[evokes] negative implications such as racial hostilities and violence despite its seemingly "positive" image that it creates for Asian Americans" (Kawai 110). Its adverse effects are exemplified by "the 1982 murder of Vincent Chin and the violence against Asian Americans in the 1992 Los Angeles riots" (Kawai 110). By tracing the history and manifestations of these stereotypes, it's evident that they have close ties to racially motivated violence.

One is then left to question what the audience's role is in relation to representation, and how one should counter the reproduction and perpetuation of stereotypes that lead to racially motivated violence. In *The Sympathizer*, the interrogation room in which the communist agent is tortured and raped is euphemistically referred to by the South Vietnamese police as "the movie theatre" (Nguyen 347). This suggests that in some ways, violence can be enabled by and is entwined with passive viewership. After all, the narrator is found "guilty of the crime of doing nothing" (356) to stop the agent's beating and rape—perhaps Nguyen is suggesting that as audience members, we fail in the same way by consuming these representations passively and without protest. The implication, then, is that we are complicit in these problematic productions the same way the narrator is by watching the agent's suffering.

But even becoming involved with these productions, particularly as a minority, can be problematic in its own way. As Sylvia Shin Huey Chong explains, "the narrator's attempt to intervene in the means of representation backfires as his consent in the ultimate product" (375). This is a reference to the novel's own engagement with Marxist ideology, as in context of the Vietnamese the narrator remarks, "They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented" (Nguyen 179). The emphasis here is on seizing the means of production, which the narrator feels he has failed at as his consulting role only allows him to ensure accuracy on a very small and technical scale. But who is enabled to or even allowed to represent who? In terms of racial representation, Hollywood is fairly skewed towards white writers and creators, with people of colour who make it in the industry facing extreme pressure to act as a voice for their communities.

Thus, the solution is to recognize first the institutional systems of racism and discrimination that grant white people an

imbalanced amount of power, and to work at dismantling these systems, beginning with the ways in which we represent ourselves and each other. In *The Sympathizer*, Ms. Mori frames the narrator's mission—and the mission of creators of colour everywhere—in the most optimistic light, telling him, “You can help shape how Asians look in the movies” (Nguyen 152). Her encouragement is one that readers and writers alike should take with them. After all, as she says, “that is no small thing” (152).

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**Mom, Talk to Me in My Mother Tongue:
SES and Heritage Language Maintenance of
East and South Asian Canadian Community**

by Jingshu Helen Yao

Abstract

According to Statistics Canada (2018), 20.6% of Canadians have a primary language other than English and French. However, in the linguistic environment dominated by the two official languages, it is challenging for heritage language speakers to maintain their ancestral languages and cultures. This study analyzed the connection between parental support for heritage language maintenance (HLM) and the immigrant parents' socioeconomic status (SES). Previous studies suggest that SES of a family is an external factor that influences the literacy of its future generation and parents with higher SES are more willing to have their children learn heritage languages. The data for this study was collected through an online survey from 91 East and South Asian immigrant parents in Toronto, Ontario, all of whom have raised children in Canada. The survey gathered background information about the participants, including their heritage language use in daily life, their motivation to pass down their heritage language to the next generation, and whether they had registered their children in HLM programs. The parents' SES was evaluated based on occupation and education. After considering SES, length of residence in Canada, and ethnicity, the results were found to correspond with the hypothesis. While High-SES and Low-SES parents are both supportive for HLM, differences in income, environment, and cultural value leads to differences in their goals and decisions. More than 85% of Low-SES parents believe that HLM is a method for the

children to communicate with family and community members, while High-SES parents (56.4%) put more emphasis on cultural values, identity, and career opportunities than Low-SES parents (38.2%). Consequently, Low-SES children are more likely to acquire HL from daily life, while more High-SES children are more likely to be registered for HLM programs at school.

Introduction

As the first country that adopted multiculturalism as official policy, Canada fosters the prosperous of different cultures over the past few decades. However since the official language of the country is English and French, it is up to the individuals to decide whether to pass down their heritage language (HL), which tie in so deeply with one's culture. Sociolinguistics have been trying to establish the relationship between the Socio-economic States (SES) of parents and their children's language development.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the connection between parental support for heritage language maintenance and the parents' SES, especially among East and South Asian communities. The hypothesis is that immigrant parents with a higher SES will be more supportive toward their children's heritage language maintenance than lower SES parents.

Literature Review

The relationship between parental support and immigrant children's heritage language skills has been discussed in different previous studies. Reese et.al (2006) collected data from Mexican immigrant families in the United States. The result showed that children who enrolled in the dual-language program were twice as likely to have parents who work in higher prestige profession. It suggested that parents with higher social status are more supportive toward their

children's heritage language (HL) maintenance. Lambert & Taylor (1996) interviewed Cuban-American mothers on their attitudes toward HLM. The responses showed that mothers with higher prestiged profession and educational background put more emphasis on their children's Hispanic identity. The working-class mothers, however, wish their children to be Americanized. They believed speaking English will ensure the children a better future, thus they might not enforce the children's HLM. Studies also suggested that it is not the motivation but the ability of the parents mattered the most. Mori & Calder (2017) pointed out that home literacy environment is influential toward children's HLM at early stage. Parents with higher socioeconomic status and higher educational background tend to have more access to the materials that helped to create such an environment. While lower-class parents might have similar motive, they may lack the ability to put their children's heritage language learning into practice. On the other hand, Zhang (2012) came to a very different conclusion by doing a comparison study between Mandarin-speaking upper-class and Fujianese-speaking lower-class community in the United States. The lower-class family lived in the enclosure environment of Chinatown while the upper-class lived among different ethnic groups. As a result, lower-class parents felt more necessity to teach the children heritage language. Their children also had more opportunities to practise their heritage language thus demonstrated better language skills. The claim seems to contradict my hypothesis but the data in Zhang's study focuses more on the children's actual performance instead of the parents' will. Pearson (2007) suggested the ironic situation where children from better socioeconomic background might show less heritage language proficiency despite their parents' effort. My survey will only consider the parents attitude toward HLM instead of the children's actual language abilities.

Methodology

The research targets at Canadian parents who speak South or East Asia heritage languages. Most of them have lived in Canada for over ten years and have children who were born and raised in an English speaking environment.

The data was collected through an online survey. The survey contains 13 questions that gather the background information about the participants, help to determine whether they are willing to pass down their heritage language to the next generation. In order to estimate the participants' Socio Economic States (SES) more accurately, their education and occupation are both taken into consideration. Occupations are divided into six categories, including Business Administration and Management; Marketing, Human Resource, Sales and Financial Services; Healthcare and Medical Services; Government and Legal Services; Education and Academic; Food and Hospitality, Transportation and Personal Services. A blank option is also provided for the participants whose jobs are not listed above. Combined the responds with their level of education (Master degree or above, Bachelor, High school, Middle school or below), the participants are divided into two groups, Higher SES and Lower SES. Such method avoid the misjudge that results from the possible mismatch between financial well being and job prestige.

Additional questions about the participants' background includes the length of the time they lived in Canada, their daily usage of English, and in what context do they use it. The responses provide information about the participants' distance with their heritage languages and culture. In addition, it may suggest the amount of input in heritage languages the children receive directly or indirectly in their daily life.

The participants' willingness to maintain their heritage

languages are reflected by their response to seven questions. Four questions target at their motivation, such as the benefits of having their children learn the heritage language, whether they consider English as more important than their heritage language, and if they think that learning heritage languages will have a negative influence on their children's English development. The other three questions focus on the actual performance, including whether they have registered their children for any language maintenance program, how often do they use the heritage language to communicate with their children and family members.

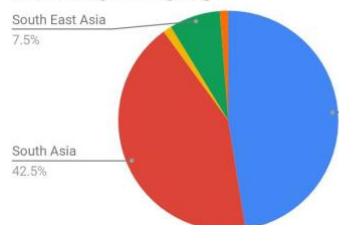
The recruitment of research participants are conducted through social media as well as personal contact, mainly living in Great Toronto Areas, Ontario. Considering the fact that most of the participants work in Academic and Education areas, or have children that received post-secondary education at the University of Toronto, it is possible that the variation in SES is not very distinct. In addition, the research questions are present in English, which may require a certain level of English proficiency to respond. Therefore, the proportion of individuals with different socio-economic states might not correspond to the actual percentage among immigrant families in Canada.

Data Analysis

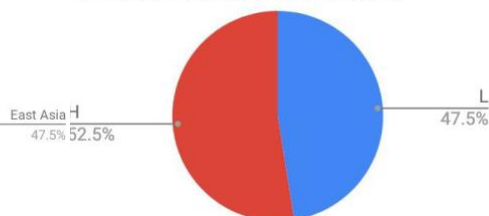
81 participants gave responses to the survey. 47.5% speak East Asia languages (Mandarin, Cantonese, Japanese, Korean etc.) and 42.5% has South Asian heritage languages (Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Bangla, etc.). A small number of participants claimed that they speak Southeast Asia languages (Vietnamese, Filipino, Tagalog, etc.). Though their responses are interesting to look into, it will not be the main focus of this study. (See *Chart A, 1*)

Chart A

b. Heritage Language



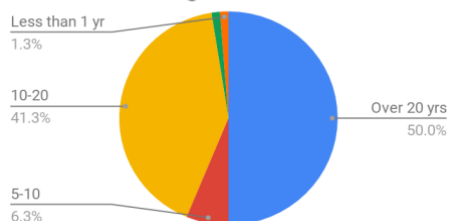
2. Socio-economic States



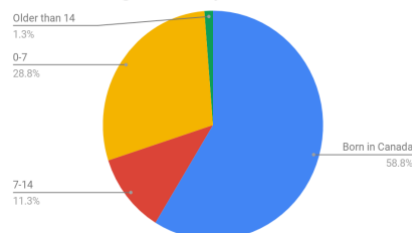
From the analyzed data, 91.2% of the participants had lived in Canada for over 10 years, including 49.4% who have been in Canada for over 20 years (*Chart B, 1*). 58.2% had children who were born in Canada and 29.1% moved to Canada before their children turned seven (*Chart B, 2*). Judging from their job prestige and educational background, 52.5% have a higher SES (HSES) than the rest (LSES). They are individuals who have a Bachelor degree or above and work in Academic and Education, Business Administration and Management, Healthcare and Medical Services, or Government and Legal Services. (See *Chart A, 2*)

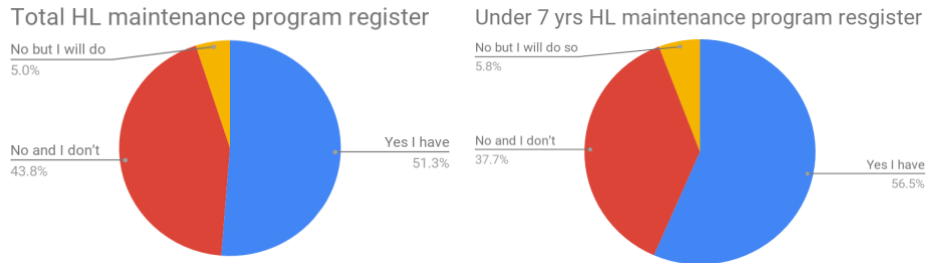
Chart B

1. Years of living in Canada



d. Children's age when they came to Canada



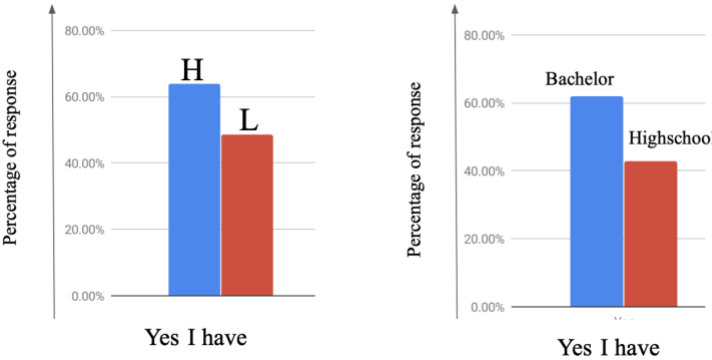


In total, around a half (53.5%) of the participants had registered or plan to register their children for a heritage language maintenance program (HLMP) and 5% consider doing it in the future. The percentage increases by 5% when the participants who moved to Canada after their children turned seven. These children are likely to acquire the heritage languages before entering an English speaking environment. The parents might feel no need to further register them for language lessons. Based on the data of the parents who moved to Canada before their children's first language acquisition complete, outstanding difference can be seen between different SES groups. 63.9% of HSES parents reported that they have registered their children for heritage language maintenance program while among LSES the percentage decreases to 48.5%. Further analyze focus on parents' level of education shows that the biggest gap exists between the parents who only finished high school (42.9% sent their children for HLMP) and those who have a bachelor's degree (62.1%). However, it is interesting to note that only 45% of parents who had a Master's degree or above have registered their children for HLMP and 10% reports that they plan on doing so in the future. Additionally, almost all the participants who had middle school or lower level of education have children who attended HLMP. Considering these two groups sample are relatively small compared with those who have high school or

bachelor's diploma, the data may not be accurate to represent the whole group.

The main reasons behind such phenomena are the parents' motivation, understanding of language learning, and there is also a notable gap between the parents' beliefs and actual performances.

Chart C

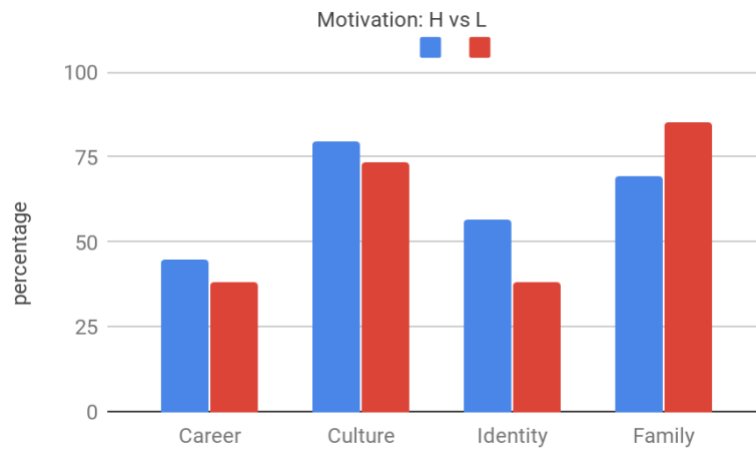


Discussion

Cho et, al (2009) suggested that the motivation for immigrants to learn their heritage languages includes to communicate with family members, understand their home culture, build their culture identity, and expand career options. The data show that participants with different SES value these factors differently. 85.3% participants from LSES group chose “helps my children to communication with the family members” as the reason to encourage their children to learn the heritage languages. Only 69.2% HSES participants gave out the same answer. On the contrary, 56.4% HSES participants believe that learning heritage language is helpful to build the children’s identity, while the number of participants holding the same belief is 38.2% among LSES group. Similarly, the number of HSES participants who chose career

opportunities and cultural learning are around 6% higher than the LSES groups. Additionally, several LSES participants specifically noted that their English skills are not sufficient, therefore, they need their children to learn the heritage language in order to communicate with them. The data suggest that the motivations for LSES group are based more on daily communication needs instead of cultural value, personal identity, or future development. (See Chart D)

Chart D

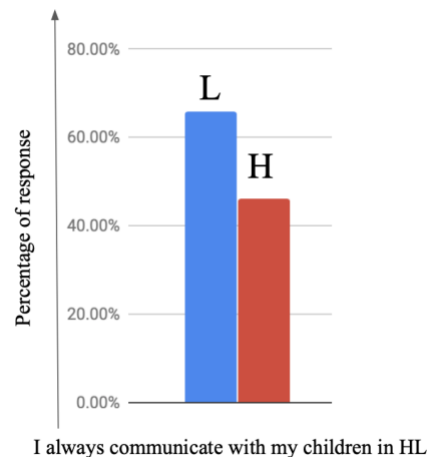


There is also possible relation between education level and the participants' understanding of language acquisition. No HSES participants agree with the statement "Learning heritage language may have a negative influence on my children's English." while 5.3% of LSES participants agreed and 10.5% remain neutral. However, nearly half (48.8%) of HSES parents view English as more important than their heritage language for their children's personal development. The parents who hold similar ideas are around 10% less among LSES group. It is possible that HSES

parents are more aware of the benefits of being multilingual, thus, they emphasize the learning of both English and their heritage languages.

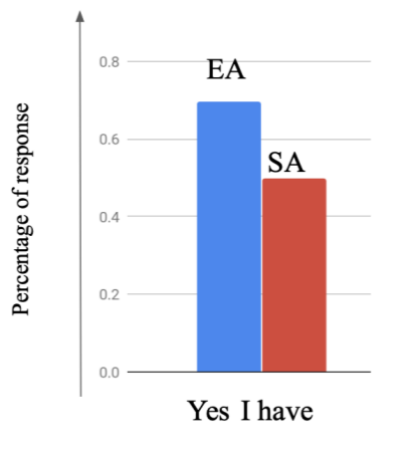
Aside from their motivation and willingness, there are differences in actual performance. 65.8% of LSES parents reported that they always talk to their children in their heritage language (Chart E, 1), however, only 46.3% of HSES parents claimed to do so (Chart E, 2). In addition, through the in-person communication with several of the participants' children, the children from LSES family tend to have higher level of proficiency in oral communication but the level of reading and writing skills are not sufficient. However, the HSES children who attended the HL maintenance program tend to learn reading and writing as well. Considering the size of the sample is small, further research is needed to determine the actual language skills of these children. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, this research will be focusing on parents' willingness only.

Chart E



It is also interesting to note that there is a huge difference based on the parents' ethnicity. While 69.7% of East Asian parents reported that they have registered their children for HL maintenance program, only 50% South Asian parents did so (Chart F, 1, 2). Considering there is no significant difference in terms of Socio-economic states, years of living in Canada and children's age between the two groups, this result was not expected. It also seem to contrary their responses to whether learning heritage languages shall have negative influence on the children's English. 85.3% of the South Asian parents believed there will be no negative influence, while less (73%) East Asian parents believe so (Chart F, 5, 6). However, their evaluation of the importance of English may be the cause. 16.2% of East Asian parents consider English more important than their heritage languages for the children's personal development, while 26.5% of South Asian parents holding the same idea. Meanwhile, only 8.1% of East Aisan parents think that their heritage languages are more important than English but the number is much higher (23.5%) among South Asian parents. There seem to be quite a dividend between South Asian parents concern the question while most East Asian parents (45.9%) chose to remain neutral as they consider both languages as equal (Chart F, 3, 4). The sample is not big enough to conduct further analysis based on ethnicity difference. Further research is required to determine whether cultural value and other factors have contributed to this phenomenon.

Chart F



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Contributors

Maisha Mustanzir is an undergraduate student at the University of Toronto studying socio-cultural anthropology, English and art history. Since childhood, she has had a bad habit of resting her ear against walls to listen to what people on the other side are saying. Once she heard her father read Rabindranath Tagore's poetry and for the first time, she walked to the other side of the wall, sat on the floor and listened to the words of the man who would later inspire her to write her own poetry. She has been writing since she was fifteen years old but she only started to publically share her work in her second year at UofT. She is a writer, researcher, educator, artist and a caffeine fueled workaholic. You can follow her poetry work on Instagram @mai_poetry.

Jawad Talut (@dawaj.t) is a second-year student at the University of Toronto Scarborough. He is majoring in English and creative writing. He writes short stories, screenplays, and poetry. He hopes that you learn to take better care of yourself so you can care for others. He has one work of fiction published in the *Esthetic Apostle* and one non-fiction published in Dave Egger's *Hawkins Project*.

Ryanne Kap is a fourth-year student at University of Toronto Scarborough specializing in English and minoring in creative writing. She is primarily interested in studying intersections of race and culture, particularly within Asian North American literature. She also has a love for contemporary film and television, and will gladly discuss *Parasite* and/or *Avatar: The Last Airbender* at length. In the fall, Ryanne will be pursuing an MA in English at Western.

Editors

Editor-in-Chief Eva Wissting is specializing in English and minoring in creative writing at University of Toronto. She writes and edits for *Asymptote Journal*, *Populär Poesi*, *Dagensbok* and *The Varsity*. Her creative work is published in anthologies *Keyhole Stories* and *Dead Ends* and journals *The Women's Issue* and *The Underground*. Her undergraduate academic work has been presented at the UTSC English Undergraduate Conference and the UofT Literature & Critical Theory Student Union Undergraduate Conference.

Creative Writing Editor Jingshu Helen Yao is an undergraduate student at the University of Toronto Scarborough. She majors in linguistics, with a focus in Second Language Acquisition and Heritage Language Maintenance. Her independent study was presented at the undergraduate linguistics conferences at UofT and UBC. She is also minoring in creative writing and she aspires to write science fiction based on linguistics research.

Academic Writing Editor Anna Wong is a fourth-year student studying English and psychology at University of Toronto. Ever since she was young she has been impressed by the craft of writing and the power of words to connect individuals, which motivates her to use writing as a recreational outlet of catharsis and healing. Her all-time favourite series are Rick Riordan's *Percy Jackson* series and Hiromu Arakawa's *Fullmetal Alchemist*.

Design Editor Paige Camilleri is a fourth-year English major with minors in classics and studio. She is both a creator and lover of art. Currently, Paige is expanding her graphic design portfolio by working with SELF. She is excited to learn more about the Scarborough community through the publication of *Scarborough Review*.

Design Editor Taylor Whitten is an English and psychology major in her final year at UTSC. She is a social media executive of the Students of English Literature and Film (SELF), where she keeps students updated on events through social media and newsletters. She enjoys nature photography and video games, and when she isn't too busy you can find her walking through local trails with her camera.

