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Political Ideology and Heritage Language Development in a Chilean Exile Community: A Multiple Case Study

by

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Abstract

Our current understanding of Spanish heritage language development (HLD) in the English-speaking world is largely restricted to non-refugee Hispanic groups in the United States (Potowski & Rothman, 2011). The present thesis addresses this gap by probing the relationship between the leftist political ideologies and "refugee culture" upon which Edmonton's Chilean community was founded in the 1970s, and the HLD of four of its now-adult children. Data for this exploratory, qualitative, multiple case study were collected from a background questionnaire and two semi-structured interviews with each participant. The main finding was that participants' identification with the community's prevailing political ideologies had a strong effect on their attitudes towards their ethnic heritage, community involvement, and Spanish use as adults. This study contributes to our understanding of Spanish HLD in Canada, and in refugee contexts that have a decidedly political history.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.0 Chapter Introduction

In this chapter, I begin by describing the impetus and rationale for this study. I then outline the research questions and address issues of terminology. Finally, before moving on to describe how this thesis is organized, I make explicit my research agenda in relation to the literature.

1.1 Impetus for this Study

In Edmonton, Hispanics constitute less than 1% of the city's total population and have not established themselves in identifiable, cohesive districts like the Chinese or Italians have (e.g., "Chinatown" and "Little Italy"). As a foreign language learner of Spanish in this city, then, one of the best ways to hear Spanish spoken outside of the classroom is to attend the little-publicized and infrequent Hispanic community events. A few years ago, my quest for Spanish in Edmonton brought me to the Chilean community's annual September 11th commemoration. I learned at that time that September 11th was not only a significant day for Americans, but also, as Ariel Dorfman remarked: "For me and for millions of other human beings[,] Tuesday, September 11th has been a painful day for twenty-eight years, since that day in 1973 when Chile lost its democracy in a military coup, that day in which death entered our lives in an irrevocable way and altered it forever" (2006, p. 1, my translation). At that event I also learned that the wave of Chileans that settled in Edmonton around the time of the coup d'état were the founders of Edmonton's Hispanic community.

Much of the popular discourse surrounding immigration in Canada concerns celebrating multiculturalism, and to be sure, all other displays of Hispanic culture that I had seen in Edmonton had had a celebratory atmosphere, featuring Latin American cuisine, Latin dance, Spanish pop music and the occasional Andean flute performance at a mall or city festival. But the September 11th commemoration event presented a stark contrast to what I was used to seeing at Hispanic cultural events. This event highlighted a day in Chilean history that marked the real and symbolic eradication of a leftist political movement to which

many community members had dedicated their youths, both in Chile and afterwards in the diaspora. Without the events leading up to and following September 11th, 1973, many of those in attendance that day would likely never have considered raising their children half a world away from their families.

That year's September 11th commemoration was held in a small community hall filled with socialist slogans and pictures of Latin American revolutionaries. Political banners and posters from forty years ago were tacked to the walls. The audience consisted mostly of community elders, so it seemed somehow unusual that their children—the second generation,[1] now in their twenties, thirties and forties —had taken leadership of the event. I later learned that these youth had formed a group, *Recordar para Actuar* (REPARA),[2] dedicated to preserving the history of their community and to promoting the progressive political culture that their parents had brought with them. Besides organizing the event, they emceed in English and in Spanish, and put on a play that they had written entirely in Spanish, featuring a dinner conversation between the first generation and the second. I was fascinated. And it was at that point that I began to wonder why the adult children of this unique community were so dedicated to preserving the political aspects of their heritage—painful as it was for so many—and how their experience growing up in an exile community had marked their interpretation of Chilean culture, their ethnic identity, and their use of Spanish.

1.1.1 Rationale

Core values, including language and family, have been found to have different implications for heritage language development[3] (HLD) across cultures (Smolicz, Secombe, & Hudson, 2010). This raises the question of whether language maintenance and development might also have different value for

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[1] Following Tran (2010): "The term 'second generation' refers to those born in [Canada] to immigrant parents and those born abroad who immigrated to [Canada] at a relatively young age, usually before age 12" (p. 271).

[2] Remembrance for action (rough translation). For more information on this group, see Section 3.2.1 for an explanation of this acronym and its relevance to this study.

[3] See Section 1.3 for a discussion of my choice to use this term.

different kinds of migrants (i.e., economic immigrants, refugees, etc.) *within* specific cultures.

Exiles[4] form a little-investigated immigrant group whose virtual absence in the HLD literature has gone largely unexplained, although some authors have been explicit about why they excluded exiles from their studies. Guardado (2008), for instance, stated that including refugees in his study might have introduced "additional post-traumatic-related issues and barriers to their integration" and language maintenance (p.34), which were not within the scope of his study to consider. Nevertheless, recent work has called for inquiries into language and identity development processes in these complex communities—especially considering that refugees make up the largest population of minority language speakers in some ethnic communities (for examples in Hispanic communities see Poyatos Matas & CuatroNochez, 2011; Walker, 2011; King & Ganuza, 2005).

Indeed, reluctant migrants differ in at least one fundamental way from other types of immigrants: the reason for migration. Exiles leave their countries not because they desire to live elsewhere, but because it has become impossible or highly undesirable to continue living in their country of origin or permanent residence. And because by definition exiles migrate under such unfavorable circumstances, it is reasonable to assume that their identity construction in the host country is different from that of others who migrate for more volitional reasons. Thus, being that identity and HLD are intimately linked (Tse, 1997; Guardado, 2002; Noels, 2005), the identities that reluctant migrants forge for themselves and foster in their children might also have distinct implications for their children's HLD. In this way, exile communities offer an avenue for HLD research that promises to challenge and expand upon what we already know about the processes of heritage language and identity development in other migrant groups.

My goal with this project thus was to identify and examine factors that

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[4] There exist several options to describe the experience of migration away from the home country due to unbearable living conditions (e.g., persecution, violent conflict, high rates of unemployment, etc.), but for this study I use three of the most common interchangeably: *refugee, exile,* and *reluctant migrant*.

contributed to the HLD of four now-adult children of two Chilean families that immigrated to Edmonton around the time of the Chilean coup d'état in 1973. To that end, I conducted this study with the particular socialist and politically active history of this wave of immigration in mind (Eastmond, 1993; del Pozo, 2006).

I will now briefly describe the political situation in Chile that drove the families in this study out of their country in the 1970s, and the community that they and their fellow reluctant migrants formed in Edmonton.

1.1.2 Chilean Refugees in the Diaspora

Following the 1973 coup d'état in which the dictator, Augusto Pinochet, usurped the democratically-elected, socialist president, Salvador Allende, more than half a million Chileans fled to countries like Australia, Canada, and Sweden due to the mounting political and economic instability (Doña & Levinson, 2004). Since the 1970s, monograph-length sociological inquiries have been made about Chilean exile communities (Kay, 1987; Shayne, 2009), but virtually nothing is known about how the children of refugees—the second generation—develop their heritage language (HL) and ethnic identities in the context of exile (see King & Ganuza, 2005 for an exception in Sweden).

Although Chileans make up only 0.12% of Canada's population and 0.30% of Edmonton's population, Chileans (pop. 3,045) are the largest ethnic group in the city's Hispanic community, followed by Salvadorans (pop. 2,945) (Statistics Canada, 2006). Unlike in the United States, the presence of Latin Americans in general in Canada is quite recent and can be traced back to the arrival of large numbers of Chileans in the 1970s, which saw the total population of Latin Americans in Canada almost triple after this wave of Chilean immigrants (del Pozo, 2006). So while Canada has a considerably small Latin American population, Chileans are second only to Salvadorans nationally (del Pozo, 2006) and continue to be the largest and oldest Spanish-speaking ethnic group in Edmonton[5]. Being the first and most numerous Hispanic group to settle in Edmonton, Chileans were pioneers in Edmonton's Spanish-speaking community,

[5] The Chileans were preceded by small numbers of Spaniards, but when the Chileans arrived in the 1970s, Hispanics in general were very few in Edmonton.

and as such have been instrumental to the social and linguistic integration of the Hispanic groups that followed. Indeed, at the time that the first waves of Chilean immigrants were arriving in Edmonton, there were virtually no immigrant-serving associations to aid this community in establishing themselves in the city. As a result, several key, dedicated members of the community organized to form Edmonton's first community Spanish language schools and Hispanic housing co-operatives. In this way, this group of Chileans helped to lay the foundation of Edmonton's Hispanic community, which would continue to grow throughout the 1980s and 1990s with the arrival of other exiles, predominantly from El Salvador.

While the official immigration status of Chilean migrants in Canada during the 1970s varies, del Pozo (2006, 2010) estimates that Chileans arriving in Canada between 1974 and 1976 left largely due to political persecution and repression, and economic factors brought on primarily by the new dictatorship. Many Chileans arriving after 1973 had been politically active in Chile and had strong socialist political ideologies (Kay, 1987; Power, 2009; Eastmond, 1993). Along with their language(s)[6] and few belongings, many who had been involved in the Chilean socialist movement brought their leftist convictions with them, compounding their "struggle for cultural continuity as Chileans *and* supporters of a political movement" (Eastmond, 1993, p. 35, my emphasis). In other words, although it is generally a struggle for immigrants to transmit their cultural values to their children, Eastmond is suggesting that Chilean exiles had the added challenge of trying to also maintain their political values and activities in the diaspora. Even though not everyone who had once actively supported the leftist movement in Chile continued to be active in the diaspora, subgroups concerned about the *compañeros*, or comrades, they left behind organized solidarity efforts, giving Chileans and the crimes of the Pinochet dictatorship visibility in their host communities (Power, 2009). This spirit of activism extended to other areas as well, but of relevance here is the impact that this community's political and activist nature had on its own identity and on the formation of their children's identities

[6] Some were first-language speakers of Mapudungun or other indigenous Chilean languages.

and HLD. The role of the community in successful HLD has been cited as crucial (Fishman, 1991; Zentella, 1997; Walker, 2011; Guardado, 2008), but because exile communities have received so little attention in this regard, virtually nothing is known about how "community" and other commonly cited HLD factors such as identity function in this context. This study hopes to begin addressing this gap.

1.2 Research questions

I left the research questions quite open-ended, as I did not want to limit potentially relevant data in this study, which is quite exploratory in terms of Spanish HLD in Canada[7] and as a study of HLD in the context of exile.

Because ethnic identity is a well-established motivator of HLD and use (Tse, 1997; He, 2008a; Noels, 2005) and so little is known about how the second generation in exile communities develop their heritage identities, this study sought to determine how the participants interpreted Chilean culture and the degree to which they identified with their heritage culture. In other words, the first research question was:

1. How do the participants describe Chilean culture? How do they position themselves in relation to the Chilean culture they describe?

Positive attitudes towards the HL have also been found to be key in an individual's choice to use and promote it (Li, 1999). Yet the relationship between language attitudes and language use is complex and is situated in a larger web of (sometimes conflicting) ideologies and practices (Baker, 1992; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). Therefore, community participation, or extra-domestic use, has also been cited as an factor HLD partly because when the heritage bilingual[8] sees their home language used in the broader society, its status is elevated (Fishman, 1991), and the they are encouraged to see their heritage language more positively. Community participation also provides the heritage bilingual with a more diverse interactional pool where friendships can form. For this reason, this study's other primary research questions consider language attitudes, community involvement and other possible factors:

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[7] See Guardado's work (2002, 2008, etc.) for a notable exception.
[8] See Section 1.3 for discussion of this term.

2. What are the participants' attitudes towards Spanish? Towards bilingualism?
3. What role does their community involvement play in shaping their Spanish HLD and attitudes? What other factors influenced their Spanish HLD and attitudes?

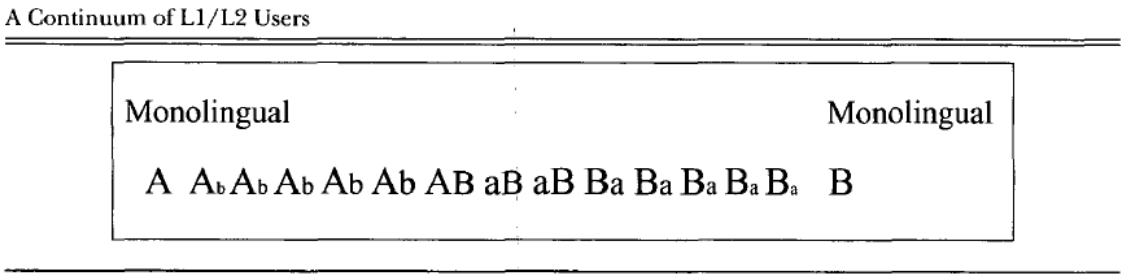
1.3 Terminology

There are several ways to describe the same phenomena, and a single term is rarely sufficient to capture the phenomena it describes. Nevertheless, labels are necessary to communicate the content of this study, so I will now point out the ways that certain key terms will be used this thesis.

1.3.1 Heritage Bilingual

Heritage speaker is a problematic term because it assumes that the individual "speaks" the heritage language, and immediately presents problems of trying to define what is meant when we say that someone speaks a language. Also, implicit in the notion of "speaker" is that the individual has obtained a certain level of proficiency and fluency in the language, which I have not measured in this study. "Speaker" also does not give a full picture of the heritage individual as a complex language user. *Heritage learner* or *student* is not entirely appropriate here either because, while it could be said that people are constantly learning, this term is most commonly used in educational settings (Valdés 1995, 2005). With no generally agreed upon definition, *bilingual* is theoretically no less problematic than the previous terms, but it may be more pertinent to the heritage bilingual's experience. In Valdés' (2005) conceptualization of the heritage student as "L1/L2 user," she acknowledges the temporal element in the heritage bilingual's language competence, saying that heritage learners "may, at different points in their lives, exhibit various degrees of language expertise and language affiliation in spite of their language inheritance" (pp. 413-414), which I feel paints a more realistic picture of HLD. Valdés' illustration of the heritage learner's bilingual range (Illustration 1) is useful to describe the variability in L1/L2 language competence over the course of one's lifetime. It is this range that I wish to emphasize when referring to heritage bilinguals in this study.

Illustration 1: "A Continuum of L1/L1 Users"



Valdés' illustration of the heritage learner's (or L1/L2 user's) potential bilingual range. (2005, p. 414)

1.3.2 Heritage Language Development (HLD)

Following Guardado's (2008) preference of HLD over heritage language maintenance, this study understands the heritage bilingual's relationship to the HL as something that develops over time and in multiple, dynamic ways, rather than "just keeping an already-developed level of language ability" (p. 34). This study also emphasizes heritage language development over maintenance because, while language development is essential to language maintenance, the intra-generational focus of this study is more concerned with the individual's language use over their lifetime, rather than trying to provide an intergenerational (maintenance) perspective.

1.4 My Position

Although some of the discussion in this study considers the effects of the participants' HLD on language maintenance on the next generation, my purpose with this thesis is not to advocate for intergenerational language maintenance explicitly (see for example Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1991; Au, 2008). I recognize the many potential benefits of HLD (see Chapter 2), but I feel that the realization of these benefits is relative to individuals and families. In other words, I do not assume that heritage language and identity development have equal value for everyone. My research is thus guided in part by Potowski's (2004) cautionary words:

> "[I]s it feasible or desirable to encourage identification with Latin American countries of origin among youth born and raised in the United States [or in the diaspora]? Spanish maintenance advocates run the risk of misplacing our good intentions if we do not understand the beliefs, aspirations, and attitudes toward Spanish of bilingual individuals and communities" (p. 33).

My position is that HLs are worth developing for a variety of reasons, such as improved self-esteem and family communication. However, I believe that neither heritage nor language should be imposed upon subsequent generations without taking into account that they are in a constant process of carving out self and belonging within in their specific national, historical, ideological, and linguistic contexts (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Potowski, 2004).

Unlike many studies in the area of heritage language maintenance, this study does not seek to assess the ethnolinguistic vitality of Spanish in Edmonton or in the Chilean community, although any study of HLD has potential implications for intergenerational maintenance. It also does not seek to establish its value in family communication, as other investigations have convincingly done (Fillmore, 1991; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Thomas & Cao, 1999; Tannenbaum, 2005). Instead, my project seeks to describe and understand the way in which four second-generation members of this exile community have interpreted their heritage culture, formed their identities, and participated in their communities, and the implications of these factors and processes for their HLD. My hope is to contribute to our understanding of how growing up in the context of exile influences HLD.

This study acknowledges the political and activist nature of this community's beginnings in the 1970s, and considers this characteristic to be a potential factor in the identity formation processes and subsequent HLD in the second generation. It also considers generational distinctions to be fuzzy at best, and as such, understands the second generation and their HLD to be part of the experience of immigrant adaptation—regardless of their place of birth (Skrbis, Baldasar & Poynting, 2007).

1.5 Organization of this Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters. In Chapter 2 I begin by outlining some of the known benefits of HLD, and then move on to review the relevant literature in order to explore and problematize the main HLD factors under examination in this study, such as identity, family, community, and culture. In this chapter I establish the need to conceive of heritage bilingualism as a life-long process, and to include adult participants in HLD research. I point out that there have been very few studies of Spanish HLD outside of the US context, and that Chilean refugees founded many Hispanic communities in non-US English-speaking contexts. I conclude Chapter 2 by discussing the findings of three HLD studies in refugee contexts (two of which include second-generation Chileans refugees) in order to establish the potential value of considering the unique (and largely unknown) characteristics present in refugee communities, and their implications of HLD for the second generation. Chapter 3 outlines the study's methodological approach and related considerations. In Chapters 4 and 5 I analyze the results of The Activists (Victor and Adriana), and in Chapters 6 and 7 I do the same with the results of their siblings (Germán and Francesca), The Non-Activists (see Chapter 3 for a justification of this distinction). The results chapters are structured around the main research questions. In Chapter 8 I discuss the study's main findings in relation to the relevant literature, offer conclusions about study's main findings, outline the study's limitations, and propose possible implications and considerations for future studies of HLD in exile communities.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.0 Chapter Introduction

I begin this chapter by outlining some of the principal benefits associated with HLD. Then I submit that the HLD of adult second-generation immigrants is part of a life-long, ever-evolving cultural and linguistic process in which heritage bilingualism is situated, and that studying the HLD attitudes and practices of this age group can provide much needed insight on intra- and intergenerational minority language transmission and development. After that, I draw on

discussions of family, community, ideology, ethnic identity, culture, and heritage in the literature in order to illustrate how these concepts are understood in the context of this study. Finally, I review some of the few existing studies on HLD in exile communities to bring attention to some of the new insights that investigating HLD in the context of exile can offer, and what existing studies contribute to the focus of this study.

2.1 Heritage Language Development, Shift, and Loss

When speakers of minority languages gradually stop using their languages, it is generally understood that language "shift" or "loss" is underway (Fishman, 1991). While some argue that language shift is a natural process of "sociolinguistic Darwinism" (Ruíz, 1988, p. 8), advocates of language maintenance contend that shift away from the minority language is rooted in a complex web of internal (psychological) and external (societal, social) factors (Fillmore, 1991) and that there is nothing "natural" about language loss.

Shift occurs inter- and intra-generationally, but in her study, Kouritzin (1999) challenged the tendency for research on language shift to be concerned primarily with the intergenerational linguistic vitality of minority languages, and focused her project on the intra-generational effects of language loss on adult second-generation immigrants. Micro-level work like Kouritzin's has helped shed light on the psychological, interpersonal, and affective consequences of loss for the individual, and for the individual as part of a family (Fillmore, 1991; Thomas & Cao, 1999).

The negative consequences of loss become especially apparent when families do not share proficiency in a common language: "When parents lose the means for socializing and influencing their children, rifts develop and families lose the intimacy that comes from shared beliefs and understandings" (Fillmore, 1991, p. 343). But it is not always the case that communication breaks down when parents and children do not share comparable proficiency in a common code. Especially as time passes and many immigrant parents become more proficient in the societally-dominant language, mixed-code patterns of communication become common (Zentella, 1997), suggesting that language choices are enmeshed in a

myriad of environmental factors, including the parents' language attitudes, practices, and competences.

The perceived benefits of HLD are contingent upon a wide range of factors, such as societal language ideologies (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). But regardless of whether the individual perceives the HL to be beneficial to their life or not, HLD provides second-generation individuals with a resource that has the potential to positively affect family cohesion (Fillmore, 1991), increase self-esteem (Baker, 2011), enhance ethnic identities (Tse, 1997), and support educational success (Cummins, 1984), among other things. Indeed, in his interviews with parents in seven immigrant families in Sydney, Australia, Tannenbaum (2005) found that "parents fluent in the new language are uniquely attached to their mother tongue and tend to associate it with more authentic and intimate modes of communication" (p. 249), suggesting that even in families where the parents and children can communicate freely in the new language, the HL is still valued for its affective function—at least by the parents. Nevertheless, finding ways to instill a sense that HLD is a worthwhile endeavour in young members of the second generation is arguably one of the greatest and most important challenges in HLD (Guardado, 2002). The first major shift in the second generation's language preference and use is when they enter the school system, which, for its homogenizing ideologies concerning language and culture, has frequently been cited as a harbinger of loss (Baker, 2011; Cummins, 1984). But in the next section we will see how studying second-generation adults has the potential to challenge this somber outlook.

2.1.1 The Value of Studying the HLD of Second Generation Adults

Many language maintenance studies have focused on the minority language socialization and use of the second generation, especially in childhood. These studies often focus on the nuclear family as the primary socializing unit, and typically involve interactions between immigrant parents or extended family members, and their children or grandchildren (Guardado, 2002, 2008; Schecter & Bayley, 1997). Studies that include more than two generations into their analysis (Schecter & Bayley, 1997) by adopting a whole-community or networks approach

(Wei, 1994; Zentella, 1997; Hulsen, de Bot, & Weltens, 2002) are less common, and so research of this nature has much to offer by way of intergenerational perspective and are widely cited.

Research on the second generation's HLD and use in adulthood are fewer, but crucial. Finding itself at the intersection with the third and subsequent generations, the second generation, is the new 'weak link' in current estimations of the rate of minority language loss (Tran, 2010; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). While it is not within the scope of this study to assess the ethnolinguistic vitality of Edmonton's Chilean community, examining the second generation's HLD will have implications for its transmission to their children, and ultimately to the intergenerational continuance of the HL in the host country.

Understanding the second generation's language attitudes, ideologies, and practices while anticipating (Potowski, 2004) and raising (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999) the third generation offers us important insights into what the language attitudes and practices present throughout the second generation's upbringing mean to their continued use of the HL as adult heritage bilinguals, and subsequently point to the HL's prospects for intergenerational continuity. The language attitudes of this generation undergo a shift in focus from "What relevance does my HL have in my life?" to "What relevance will my HL have in the lives of my children?," which is an important consideration because the pragmatic motivations that they may have had to speak the HL with their monolingual minority-language-speaking (or minority-language-dominant) parents will likely be absent from their children's experience. Similarly, the immigrant parents' interpretation of the minority culture and of the importance of the HL in expressing and maintaining certain cultural values will likely differ in some respects from those of the second generation, who grew up in an immigrant, as opposed to country-of-origin, context. Thus, due to factors such as varying attitudes towards the HL and culture, even in the space of one generation, the function of the HL in the second generation's life can shift from pragmatic in childhood to more symbolic in adulthood (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999), and from heritage language (where the immigrant parents speak the minority language

regularly in the home) to ancestral language (where the second-generation parents do not speak the minority language regularly, or at all, in the home).

Thinking about having children and actually having children can trigger the second generation to develop attitudes about the future use of their HL in the community, and about their role as parents in that process (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999). Their language attitudes as adults reflect prevailing societal attitudes towards their HL, ethnic culture, and bilingualism in general (King & Ganuza, 2005; Walker, 2011), and also whether their own language socialization experience as children and adolescents provided them with sufficient grounding and motivation to positively influence their decision to continue speaking it with their children. Indeed, it has been suggested that the *way* a parent encourages their child to speak the HL and L1 culture could be one of these experiential factors (Guardado, 2002). Decapua & Wintergerst's (2009) case study of German language maintenance in a mixed, second-generation German and American family demonstrates that even the parent that is not proficient in the HL can play a role in HLD. In this study the authors found that in spite of the American father's lack of knowledge of German, his positive attitudes towards his children's acquisition of German played a supportive role in their HLD. In many cases, however, mixed marriages where only one parent speaks the HL can lead to avoidance of the HL in the home, and the exclusive use of the societally-dominant language as lingua franca (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004). These contradictory findings underscore the value of examining a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic factors in HL development, transmission, and shift.

Existing studies with second-generation parents raise some important questions about inter- and intra-generational shift. In Chumak-Horbatsch's (1999) study, some of the second-generation mothers she interviewed felt that expecting that their teenagers speak only Ukrainian "with siblings and friends is 'unrealistic' and an [sic] 'idealist'" (para. 47) and that their children's sense of "belonging to and functioning in the larger English-speaking society" (para. 49) was extremely important. These mothers grew up in homes where speaking English—especially with peers—was forbidden and likely had an effect on how these second-

generation mothers felt about their how they would manage the Ukrainian-only policy with their own children. Furthermore, their belief that their children's disinterest in Ukrainian would undergo a "rebirth following the adolescent years" (para. 67) suggests that that was the mothers' experience, as second-generation heritage bilinguals. The author's tone of concern that the third-generation children in this study were losing their HL reflects that of many authors in this area, seeing child and adolescent HL shift as an irreversible, slippery slope inevitably ending in loss. More in-depth interviewing with the second-generation mothers in this study might have confirmed that their own relationship to and competence in the HL had varied throughout their youth, and that the advent of motherhood triggered a renewed interest in speaking Ukrainian in order to provide their children with a basis in the language (cf. Iqbal, 2005).

2.1.2 Shift and Heritage Bilingualism as a Life-Long Process

As bilinguals, it is natural for the heritage bilingual's competence in the HL and in the majority language to fluctuate over their lifetime (Grosjean, 2010). This natural fluctuation can be perceived as an indicator of loss, when in fact the bilingual is just finding him or herself in more situations where the societally-dominant language is required. Indeed, while the first major event to impact shift is often when the heritage bilingual first enters school (Fillmore, 1991), language socialization is seen as a life-long process, which suggests that a heritage bilingual should be able to "shift" back and forth between his/her languages over the course of their lifetime as even "adults… continue to be socialized into new roles, status, and practices" (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 348) and are influenced by life changes, like marriage and children. This kind of questioning has implications for when we determine that a language is being lost. For instance, Au (2008) found that "even merely overhearing a language for several years during early childhood can, in some cases, result in adult learners acquiring good pronunciation in the language" (p. 348). She concedes that this kind of advantage for heritage bilingual "re-learners" has really only been found at the level of phonology, but it is nevertheless an advantage. Au's finding is relevant here because it suggests that the seeds of heritage bilingualism are hardy and can

withstand years of disuse before sprouting again, especially as the heritage bilingual's ethnic identity develops and deepens (Tse, 1997).

2.2 Primary Factors that Influence HLD

HLD is an inherently complex phenomenon; there is no single factor or variable that has been found to assure language maintenance (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004). However, certain primary factors have been identified as highly influential in successful HLD, such as minority language instruction (Baker, 2011; Cummins & Danesi, 1990) and opportunities for use (Guardado, 2002, 2008). In He's (2008a) state-of-the-field overview of select major contributions to our understanding of HLD, she points out that attitudes, motivation, social and ethnic identity were key factors in this process. But however central these factors may be, each of these is influenced by the broader ideologies, attitudes, and the lived experiences of the individual. For instance, Noels (2005) found that motivational factors were key to students' orientations to studying German, but that heritage identities and community participation greatly enhanced their motivation. Similarly, Tse's (1997) doctoral work found that positive ethnic identity development generally correlated with increased interest in the HL, but was ultimately contingent upon the whether proficiency in the HL was a requirement for participation in the ethnic group. Along the same lines, Potowski (2004) and others have found that certain Hispanic groups in the US have developed "a concept of Latino identity that did not require Spanish proficiency" (p. 2), suggesting that ethnic identity and HLD can operate independently. Finally, although it is well known that positive language attitudes are cornerstone of HLD, we also know that positive language attitudes do not necessarily translate to language use (Baker, 1992).

The ideologies of language, or "notions of what language itself is, and of its relation to cultural and individual identity" (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 354), encompass and simultaneously reflect the HLD factors I have highlighted above, and have been a useful analytical tool in many studies "because they are not only about language [… but they] enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (Woolard &

Schieffelin, 1994, pp. 55-56). Although the objectives of this study were not to examine the participants' language ideologies specifically, taking them into consideration can give us a fuller, and in some ways more accurate, picture of the participants' HLD and help to explain their language attitudes and practices.

2.2.1 The Family and HLD

The family is the first, and arguably most important, language socialization domain (Fishman, 1991; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). The benefits of HLD in the family domain therefore extend to everyone involved: the parents benefit from socializing their children in the language that they are most comfortable in (Fillmore, 1991; Kopeliovich, 2010) and the children, in turn, learn cultural values in the language associated with those values—ultimately, "to be the kind of men and women [their parents] want them to be" (Fillmore, 1991, p. 343). Being that the HL is also the parents' first language, the children benefit from regular, natural input (although it is debated whether the parents provide sufficient input to fully support HLD in their children [Kravin, 1992]). Furthermore, the "spontaneous affect" that family members are able to share via the parents' (and often times the children's) first language is unparalleled in any other social group (Fishman, 2004, p. 435), and subsequently the medium, or language, by which this affect is shared becomes associated with "the source of meaning-making in life" for some (Guardado, 2002, p. 360). Thus, for many heritage bilinguals—even those who go on to learn other languages in their lifetimes—the HL will always represent family, childhood, and the events experienced in that language, thereby heightening its significance and the chances of intra-generational language shift reversal, especially if the child comes to identify more with the cultures (in the diaspora and in the country of origin) where the language is spoken.

2.2.2 Family and Community in the Hispanic Immigrant Context

While the family is the cornerstone of HLD, community participation has been found to be indispensible (Fishman, 1991; Zentella, 1997; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Guardado, 2008). Indeed, so influential are the bonds of family and community together in HLD that Fishman has deemed them the "real secret

weapon of RLS [reversing language shift]" (1991, p. 458). In immigrant communities, however, the lines between family and community are often blurred intentionally in order to mitigate the "disruptions to interpersonal systems and social networks, and challenges to systems of meaning" (Sonn, 2002, p. 206), which affect different groups in different ways. In Hispanic groups, where *familism* (the cultural value that groups place on family loyalty and support) is especially high, the familial ties that are severed or suspended due to immigration are deeply felt (Guardado, 2008). In his ethnography of language socialization ideologies and practices in Vancouver's Hispanic community, Guardado (2008) found that families "actively sought out proxy family relationships" (p. 244) in grassroots Hispanic community organizations, fostering what he calls *diasporic familism.* This is a useful concept because it offers a tangible illustration of the place where family and community overlap—especially with regard to minority language and culture socialization, and immigrant adaptation. For instance, the parents who enrolled their children in grassroots Spanish language schools in Guardado's study valued the extra-domestic reinforcement of the language practices and cultural values that they were attempting to socialize their children into at home. The HLD support that these "proxy family relationships" (p. 211) offers fosters intergenerational and intercultural understanding, and ultimately has positive implications for the family's psychological well-being and successful integration into the host society (Tannenbaum, 2005; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005) and for the second generation's continued participation in the ethnic community (Dagenais & Day, 1999).

2.2.3 Community and HLD

The *diasporic familism* that Guardado (2008) found in Vancouver's multinational, multi-ethnic Hispanic community can be described as a manifestation of what is referred to in applied linguistics as imagined communities (Kanno & Norton, 2003), or in psychology as the psychological sense of community. Sense of community is a useful concept when trying to describe how community, a definitionally-elusive "staple of linguistic scholarship" (Canagarajah, 2010, p. 48), functions in immigrant or refugee contexts, because it

is not contingent on geographical referents. Indeed, there have been numerous calls in different fields (e.g.: Weisenfeld, 1996 [social psychology]; Zentella, 1996 [linguistic anthropology]) to recognize different kinds of diversity within communities, and to conceptualize community as a heterogeneous process that can be defined by "shared interests, characteristics, experiences, or opinions" (Omoto & Snyder, 2010, p. 228; Sonn, 2002). Thus, a sense of community approach to community, especially in the Chilean refugee context that has often defined itself by shared political ideologies and the events surrounding the coup d'état that drove them to disparate corners of the globe (Eastmond, 1993), can offer a more complex understanding of how culture and ethnicity are constructed in the diaspora, and how Spanish has been promoted within these constructs.

Sense of community also allows us to conduct language research that accounts for the social, political, linguistic, and ethno-cultural diversity that exists within and between Spanish-speaking communities in the US (Zentella, 1996) and elsewhere. As global immigration rates climb, ethnic communities are becoming increasingly diverse in terms of types of immigrants (in Canada, refugee class, independent/ economic class, family class), countries of origin and countries lived in (i.e., may be singular or multiple), and languages spoken (i.e., due to migration and/or education). Ethnic communities that find themselves in geographical proximity to one another are more than ever "transnational communities […] [that] wrestle with issues of dual or, at times, multiple cultural identities, since they are connected to [at least] two countries with their associated cultures, *each country by no means mono-cultural in itself*" (Poyatos Matas & CuatroNochez, 2011, p. 310, my emphasis). I will return to the issue of culture and heritage in immigrant communities shortly.

2.2.4 Defining Hispanic Culture outside of the United States

In countries like New Zealand, Australia and Canada, Spanish-speaking populations are considerably more recent, smaller in size, and more ethnically diverse (proportionately) than those found in the US, and thus are perceived as less of a threat by the dominant culture (Poyatos Matas & CuatroNochez, 2011). While in the US, labels such as "Hispanic" are strongly resisted for their

homogenizing portrayal of the unique cultural and linguistic characteristics of this community (Zentella, 1996), in other national contexts such as Canada, some Spanish-speaking communities have purposefully adopted a Hispanic or Latin American identity that they feel serves a unifying function in their culturally-diverse ethnolinguistic context (Guardado, 2008). Because scholarly interest in Spanish-speaking communities outside of the US "is still in its infancy" (Potowski & Rothman, 2011, p. 4), Walker's comment on this supra-national Hispanic identity in New Zealand is worth quoting here in full:

> There appears to be little or no conflict or competition between groups of Latin American origin. Expressions of cultural or linguistic identity, including the use of Spanish, are not seen in terms of racializing practice as they might be elsewhere (Rúa 2001). One reason for this could be that smaller communities engender a stronger sense of mutual reliance and construction of cultural continuity together. For example, in case of personal emergencies or tragedies, individuals can find themselves greeted by offers of support from Colombians, Chileans or other groups who, through this assistance, appeal to a shared identity as Latin American, a term that resonates positively in New Zealand. The fact that there are no clearly defined Hispanic neighbourhoods is also likely to encourage the intermingling of groups or individuals from different Latin American backgrounds, thereby promoting a sense of *Latinidad*. (2011, pp. 335-336)

To my knowledge, there has not been enough research on Spanish and associated cultures in immigrant contexts outside of the US to determine whether pan-Hispanic ethnic identifiers tend to be embraced more in national contexts with more diverse populations of Spanish speakers. Nevertheless, Walker's comment above suggests that at the very least, Hispanic communities outside of the US have different sociopolitical and historical factors with which to contend, prompting them to carve out diasporic identities different than those reported by US Hispanics in the media and the scholarly literature.

In sum, HLD in the family and community work in a reciprocal fashion: by developing their HL skills at home, the heritage bilingual is given the keys to

participate in their ethnic community (Canagarajah, 2010; Tse, 1997), and by participating in community activities *in* the HL, their language abilities are challenged and enhanced (Zentella, 1997; Guardado, 2008), and their ethnic identities are able to evolve in new ways (Tse, 1997). In Guardado's (2008) study, some of the mothers described wanting their children to participate in the community school so that they could see that Spanish was spoken outside of their home. Community participation can then be described as having both tangible and psychological components; through participating in a community initiative, the children in Guardado's study were able to interact with other Spanish speakers in real time, but these interactions also granted them an awareness of a larger community of speakers—globally and locally—thereby expanding their notion of ethnic and linguistic community and belonging. The self-esteem and "enhanc[ed] quality of life" (Omoto & Snyder, 2010, p. 243) that individuals gain from feeling sense of community motivates them to continue to work to the benefit of the community goals, thereby making the community stronger, and in the case of HLD, theoretically increasing opportunities for use and strengthening their HL proficiency.

2.2.5 Culture, Ethnic Identity, and HLD

Although the concept of *heritage*, or that which is inherited, is central to discussions of HLD, many studies fail to address heritage explicitly and take for granted its conceptual and social complexity. To assume that cultural elements, such as values and language, can be unproblematically handed down from generation to generation like cultural artifacts like cookware or bedding would be misleading. As Blackledge and Creese point out, "simply the process of 'passing on' [cultural] resources will alter them" (2010, p. 165), as they acquire different forms and meaning in the new contexts in which they find themselves. In their study of complimentary Bengali complementary language schools in Birmingham, Blackledge and Creese (2010) found that the heritage language students negotiated and contested their teachers' "imposition" of nationalistic Bengali heritage, as they had begun to negotiate and carve out ethnic identities that were linked to a culture and an ethnicity of their own interpretation. Even when some

of the students traveled to Bangladesh, several reported feeling alien, which did not support the nationally based ethnic identities that their heritage language teachers had tried to instill in them. Part of feeling foreign in a country where they had some proficiency in its local languages and knowledge of its customs might be attributable to their lack of identification with the culture they found there. As Tse (1997) has found, the heritage bilingual's desire to participate in a group where the heritage language is required for interaction is most often what prompts the desire to speak the heritage language, and not necessarily the other way around.

Regardless of place of birth, many studies have found the second generation's travel to and identification with the heritage country to be a factor in grounding and guiding their HLD (Guardado, 2002; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Zentella, 1997; Decapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1999), but this was clearly not the case for many of Blackledge and Creese's participants. Their participants rejected certain heritage symbols and practices because they did not identify with them (i.e., nationalistic references to Bangladesh; travel to Bangladesh; only speaking the heritage language), and negotiated imposed identities. These negotiations led to the formation of hybridized cultural identities and linguistic practices, which the authors interpreted as part of an overarching "sophisticated response to their place in the world" (p. 180)—a conclusion that helps us problematize concepts like country of origin and language attitudes as analytical points of departure.

As the above example suggests, ethnic identities are mutable and are not something that can be unproblematically imposed on the second generation. Ethnic identities form part of the individual's broader sense of self, and change in response to shifting social dynamics and other lived experiences throughout the lifespan (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Kanno, 2003). Being bilingual and/or bicultural can intensify these identity fluctuations: as bilinguals move through multiple sociocultural and linguistic spaces over time, certain ethnolinguistic identities become more pronounced than others through the increased use of one of their languages (Grosjean, 2010; Kanno, 2003). Tse (1999,

2001) has proposed a descriptive ethnic identity model in an effort to illustrate how one's relationship to their ethnicity evolves from childhood into adulthood. It contains four stages (unawareness, ethnic ambivalence/ evasion, ethnic emergence, ethnic identity incorporation) that tend to correlate loosely with different age groups, though she concedes that "not all language-minority individuals pass through the same developmental process" (Tse, 2001, p. 694). While her concession in no way discredits the contribution her model has made to our understanding of HLD and identity processes, it does suggest that whether one moves through the model sequentially or not at all, ethnic identities are not an end-goal, but an ongoing, dynamic feature of bilingualism (Grosjean, 2010). Indeed, in the same way that ethnic identities can grow independently of HLD, being in the unawareness stage of one's ethnic identity development does not mean that the child does not speak the heritage language.

HLD studies tend to pay special attention to the first language (heritage) culture of the second generation, frequently associating the predominant culture of the country of origin to the ethnic community to which they belong in the diaspora (i.e., the Mexican culture in the Mexican community [Schecter & Bayley, 1997], the Japanese culture in the Japanese community [Kanno, 2003]). However, the relationship between nationality and culture is not so simple. Neither countries nor cultures exist independently of their members, and thus the way people position themselves in their cultural context, or the ways in which they identify with their ethnic culture (Kanno, 2003; Blackledge & Creese, 2010) essentially come to define their culture. In this way, culture and identity are engaged in a reciprocal relationship: to identify with select elements from one's cultural heritage is to begin carving out one's ethnic identity, and to identify ethnically can prompt one to participate in cultural practices which, in turn, shape the ethnic community's predominant cultural identity. Given this heterogeneous and constructivist conceptualization of culture, the present study understands culture "not [as] one worldview, shared by all the members of a national speech community; [but as] multifarious, changing, and more often than not, conflictual" (Kramsch, 2004, p. 255). This definition of culture is especially relevant in exile

contexts where certain elements of culture are too painful to share with future generations, or gain intensity in the diaspora where they are no longer repressed (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004, p. 166). Stated more generally, if "immigration means change" (Sonn, 2002, p. 206), it stands to reason that the heterogeneous cultural influences and cultural identities that migrants bring from their country of origin also undergo a certain degree of change (Poyatos Matas & CuatroNochez, 2011). Indeed, embracing one's ethnic (heritage) identity has been firmly linked with the development of their heritage language (He, 2008b), but studies demonstrating this link rarely problematize or account for the inherent reconstruction of culture that takes place in the diaspora. For example, Mexican culture in Chicago is different from Mexican culture in Yellowknife is different from Mexican culture in Oaxaca. And the Toronto-Mexican culture that the Mexico-born first generation defines will be interpreted differently by their bi- or multilingual children who are born and raised in Toronto. Fishman's succinct definition of *ethnicity* as "macro-group 'belongingness' or the identification dimensions of culture" (García, Peltz & Schiffman, 2006, p. 30) assists in reexamining culture and ethnicity in the diaspora as it illustrates the fundamental interplay between culture and identity; Fishman's definition of ethnicity does not understand culture to be a homogeneous or stable concept, but rather as a construct resulting from social identity processes, much like Rampton's (2006) explanation of culture as that which is "reproduced and emerges in people's activity together—it exists in the processes and resources involved in situated, dialogical, sense making" (p. 20). And so it would appear that like community, culture is constructed by those who participate in and identify with it (Kanno, 2003); thus, ethnic identity is understood in this thesis as emerging out of the creative, constructive, and often times collaborative interpretation of ethnic culture. In so-called "ethnic communities," the building blocks of culture are drawn from the similarities in immigration stories between families, which include particular (albeit not necessarily homogeneous) value sets, worldviews, and practices. And the primary messenger of this cultural kindling is narrative—"a primordial tool of socialization" (Garrettt & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 353),

merging the past with the present and providing the linguistic and ideological tools for dialogue about the future.

Marita Eastmond's (1993) study on identity and the effects of exile in a leftist Chilean refugee community in northern California found that the "formulation of their cultural heritage […] was a creative act, a collective reconstruction of the past in new contexts, which involved a rearrangement of traditional symbols for new functions" (p. 41). Because of their strong political ideology, expressions of Chilean culture in this community included "support of political revolutionary change on the Latin American continent," identification with pre-Colombian indigenous cultures, and the music of *la nueva canción,*[9] which incorporated indigenous instruments and sounds with socialist messages (p. 41). In this community, resistance to the North American consumerist culture, and solidarity with other oppressed peoples (especially in Latin America) were values whose transmission "to the children was seen as a crucial task" (p. 41). Eastmond's findings urge us to explore how exiles redefine their culture in the diaspora. In other studies of Spanish HLD in non-exile contexts in North America, parents reported the transmission of cultural values and practices such as the importance of family, hard work, Spanish (Guardado, 2008; Schecter & Bayley, 2002) and religion (Baquedano-López, 2000) to their children; in Eastmond's study of Chilean exiles, however, other, more specific cultural values were cited. We know from other studies that identifying with the heritage country and associated culture can positively influence HLD (Guardado, 2002; Sakamoto, 2001), but what implications does emphasizing political or more contentious elements of culture have for HL use and development? This study hopes to begin exploring the ways in which the cultural elements that this community has chosen to preserve have influenced the ethnic identities and Spanish language use of their children.

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[9] Or, "new Chilean song," is a genre of folk music used to protest the political right and "exert influence on the political process" (Nandorfy, 2003, p. 180). Well-known artists and groups representing this genre include Victor Jara, Violeta Parra, Inti-Illimani, and Quilapayún.

I will now give an overview of findings from studies that examined HLD in the Chilean diaspora.

2.3 Exiles and HLD

While the issue of language and culture maintenance tends to be a challenge for all minority groups, "indigenous, refugee, or migrant" (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004, p.1), it has been suggested that in some ways refugees are at a marked disadvantage (Hatoss & Sheely, 2010). Exiles from a particular region of the world also tend to arrive in host countries in greater numbers, in waves, having all been affected by the outfall of a particularly disturbing event (physical, psychological, political, economic, etc.). These traumas can have a detrimental effect on L1 socialization as they sometime cause "adults to retreat into silence and therefore [not provide] the linguistic interaction their children need in order to develop proficiency in the first language." (Coelho, 1994, p. 313). Waves of exiles can also provoke "anti-refugee, anti-bilingualism attitudes" in the host community, in some cases prompting the formation of ethnic enclaves as a result of feeling unwelcome in the host community (Lambert & Taylor, 1996, p. 482; King & Ganuza, 2005). Given these and other extra-linguistic challenges, the task of maintaining the minority language while acquiring the societally-dominant language becomes even greater, which is an important consideration because communication with the broader society is just as important as family communication in the adaptation process (Hatoss & Sheely, 2010).

In spite of their challenges, many refugee groups possess strengths that have not been identified as such in the language maintenance literature as of yet. Research on the Chilean diaspora in other fields, however, has demonstrated a strong sense of solidarity and resilience in these communities (Eastmond, 1993; Power, 2009; del Pozo, 2010); for instance, several monographs have explored the experience of Chilean women and their families in exile (Kay, 1987; Shayne, 2009; Eastmond, 1993), and the role of solidarity movements (Power, 2009) and socialist activism and ideology in Chilean diaspora communities (Kay, 1987; Shayne, 2009; Eastmond, 1993) has also received some attention. In the Canadian context specifically, Shayne (2009) took a feminist approach to examining the

Chilean experience of exile in Vancouver, and historian José del Pozo has dedicated several works to tracing the Chilean experience of exile and immigration in Quebec, Canada (1996, 2006, 2010). Nevertheless, I was only able to find one study that focused on language maintenance in a Chilean diaspora community, and that was in the context of Sweden (King & Ganuza, 2005). Another well-known study in Australia included Chilean youth as part of the larger pool of Hispanic participants, but their specific cultural and immigration characteristics were not probed (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2005). In what follows, I present an overview of the relevant findings of the two aforementioned large-scale studies in order to draw attention to some of the features that make a case for inquiring about Spanish language maintenance and development outside of the United States, and in particular Chilean refugee communities in the diaspora. I then conclude by looking at Hatoss and Sheely's (2010) study of ethnic language and identity development in Sudanese refugee youth in Sydney in order to corroborate King and Ganuza's (2005) conclusion about the importance of considering background and non-linguistic features in the language and identity development of "students who do not fit the traditional 'once-and-for-all' migration profile" (p. 193), which includes refugees.

2.3.1 Chilean Heritage Language and Identity Development in Sweden

King and Ganuza's article (2005) draws on interview data that they collected as part of a larger, three-year ethnography in Stockholm, Sweden, concerned with the language use, language ideologies, and educational experiences of "Chilean-Swedish transmigrant adolescents" (p. 179). Their investigation centered on the participants' language and identity development "in the shadow of ever-possible return to Chile" (p. 180). Although this "shadow" is a known psychological factor in refugee communities generally (Safran, 1991) and in the context of Chilean exile specifically (del Pozo, 2006), it was especially relevant in the Swedish context where (at least during data collection) citizenship was granted based on the parents' Swedish citizenship and not on the child's place of birth.

Like many language maintenance studies, the authors found their

participants to have hybrid national identities and mixed language attitudes towards code-switching, the HL (Spanish), and the majority language (Swedish) (Guardado, 2008; Kanno, 2003**)**. They also found that some of their participants experienced an intensified sense of ethnic identity when they felt they could not identify with mainstream Swedish culture. This identity phenomenon has been reported elsewhere (Kanno, 2003; Oriyama, 2010), but it is possible that in the Swedish context at the time of this study, the impossibility of attaining official recognition as Swedes via citizenship heightened their perpetual feelings of statelessness. Indeed, for the Swedish-raised Chilean child of refugees, it was often the case that they held citizenship in neither the country of their birth/upbringing, nor of their heritage. The authors also found that trips to Chile did not necessarily enhance participants' perceptions of the heritage culture or its people, which contrasts the findings of many other studies (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Guardado, 2002; Decapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Sakamoto, 2001). Instead, their participants' ethnic identities seemed to hinge on spatial and interpersonal factors (i.e., they might identify as Swedish when talking to strangers in Chile, but as Chilean when talking to strangers in Sweden).

Despite the fact that many of their findings echoed those of other non-Chilean, non-exile Spanish language maintenance studies, the authors felt that the ever-looming possibility of return to Chile corroborated by other non-linguistic factors in their participants' life histories (like citizenship) contributed in a particular way to their attitudes and identities. They therefore concluded that "the most important issues at play may not be linguistic, but instead concern politicized social and cultural interactions" (p. 193). This observation supports the need to recognize non-linguistic factors in HLD, especially in exile communities where little is known about how the ideological, psychological, and socio-historical reasons for immigration manifest themselves in the quotidian cultural and linguistic formation of the second and subsequent generations.

2.3.2 Chilean Heritage Language and Identity Development in Australia

Over the period of about one year, Gibbons and Ramirez (2004) interviewed 106 Hispanic teenagers between the ages of 11-18 in Sydney,

Australia, in order to examine their bilingualism and biliteracy development. While the authors did not provide data regarding the countries of origin of their participants, they did mention that the greatest number of Spanish-speaking migrants in Australia was from Chile, and that the Hispanic population in Australia quadrupled between 1971 and 1986 (p. 74), which runs parallel to the immigration patterns of Chileans and Salvadoreans to countries such as New Zealand (Walker, 2011) and Canada (del Pozo, 2010) during the same time period. This demographic note suggests that their findings might be—at least in terms of history and ethnic make-up—more comparable to those of studies like this (Canadian) one, than with the oft-cited US-based Spanish HLD studies.

Gibbons and Ramirez' focus was primarily on Spanish proficiency in correlation with pre-established maintenance factors such as education, literacy practices, language attitudes, and social networks, and they did not consider factors such as the parents' reasons for immigrating (i.e., voluntary or reluctant migrants), or probe how their participants interpreted and described their heritage culture. Some of their results, however, pointed to the relevance that taking these factors into account might have had. For instance, the authors reported that "in the minority of [Chilean] homes where politics is discussed, it is discussed a lot" (p. 166). Given the political reasons that prompted many Chileans to flee their country during the larger waves in the 1970s, this finding is not coincidental, and given the affectively- and ideologically-charged nature of political conversations, frequent discussions of a political nature may have had implications for family communication in Spanish. Indeed, in the results chapters of this thesis, we will see that talking about politics was a feature in both the Sandoval and Vega homes, and appeared to have both positive and negative consequences for the ethnic identification, community participation, and subsequent HLD as second-generation adults.

Due to the current dearth of research on Chilean HLD, it remains unknown exactly what role political conversation and involvement had in the upbringing of the children of Chilean refugees in the diaspora. Nevertheless, as studies like Gibbon and Ramirez' (2005) confirm, politics was a notably frequent topic of

conversation in a minority of Chilean-Australian homes (at least when compared with data from the monolingual Spanish-speaking youth control group in Chile) and offers a fruitful avenue of inquiry in how the discourses about language maintenance (Guardado, in press) and the heritage culture influence HL and identity development.

2.3.3 Sudanese Refugee Heritage Language and Identity Development in Australia

From the foregoing review it would appear that operationalizing the circumstances of reluctant migration in language maintenance studies is fairly recent and presents many challenges. Hatoss and Sheely (2010), for instance, acknowledge that their Sudanese refugee youth participants live in "a context which is socially and linguistically unique" (p. 127), and yet the sociolinguistic survey that they administered did not contain items that reflected this uniqueness (p. 132). "Personal history" was one survey item that had the potential to offer insights about the origins of the participants' language attitudes and practices, but the authors did not consider what bearing these background factors might have had on how the participants responded to the survey items. One example of background information that was not considered when analyzing the participants' language attitudes was the fact that once orphaned in Sudan, many of the youth in this community began to lose their native Dinka and acquired multilingualism in languages like Arabic and Kiswahili due to repeated displacement. The limitations of the sociolinguistic survey did not allow for this refugee-camp-acquired multilingualism to be considered as a possible factor in the participants' life-long language acquisition and maintenance process. These kinds of circumstantial details raise important questions about the meaning of the first language for youth who began to lose their first language soon after they lost their parents (p. 128), and for the subsequent transmission of the first language to later generations in the host country. According to the study's findings, the youth had very positive attitudes towards their first language and culture, but without taking a more in-depth approach (i.e., interviewing), it is difficult to know what effect the researcher's presence might have had on the responses, and what influence the

participants' life experiences had on their language attitudes and practices. Being transmigrants for much of their young lives, it would also be useful to know what the youth understood their ethnic culture to be; as language is often cited to be the carrier of culture, the youth's current interest in acquiring English to blend into Australian society—but not necessarily at the expense of their other languages—might have in fact been an expression of their transient or transnational notion of belonging (Guardado, 2010). This interpretation would raise other questions regarding how these youth define "back home" and develop their native language when some of them no longer have family or ties of any kind in Sudan, and when they grew up in numerous makeshift refugee camps in numerous national contexts.

The above review of King and Ganuza's, Gibbons and Ramírez's, and Hatoss and Sheely's studies underscores the undeniable circumstantial differences between refugee contexts, and highlights the necessity of providing sufficient background information and sociopolitical contextualization in order to begin to understand the linguistic and identity development processes that take place in individual refugee communities. As King and Ganuza (2005) remind us, "an important point of departure in meeting [the] challenges [presented in transmigrant communities] is greater understanding of how transmigrants describe their own experiences" (p. 180); thus, in the present study I have endeavoured to address this by asking participants questions about how they understand their parents' immigration, what values their parents emphasized growing up, and whether they were involved in their ethnic community and why. These kinds of probing questions are useful at this early stage in studies on language maintenance in the refugee context because we are still establishing variables and factors, and as King and Ganuza (2005) remind us, we must not assume that they will be the same as those already well-established in non-refugee contexts.

2.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter proposed the need to begin investigating HLD from angles that have previously received little attention in order to situate and demonstrate the significance of the current study. As Potowski and Rothman (2011) remind us, studies about Spanish HLD outside of the United States are rare but increasingly

necessary, as Hispanic communities continue to grow in other national contexts. Because US Hispanic communities are not generally representative of the global norm in terms of history, demographic make-up, or sociopolitical context (Walker, 2011), our understanding of Spanish HLD is currently limited. Inquiring about how community members describe their experiences and cultures has been suggested as a useful point of departure in investigating HLD in new contexts (King & Ganuza, 2005; Walker, 2011).

Another limitation in our present understanding of Spanish HLD concerns the lack of longitudinal (Fishman, 1991) and reflective/retrospective (cf. Kouritzin, 1999; Kanno, 2003) research with the second generation. Without more longitudinal or retrospective research, our understanding of how the heritage bilingual's heritage language proficiency and usage evolves over time will be restricted to HLD in childhood and adolescence (see Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Guardado, 2008). Being that life events (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999), ethnic identity development, and an increased desire to participate in the ethnic community can reawaken dormant HL skills (Tse, 1997; He, 2008a; Kanno, 2003), it is worthwhile to consider adult members of the second generation; interviews with second-generation adults also have potential to shed light on the outcomes of childhood language socialization practices (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999), giving us a fuller understanding of the long-term effects of child HL socialization practices and ideologies.

Contrasting Hispanic communities in different national contexts also allows us to see how the Latin American migrants that populate these communities reconstruct their notion of heritage culture in the diaspora, and what elements—including language—they transmit to their children. Cultural reconstruction and transmission are never uncomplicated processes, but the unique ideological environment that Chilean exiles have reportedly created in the diaspora (Eastmond, 1993; Power, 2009), and encountered upon arrival in the host country (i.e., denial of Swedish citizenship), is important to consider as a potential factor in HL and identity development (King & Ganuza, 2005). Indeed, the sense of community or diasporic familism that has been reported in some Chilean exile

communities (Eastmond, 1993; Walker, 2011) likely has implications for HLD, but to my knowledge, these factors have not yet been probed.

In the next chapter, I will outline the study design, participant recruitment and characteristics, and data analysis procedures used in this thesis.

Chapter 3

Method

3.0 Chapter Introduction

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I give an overview of the study design, the instruments used, and the data collection procedure. Next, I explain how participants were selected and recruited, and comment briefly on researcher positionality. Then, I give a summary of the participants' background characteristics and self-reported language use. In the last section I describe how I analyzed the data and what transcription conventions I followed. Finally, I comment on the issue of participant articulateness, and end by discussing ethical considerations.

3.1 Study Design

To address my descriptive research objectives, I took an interpretive qualitative approach to examining the questionnaire and interview data I collected from four adult second-generation members of Edmonton's Chilean community. The underlying assumption within the interpretivist tradition is that the subjective experiences of the research participants are central to understanding the constructed meanings of social phenomena (Schwandt, 1998), like HLD and immigrant adaptation. With regards to research on first language loss, Kouritzin (1999) called for an even "narrower, and more personal perspective than those that have dominated research to date" (p. 11). Indeed, a subjective and retrospective perspective is often sought out explicitly in interviews with second-generation immigrants in order to probe the language and identity development processes they have experienced over their lifetime (Kouritzin, 1999; Duff, 2008). Qualitative research in general seeks correlations between (especially social) factors, rather than causal relationships. As such, it lends itself to the discovery of new factors, instead of the examination of pre-determined factors within a given

population (Lincoln & Denzin, 1994), which is particularly useful in exploratory studies like this one, where little is known about the sociolinguistic realities of this community and its members.

In this multiple case study, I analyzed each case individually, and then performed a cross-case analysis in order to compare and contrast the attitudes and experiences of different individuals in this demographic related to the HLD focus of this study (Duff, 2008).[10] Focusing on individual cases provides valuable insight into the processes underlying HLD "within important circumstances" (Stake, 1995, p. xi). Indeed, it is the "important circumstances" of exile that provided the initial impetus for this research. Being largely data-driven, case studies can also challenge existing theories (Stake, 1995) and identify unexplored avenues for research. Even atypical cases, which are often questioned for their ungeneralizability, help to expand our understanding of "the range of human (e.g., linguistic) possibilities in a particular domain" (p. 46). By nature, qualitative case studies lend themselves to attaining general—although not necessarily generalizable—knowledge about an issue, and to identifying themes and questions for future research. It is my hope that the cases examined in this study will achieve this, and will propel others in this area to probe the questions this study raises for HLD research in the context of exile.

3.1.2 Instruments and Procedure

The primary tool used for gathering data in this study was semi-structured interviews. This is a common method of data collection in studies on language maintenance and loss in the second generation (Kouritzin, 1999; Kanno, 2003; Chumak-Horbatsch, 2009). The nature of my research questions sometimes called for retrospective comments, which have been challenged on the grounds of reliability. Nevertheless, within the interpretivist tradition an individual's understanding of their realities is considered to be as valid as more objectively described ones because people tend to behave in accordance with how they understand their place in the world.

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[10] See Section 3.3 for a more detailed description of how I analyzed the data.

Before the interviews, participants completed a background questionnaire on www.surveymonkey.com so that I could customize my questions for the first interview with their indicated political orientations or self-reported language use in mind.[11] The questionnaire also served as a measure of triangulation with the participants' interview data about their self-reported behaviour and the behaviour of others. The questionnaire was organized into three sections: background information (e.g., date of arrival in Canada, reasons for leaving Chile, occupation, etc.), Language use (e.g., What language does she speak to her parents? What is her first language?), Political involvement (i.e., To what extent was he involved in the solidarity movement in Canada when he first arrived?). This last section was formatted as a Likert scale to see to what degree they felt the statements reflected their reality.

Two semi-structured interviews several weeks apart were conducted with five participants (plus one with the Vega father whose data was lost in a technical glitch), and ranged from 1 to 4 hours in length. Interviews were conducted between November, 2011, and February, 2011. Examples of questions I asked are: "Why did your parents come to Canada?"; "How do you identify?"; "What do you think about REPARA/ Why are you involved in REPARA?"; "Are your children in a second language program at school?/ Have you thought about your future children's language education?." Although the participants were given the option to fill out the questionnaire and be interviewed in English or Spanish, the four focal, second-generation participants opted for English. This may have had to do with their English dominance, and/or the fact that my first language is English. Interviews were conducted at the time and place specified by the participant and included participants' homes, workplaces, my office, and cafés. Participants were told that interviews could take up to one hour, and were told the time at the one-hour mark in order to show sensitivity to their time commitment of one hour, as specified on the consent form.[12] Questions were initially formulated as open-

[11] See Appendices for the full questionnaire and more examples of the interview questions.
[12] See Appendices.

ended, but through interaction they did not always remain this way. In order to arrive at more detailed explanations of certain situations or feelings, more closed-ended questions or statements sometimes arose with the natural flow of conversation. Although rare, I also answered questions that the participants had for me, for instance, regarding my own ethnic background.

Home observations were part of the original study design in order to provide another measure of triangulation. In the end, however, official home observations were not conducted for two main reasons. First, the families did not know me well and some participants felt that an official observation might make some of their family members uncomfortable. Second, as families with adult children (some of whom had children of their own), it was difficult to arrange times when everyone, or even most of the family, was available. In an effort to introduce some kind of observation, I attended some community events where at least one of the focal participants was present (two REPARA meetings, the university's Latin American film festival, and the anniversary of a local Chilean dance groups). I only made informal observations at these events, as they were not part of the original study design and the participants were not made aware via consent form that data would be collected.

3.2 Participants

3.2.1 Recruitment, Participant Selection, and Researcher Positionality

I met Victor Sandoval through community contacts and events prior to the start of this study. I knew that he was involved with REPARA (*Recordar Para Actuar*)—a community group founded in 2008 by a handful of Chilean Canadians between the ages of 26-38 whose parents had come to Canada as refugees in the 1970s. The group is decidedly political in nature, which distinguishes it from other Chilean-Canadian cultural organizations that have distanced themselves from political agendas. Their mandate does not explicitly mention Chile, but instead focuses on uniting Latin Americans everywhere in a spirit of solidarity and civic engagement. Out of curiosity for the group, I attended the REPARA's

annual general meeting in 2010,[13] where I met Adriana Vega. Adriana caught my attention because she was at least ten years younger than the other second-generation members at the meeting, and she seemed to have less confidence with written Spanish than the older members. For their participation in REPARA and other forms of activism, I have identified these participants as The Activists.

I approached Adriana and Victor separately to participate in the study, and when they agreed, I invited their families to participate as well. I sent Adriana and Victor consent forms to forward along to their family members by way of invitation. They were also sent links to the background questionnaire in English or Spanish on Surveymonkey.com. Family members seemed generally willing to participate in the study, but after being reminded twice, only six people of a possible 11 filled out the background questionnaire and were contacted for interviews. One possible limitation was that at least two of the potential participants were residing outside of Edmonton for part or all of the time. Given that the two initial contacts were of primary interest to answering the research questions, limited family participation was acceptable for the study to proceed.

Three people from the Vega family and three people from the Sandoval family participated in the study, but the data from the father in the Vega family was lost due to a technical error. In total, then, there was data from five participants from two families. In the final analysis, however, I only included data from the second-generation participants due to time constraints. Each family was required to have at least one adult-child who was involved in REPARA or other

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[13] I have been peripherally involved in this group for almost a year now, and since data collection has stopped, I have become somewhat more active. Questions of emic/etic perspectives have arisen for me throughout this process, as identities and other factors have become entangled. For example, I do not share a Chilean or refugee heritage with the group's core members, but I am bilingual in Spanish and English, and I share their vision of learning from community elders in working towards positive social change. At this year's annual general meeting, I prefaced a comment that I made with, "I'm not from this community, so…" to which Victor responded that we were united by our common ideas rather than ethnic heritage. The implications of the sentiment expressed in this comment will be explored further in the results and discussion sections.

activist initiatives in order to contrast with a non-activist adult-child sibling, and not have been single-parent families[14] because the effect of single parenting on HLD remains unclear (Guardado, 2006).

3.2.2 Participant Characteristics

The Sandoval parents had arrived in Edmonton in 1976 as official landed immigrants. According to their testimonies and their questionnaire responses, they parents had not been active in the solidarity movement or any other community initiatives after arriving in Canada. Germán and Victor were the two eldest of four sons and were also the only two born in Chile.

The Vega parents did not come to Canada already married. According to her daughters, Adriana and Francesca, Mrs. Vega came to Canada as a young teenager after her father had settled in Canada fleeing political persecution in Chile. Mr. Vega said that he arrived in Edmonton in 1976 as an economic immigrant to live with his sister who had immigrated previously, although Francesca understands his reasons for coming as more political. Like the Sandovals, the couple had also not been actively involved in the local solidarity movement with Chile, but they were heavily involved in the family's Latin American church. The Vega parents also had four children: three daughters and one son, all born in Edmonton. Francesca, the eldest, and Adriana, the youngest, participated in this study.

With the exception of Germán Sandoval who immigrated when he was nine years old, none of the children from either family had received formal basic education in Spanish. In the 1970s and 1980s in Edmonton, Spanish bilingual programs did not exist.

Table 1: Summary of participant background characteristics and self-report language data

	Victor Sandoval	Germán Sandoval	Adriana Vega	Francesca Vega
Background				

[14] The Sandoval father had passed away approximately five years prior to the study, but this was after his sons had left home and therefore did not affect their language and culture socialization growing up.

Birth order	Second of four	First of four	Last of four	First of four
Year of birth	1974	1967	1984	1980
Age of arrival	2 years old	9 years old	Born in Canada	Born in Canada
Family's reasons for coming to Canada	Political	Economic Political	Economic Political	Political
Marital status	Married	Married	In a relationship	Married
Highest level of education completed	Undergraduate	Undergraduate	Undergraduate (incomplete at the time of data collection)	College/ Trade School
Languages				
First language	*Castellano*[15]	Spanish	English	Spanish
Languages in order of reported proficiency	*Castellano* English	English Spanish	English *Castellano*	English Spanish

3.3 Data Analysis

Following other, interview-based studies with related objectives (Kouritzin, 1999; Poyatos Matas & Cuatro Nochez, 2011; Kanno, 2003; Iqbal, 2005), I performed a content, rather than linguistic or interactional, analysis of the data (Duff, 2008). Prior to data collection, I identified predominant themes in the relevant literature. As data collection progressed, these broad initial themes (education, community involvement, ethnic identity) were modified, nuanced, challenged, or rejected while others were added (multilingual ideologies, activism, non-ethnic identities).

The general arch of data analysis followed an iterative and cyclical pattern that included the following steps: identifying themes in the literature; collecting interview data informed by informal observation; reviewing relevant literature;

[15] Spanish. Interestingly, both of The Activists (see justification of this term below) used the Spanish word for "Spanish" when listing it as one of their languages, even though for Adriana Spanish was neither her first reported language, or most proficient reported language.

analyzing and comparing participant questionnaire responses; transcribing and coding the data; identifying patterns in the data; allowing themes to emerge; contrasting interview data with the data of the other participants;[16] asking probing questions in the follow-up interview; and returning to my initial questions and refining codes. Themes were generally identified by recurrent patterns in the participants' discourse, although occasionally I noted "significant meaning in a single instance" (Stake, 1995, p. 78) which prompted me to look for manifestations of that meaning in that individual's data and the data of others.

The participants all had different relationships to one another that were relevant to the analysis. During and after the data collection period, I conducted case-intrinsic and cross-case analyses of the data in order to identify similarities and differences between individuals, siblings, and between Activists and Non-Activists[17]. The only two that I can confirm knew each other were Adriana and Victor through REPARA, but I do not know if each knew that the other was participating in this study. Otherwise, I did not get the impression that the participants knew each other, although they may have known of each other (i.e., Francesca knew of Victor through Adriana).

3.3.1 Transcription

Interview data was transcribed for thematic content, rather than linguistic features, and as such was transcribed for ease of reading (Johnstone, 2000; Duff, 2008). I used "conventional punctuation marks—commas, periods, question marks, and so on—to represent aspects of how talk flows and stumbles along" (Johnstone, 2000, p. 118). Pauses, which were long enough to possibly have implications for the interpretation of the comment, were signaled by the notation

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[16] These questions were formulated in such a way so as not to expose the source. For example, the Sandoval mother told me that Victor's son was in French immersion. In order to obtain Victor's confirmation of and feelings about this, I asked him general questions about his son's education and whether they had thought about enrolling him in a second language.

[17] The focal participants, Adriana and Victor, were classified as The Activists and their siblings, Francesca and Germán, were classified as The Non-Activists based on their questionnaire responses (part 3, item D), informal observations, and interview data.

(pause). Similarly, laughter was indicated by the notation (laughs) in places where I felt it had possible communicative value. Other relevant gestures were also described in parentheses. I tried to preserve the speaker's voice by spelling "going to" and "want to" as "gonna" and "wanna" where these words were said this way. Johnstone (2000) argues that "partly phonetic spellings of perfectly standard ways of pronouncing things" (p. 119) do not necessarily cast the speaker in an unfavourable light. Finally, although I did not analyze code-switching or words said in Spanish, I italicized words that participants said in Spanish. These were often the names of places, people, songs, poems, music groups, or when quoting others.

Parts omitted from the interview data in the thesis are represented by an ellipsis between square brackets […]. In excerpts of interview data containing my questions or comments, A.B.: (Ava Becker) indicates my comments, and the participants' comments are signaled by their first and last initials (e.g.: V.S. = Victor Sandoval).

3.3.2 Articulateness

One issue that arose during the data analysis—especially of that of The Activists—was their articulateness. Duff cautions against selecting especially articulate participants because of issues of representativeness: "Choosing the most articulate candidate interviewees, however, may introduce some skewing of data because they may not be very representative of others in their category" (2008, p. 135). This quotation has particular relevance in the context of second language acquisition research for participants who "may have had the most successful experiences learning language or becoming acculturated, for example, or may be more confident or more willing to take risks than their peers" (p. 135). But I believe that the essence of what Duff is saying is relevant here. Even though I did not seek representativeness in this study, I feel that I should comment on this issue for the implications that articulateness might have for future studies on HLD with activists.

First, it would be fair to assume that as socially-engaged critical thinkers, the articulateness that activists exhibit on certain topics is part of who they are—a

co-requisite for group membership as activists. This is not to say that all activists are articulate, but activists tend to be critically engaged and outspoken in activities ranging from (verbal) public protests to (written) letter-writing campaigns. In this sense, I assume their articulateness to be (potentially) representative of others "in their category" of second-generation Chilean activists in the diaspora, but further research is needed to confirm this assumption.

Furthermore, as we will see in the results, their articulateness on political or cultural matters does not necessarily translate to articulateness, or even reflectiveness, on matters relating to language. Indeed, I expected their political activism to somehow translate to advocacy of heritage language maintenance, which I found no clear evidence of. Thus, depending on the objectives of the research and the predominant characteristics of the group under investigation, I would argue that participant articulateness might not pose a threat to representativeness, and could in fact be quite representative.

3.3.3 Ethical Considerations

Given the small size of the Chilean community in Edmonton and the even smaller number of organizations working in the community, questions of anonymity were an important consideration in this study. Participants were made aware that I was working in the Chilean community, but not that I had contacted two participants in the same organization because the decision to contact members from the same organization developed naturally over the course of recruitment. In order to address these ethnical considerations, I assigned a pseudonym to each participant and the names of people, places, and organizations that they mentioned. I also made every effort not use data that I felt might incite conflict or misunderstanding should the identity of any of the participants or people they refer to be ascertained. And finally, I left out certain details that may have somewhat enriched their testimonies, but that may also have jeopardized their anonymity.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter gave a detailed overview of the methods concerning data collection for this study. A qualitative, interpretivist approach was taken to

address the descriptive objectives of this study. A case study methodology was adopted for its utility when trying to identify new factors in a phenomenon. Participants were recruited through contacts I had made in REPARA and were selected based on criteria such as participation in the aforementioned group and parents' year of arrival. Both families had four children, and none of the participants except for Germán, who arrived at age nine, had received formal basic education in Spanish. All of the participants completed a background questionnaire to provide a measure of triangulation with the semi-structured interview data and increase reliability. The data were transcribed, coded, and analyzed in an on-going, iterative fashion, and analyses were performed on each case individually, and then across cases in order to identify patterns. Being that the data were transcribed for content rather than linguistic features, standard punctuation and partly phonetic spelling were used in order to be as representative as possible of the participant's voice. The issue of articulateness was raised as a consideration for future studies on HLD with activists, in order to draw attention to the possibility that articulateness may be a common trait among activists, and thus be representative of heritage language speakers in activist groups. Finally, measures were taken wherever possible to ensure that participant anonymity was protected. In the four chapters that follow, the results of each participant are presented individually and are organized around the main themes that emerged during data analysis.

Chapters 4-7 are organized by the participants with similar orientations to the political nature of their heritage. Thus, I have divided them into two parts: The Activists (4 & 5) and The Non-Activists (6 & 7). Before each section, I introduce the two participants featured in the subsequent two chapters by way of orienting the reader to the similarities and differences between their stories. The results are presented in response to some of the lacunae identified in the Literature Review and center on the following themes:

- the participants' interpretation (and in some cases, experience) of their families' migration to Canada
- their conceptualization of Chilean culture in Chile and in the diaspora

- their ethnic identity development over time
- HLD factors, including language attitudes and practices while growing up at home, community involvement, language education, peers, travel, and the church
- the role of spouses and children in their HLD and attitudes about Spanish maintenance.

Introduction to Chapters 4 & 5

The Activists

In Chapters 4 and 5 I present and analyze relevant data collected with the two participants I have identified as Activists, Victor Sandoval and Adriana Vega. Both displayed an awareness of politics, activism, and other ideologies as part of their families' immigration stories, and seemed to view their own activism as a way of expressing Chilean and Latin American culture. Community engagement and travel to Latin American countries presented them with opportunities to claim, reject, and explore new identities. As a result of their different life experiences, they had divergent opinions on contemporary Chilean language and culture, but their participation in REPARA demonstrated that they were keen to promote the progressive political elements of their heritage culture in Canada.

Neither reported growing up in homes with explicit language policies, and positive attitudes towards bi- or multilingualism seemed to have been promoted. Children, or the prospect of having children, prompted them to reflect on their own upbringing and language socialization processes, and subsequently on the identities and multilingualism they hoped their children would achieve. In what follows, I will explore these and other key factors that influenced their HLD and ethnic identity formation, such as language education, the church, and peers.

Chapter 4

Victor Sandoval

4.1 Learning Identity, Learning Culture

Victor's sense of self seemed to be rooted in his intimate awareness of his family's connection to the violent events of September 11th, 1973. Not four minutes into the first interview, Victor delved into one of his first and perhaps

most difficult memories. He explained that the anger and pain this memory caused him was a driving force in all that he did, and that he chose to channel this anger in positive ways through artistic expression. The curious thing about this memory was that it was not his—well, not directly. His mother had been pregnant with him at the time that this memory was made, and her outrage at what she saw that day was transmitted directly to him:

> One of the common stories that's always been ingrained in my brain from a young time is that when my mother, when the military coup happened on September 11th, 1973 I was still in my mother's womb. My mom tells me the story that a couple of days after the military coup, she actually went down to *El Palacio de la Moneda*[18] (voice cracks with emotion) and walking in amongst the rubble she saw a soldier and she just was consumed by this anger of what had happened. And that story sticks with me today because I still feel an anger.

Although the events of September 11th, 1973 occurred while Victor was still in utero, his mother's recollection of this experience impacted him dramatically. Sharing this memory so early in our first interview suggests that is was an important memory for him, and one that has set the stage for the ways he chose to describe and identify with his immigration story and "Chilean culture."

Victor recalled that while he was growing up, his parents "weren't super politically active. They weren't part of a political party, but they were sympathetic to the *Allende* government." In the following excerpt, Victor talks about how the images in a book he found at the library were his introduction to his specific refugee history, activism, and the arts:

> I was 13 years old when my mother took me to the Public Library and I ended up picking up my first book on what had happened in *Chile.* Up to that point my father and mother would really never talk about it because they didn't want to share the pain. […] So I was 13 years old when I went and I picked up this first book and the very first page of this book, was *Salvador Allende* on the balcony of the presidential palace and the very

[18] The presidential palace

> last picture of the book is that same balcony after the bombing. So it gave you the entire history of *Salvador Allende's* presidency through pictures, murals, and short little blurbs. So it was much more of a picture book, and that's probably why I ended up picking it up at 13, right? But that book changed my life. Because at that point, the art of *la brigada Ramona Parra*[19] became such an important thing. So here I am, a young *chileno*[20] or, however I identified at that time, *chileno-canadiense,*[21] and rather than language[22] being the main driver of the ideas, it became art, and photographs.

Victor did not specify the language of this influential book, but now as he approaches forty, it is noteworthy that it is the images that he remembers most. At that stage in his development it would appear that it was the visual, as opposed to textual, content of this book that was most successful in helping him learn about the political turmoil that expelled most of his community from Chile. But there were other books, too, where images played a transformative role. The images in another library book prompted an interaction with his father that had a hand in his evolving self-concept:

> I'll never forget going to the library when I was younger and I got this book on indigenous peoples from the Southwestern United States, and I'm leafing through this book, eh? I'm just leafing through it and I'm like, "*Papá,* they look like us!" and he's like, "no son, we look like them." So imagine, like that's an eye-opener right there, like we don't look like them, because—and then that was an opening for my father to begin introducing our indigenous past to us, which rarely do people discuss, even though we're mestizos we never talk about our indigenous past.

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[19] The official muralist brigade of the Communist Party of Chile.
[20] Chilean
[21] Chilean-Canadian
[22] Victor knew that I was interested in language, so it is possible that the researcher's presence had some influence on his de-emphasis of its relevance here. Nevertheless, other comments he made, as well as my informal observations, confirmed the centrality of the arts and activism in his worldview.

Indeed, as an adult, "indigenous" would become one of Victor's primary yet most contested identities on the basis of his race, as we will see shortly.

Other identity "ah-ha" moments that Victor spoke of happened during his travels in Latin America. When he was 17, Victor returned to Latin America with his family (minus Germán) for the first time since he left Chile at age two. The trip would prove to be a strong linguistic and cultural awakening for Victor:

> While in Mexico people would start to speak Spanish to me and they would say, you know they'd say things like, "hey you look *latín*—in Spanish of course—they'd say "*tú eres latinoamericano*." They'd know I wasn't Mexican, but they'd know—"*tú eres latino*, *ven, ven ven, te quiero enseñar algo."*[23] Right? And then at that point I realized oh my God, I don't know my own language, which I identified as my own language because my parents speak it.

In this example, Victor was called Latin American publicly, in Spanish, and possibly for the first time. Interactions like these altered Victor to the possibility of a pan-national Hispanic identity (i.e., not Mexican or Chilean, but *latinoamericano*) and to the reality of having lost touch with Spanish—the first language of his parents and many other *latinoamericanos*.

In his twenties, Victor travelled to Chile to work for a professor in a museum for four months. During this time, he stayed with an indigenous Aymara family that he had met through work connections. Victor "learned so much by living with that family" who welcomed him as one of their own, and with whom he was still in contact at the time of our interviews. Living with the Castañeda family opened his eyes to the racism that indigenous people experienced in contemporary Chilean society, and allowed him to see mainstream, contemporary Chilean culture from a unique, critical perspective. This experience prompted him to reflect on and ground himself in his indigenous, non-national Latin American identities:

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[23] "You're Latin American… You're Latino, come, come, come, I want to show you something."

> I like the idea of knowing that my blood comes from *Latinoamérica*. And I have a physical connection to *la cordillera*. My mother's family that comes from Peru, and my father's family that comes from Argentina, there's a Latin American-ness there. I'm not just from *Chile*. And I identify with *La Gran Cordillera de los Andes*[24] where— 'cause I've gone back and I've worked in *Chile* and I lived with *Aymara* people. And it was they that confirmed for me that hey, even though you're *mestizo*, the ideas that your family brought you up with are much more indigenous than they are Spanish. So it's a really difficult identity to hold, because people look at you and they're like, well you're not *indígena.*[25] Right? But in my heart and in my soul and in my mind I am. How do you explain that to people?

Unlike his experience in Mexico, his time with the Castañeda family allowed him to make a deeper connection with indigenous people in Latin America and cultivate a deep sense of belonging among them. This excerpt demonstrates the transformative potential of travel for developing (ethnic) identities, while at the same time downplaying the emphasis that is often put on visiting family members "back home" to promote a positive ethnic identity. Indeed, according to his mother's testimony, Victor did have relatives living in Chile whom he visited while he was there. She also mentioned, however, that the gender inequality he observed in his extended family members' homes was unsettling for him. It is not entirely surprising, then, that he chose to highlight the more positive experience he had there, which happened to be with a family of no biological relation to him. While in the country of his birth, the Castañedas could justifiably have identified Victor as *chileno*, but they did not. They identified him as one of them not for his place of birth, but for his values*,* which they were able to know through their shared code—Spanish. Thus, going back to Chile did not serve so much to support his Chilean ethnic identity, but rather fomented the emergence of alternative ones (indigenous, Latin American).

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[24] The Great Andean Cordillera
[25] Indigenous

According to Victor, a turning point in the (de)construction of his Chilean identity came out of a comment that his father made in Victor's youth. In the following quote, Victor exposes the roots of nationalistic ambivalence in his identity development:

> Getting back to the lesson that my father taught me was, "I have more in common with a Canadian who shares my ideas, than with a *chileno* that doesn't." And right from there is when I began to learn I'm a human being, rather than a *chileno*. And it's hard though, 'cause even inside of REPARA you have people who are "yes, we need to maintain the *chileno* heritage," whatever that *chileno* heritage is.

Here, his father's emphasis on shared ideas over citizenship to facilitate common ground (and ultimately belonging) suggests that his father did not see English as a barrier; it might even be said that such a comment indicates a degree of bilingualism, as he talks about having equal access to Chilean or Canadian (Anglophone, in this case) ideas.

In an age where the concept of identity is quite unanimously understood to be a fluid construct (e.g., Kanno, 2003; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002), that Victor understood his identity as shaped and strengthened by "building the solidarity with those particular groups who share the same ideas" is not difficult to accept. Indeed, it could be argued that such an identity is ideal in a world with climbing numbers of displaced peoples who might have little more than a history of (political) oppression in common. In this sense, to hold an identity based on ideas shared with diverse peoples is a powerful identity to hold, and one that surely has implications for language ideologies and use. It should also be noted that his remark about needing to maintain the Chilean heritage—"whatever that *Chileno* heritage is"—was certainly not for lack of reflection. Rather, it may point more to the complicated relationship he had with his heritage, which reflection actually problematized further.

Victor's desire to identify with diverse others through ideas and a common history of struggle can be seen in a memory he shared of an exchange he had with a fellow activist of Punjabi heritage while in Cuba the year prior to our interviews.

Positioning himself as Latin American, Victor said that "those are the opportunities that you get to start comparing our struggles, like so as Punjabi you know, the resistance, like what is all that about, right? So I learned from him and he learns about, from me you know like about Cuba and the rest of Latin America." His awareness of oppressed peoples spanned not only geographic spaces, but also temporal ones: "Whether it's with Palestine or Syria or wherever it is, you have certain people that are tied into these struggles for liberation, because we see what we were going through at one time." It is possible that his awareness of "struggles for liberation" spanning both space and time were intensified by his own experience as part of an ideologically-charged community that was physically displaced almost forty years earlier.

If Victor identified as Chilean in our interviews, it was primarily through the sociopolitical activism that characterized the Allende supporters of his parents' generation in Chile, as well as the "refugee culture" in which he was raised in Canada. He believed that the humanitarian zeal that characterized his parents' generation was what motivated second-generation youth travel to Chile:

> I remember seeing that speech [by Salvador Allende] and just being completely overwhelmed with gratitude and that sense of solidarity and that's what *Chile* means to—that's the *Chile* I'd like to be a part of. Not a *Chile* that's nationalistic, or, you know, obeys the hierarchies of colonialism and what not. So when I went back to *Chile* that's what I was looking for. And I think that we all do it. I think that a good percentage of *Chilenos*, Chilean youth, go back to *Chile*. Even if it's to go visit family. But they're looking for that little seed man, they're looking for that seed.

While many second-generation immigrants travel to the heritage country to visit extended family members and/or learn more about their heritage culture, Victor's reasons were decidedly ideological. Once he arrived in Chile, however, he "found a lot of skepticism, a lot of pain, a lot of sarcasm"—perhaps not the Allende-inspired "seed" he was seeking. But regardless of his general dissatisfaction with contemporary Chile, Victor maintained that his socialist, 1970s Chilean roots were "a template of sorts" for building a better world, in his Canadian

communities and internationally. This comment demonstrates a bridging of sorts, drawing on features that he deemed useful from a source culture, and applying them to his current community context for present and future purposes.

"Chilean" seemed to be one of multiple, complex Latin American nationalities that Victor claimed (along with Peruvian and Argentinean) but did not necessarily take precedence in how he identified. Indeed, Victor's predominant identities were neither ethnic nor national:

> Because for us, yes, we're proud to be Chileans too, I'll be honest, me not so much, but (laughs) I always say well I'm a human being first, then I'm a Latin American, and then maybe I'm a *chileno*, but I don't necessarily identify with the Chilean state either because of the role that it has had to play in our colonialist history.

It would thus appear that "Chilean" was a problematic identity for Victor to hold, and one which contained many associations that were at odds with the values and principles that he felt defined who he was and who he wanted to be. Identifying as "human being" for Victor encompassed the characteristics of humanity that united everyone: "It comes back to that principle of being human, because […] all of us suffer to some degree or another a form of oppression." This emphasis on unity may have been influenced by growing up in an immigrant family subordinated by mainstream society, and in an ethnic community divided by politics: "how can we unite again as a community, around these values and these principles, and start to think that, you know like, politics isn't a bad word anymore?" It is thus not surprising that Victor would want to distance himself from labels that have a divisive function—especially when he did not completely agree with what these labels (i.e., Chilean) represented.

4.2 Becoming Bilingual

Victor reported that he was a monolingual Spanish speaker until he started daycare and began to acquire English. After that, his parents encouraged him and his brothers to speak English in the home as they were working to perfect their English skills. According to Victor, however, his parents would speak to them in Spanish "out of a type of pragmatism, because it was important for my parents to

make sure that we understood the language." So while the family did not seem to use any explicit HLD or management strategies, it would appear that the Sandoval parents were aware of the value of bilingualism, and the possibility that their sons would lose touch with Spanish as the family assimilated into Canadian culture (also see Germán's comments on this). By the time Victor began connecting with the local Chilean community at age 18, the Spanish in which he had been proficient in early childhood was apparently quite dormant, but not beyond revitalizing, as we will see.

While it is impossible to make observations and confirm the language(s) of communication in the Sandoval house as Victor was growing up, it is worth noting that Victor talked about conversation and debate as a prominent feature in his childhood home. He attributed a lot of his ideological and communicative formation to family conversations around the dinner table, which would spark up again at bedtime and continue "late into the night." It is likely that these exchanges happened in some combination of English and Spanish—whichever code best served its speakers at the time—thereby adding a decidedly bilingual air to family exchanges, focusing on language ability over disability, and on the message over the code. Indeed, Victor seemed to have a fairly pragmatic and positive view of language in general, holding it as a tool that served primarily to access the ideas and thoughts of others:

> My mum was one of the first people that kinda told me like no, you should learn French. And the reason why she said that was, she told me, the more languages you know, the more cultures you will know, the more ideas you will learn from people in those cultures, and the better the world's gonna be. Right from a young age. It was all about the ideas, always about the ideas. The language is the connection to the ideas, right?

Victor also described art as a vehicle for communication and social change—and even language maintenance, as we will see. But words are also a medium of artistic expression, however, and the messages they contain can have a powerful social and socializing function. For example, Victor recalled that the music of the progressive culture was especially influential throughout his

upbringing. As a teenager, he felt that Cuban troubadour, Silvio Rodriguez, was more effective in communicating the values of socialism to him than the Communist Manifesto; in university, understanding the messages contained in the *nueva canción* would bring him and another Chilean peer together to create music that recounted the "reality of Latin America and being refugees, coming to Canada, and what that meant to us."[26] In the following excerpt we can see how knowledge of the effect of Chilean word artists (musicians and poets) united Victor and his peer, and how it propelled them to action:

> The thing that kind of drew us together was this kind of intimate knowledge of what *Violetta Parra* and *Victor Jara* and *Pablo Neruda* had been for the Chilean movement. So we knew that—like that's what basically we were trying to create in just this more modern time, whatever that means, modern.

The language of this word art was invariably Spanish, and so one would have to have a certain degree of proficiency in Spanish in order to understand the content of these creative works. Nevertheless, Victor explained how he felt that an initial connection to Chilean or Latin American culture could be made without Spanish:

> I think that for every individual the first connection is the culture itself, and I think that that happens to a lot of *chileno* youth. And however they get stuck at that stage of kind of that nationalism and it becomes all about Chile and they get lost when it comes to this broader idea of being Latin America, […] [but] I think that it has to come from there first. We have to connect with that nationalist culture first before they can—and they can do that through translation. They can do that most definitely through translation.

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[26] I listened to an album that Victor and his peer produced, and the vast majority of the songs were in English with Spanish used very sparsely, if not purely symbolically. Five out of sixteen tracks had Spanish titles, but their content was not necessarily in Spanish. This suggests that Spanish is a symbolic part of their immigration story, and that they were trying to reach primarily English-speaking audiences with their work.

On more than one occasion Victor somewhat downplayed the importance of Spanish for accomplishing certain communicative functions (e.g., transmitting cultural information). In order to arrive at the messages in the original songs and textual artifacts from his parents' generation, some knowledge of Spanish was required, but Victor was hesitant to acknowledge this fact. He seemed to be quite aware of the linguistic capital that knowing Spanish afforded him and was perhaps uncomfortable with the difference or privilege that it implied in circumstances where he might have been one of few people proficient in Spanish, as in his activist trips to Cuba with multicultural groups. He felt that one should not "get caught up in 'oh, I just need to learn the language,' because I mean, the language will come. The ideas are what's more important." And indeed, for Victor, the language did "come" (or rather, return), but it was not a passive or un-complicated process.

4.2.1 (Re)learning Spanish

After the family trip to Mexico in which Mexicans identified him as Latin American and Victor realized that he no longer spoke his "own language," he set out to (re)learn Spanish—but more specifically, the pronunciation. Thus, the desire to *sound* like a Latin American (but not like a contemporary Chilean, as we will see shortly) took precedence in Victor's quest to "teach" himself Spanish:

> And because of that always responding [to my parents] in English, I lost a lot of the phonemes that are required in the Spanish language […] So then what ended up happening was that when we came back from Mexico, my mother and father had a thick tome of Spanish and Latin American poets, which I had immediately began to read upon coming back from Mexico, and basically started teaching myself those phonemes again. By listening to tapes, even earlier on though, like I remember being maybe 14 or 15 and listening to groups like *Kilapayún*, which were an incredible part of my formation growing up as well, not only the conversations with my parents but also the music of *Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani, Victor Jara, Violeta Parra,* and then picking up the phonemes from there, right? And practicing them.

It is somewhat remarkable that upon his return from Mexico as a high school student—who was much more drawn to images and music than text—Victor reached for his parents' Spanish language poetry collection to help him awaken dormant pronunciation. Also, that he would think of poetry as being a teacher of pronunciation suggests a familiarity with, as opposed to an aversion to, books and literacy. The numerous family trips to the public library followed by conversations that popped up around the act of reading likely played a role in his attraction to books.

When Victor began his involvement in the Chilean community as an older teenager, the way he spoke Spanish was challenged by community members, and Victor recalls having accepted this challenge:

> At 18 I became very involved in the Chilean community in trying to participate as much as possible in any community building endeavours and Spanish was spoken at those meetings all the time, so it became—and of course you know, you go through that stage where you're speaking Spanish with an accent, to a certain degree. You're trying your best to put on your best Chilean accent but all of a sudden like these *gringuismos*[27] come out, right? And you're like—and you know like people laugh at it and it's like ha, ha, ha. And you got a choice at that point. You can either feel ashamed and shut up, or be like I don't care I'm gonna keep talking here.

That his "best Chilean accent" did not seem to meet the expectations of the Chilean community group to which he was trying to gain and maintain access likely further complicated his feelings about his prescribed Chilean identity. Through these types of interactions he also learned that being identifiable as an Anglo or Canadian via his "*gringuismos*" marked him as an outsider to the group. Once in university, however, a British Spanish professor he had modeled a non-regional Spanish accent that he eventually decided best suited his multiple ways of being and identifying. This experience showed him that there were accent

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[27] Akin to Anglicisms, but can also refer to English-influenced Spanish more generally, as in "gringo-like" pronunciation or syntax.

options that allowed a person the kind of ethnic fluidity and non-exclusivity that he desired:

> [One Spanish professor I had] was a huge influence on me because he was an English gentleman, really an English gentleman, who had studied in Spain and had studied in Argentina, but when he spoke Spanish, you couldn't peg where his accent was from. He managed to kind of like make the language his own, and he didn't sound like he was a non-Hispanic or Spanish, he just sounded like he had his own accent like you couldn't place it. Right? He had no English accent, and he had no Canadian accent or whatever you wanna call it, right? He had an accent all of his own, and I think that I really tried to model myself on that.

It could be argued that just as identifying as a "human being" had an ultimately inclusive function, so did having an accent that you "can't place." In this sense, Victor aspired to have an accent in Spanish that reflected the solidarity that his Latin American and human identities embodied. He sought an accent that could not be associated with any one place, which would prevent him from being excluded from certain groups based on nationalist qualifiers. As we will see, he did make use of nationally and temporally marked varieties of Spanish, but he did this intentionally and did so with very specific people in his community, and not with all Spanish speakers.

Negotiations such as the one that Victor recounted in the Chilean community also occurred at the level of the lexicon for him when he was in Chile. In the following excerpt we can see how Victor had reflected deeply on the temporally-situated variety of Spanish spoken in his community:

> V.S.: Being that refugee culture that left *Chile*, we are completely stuck in like a 1970s vernacular. When we go back to *Chile,* they laugh at us man, they just laugh at us they're like, "what are you talking about '*compadre,*'[28] like man, you're like, that's so old-school man, what are you like, 60 years old?" And you know 'cause I still like using *compadre* because it's part of the Chilean vernacular I grew up with right? And I

[28] Comrade

> don't mind using it and because I identify it with a lot of the elders in the community. Just last night I went to go see a gentleman and pick up some flags and things like that and being able to like switch into that is just a source of pride for me.
>
> A.B.: That vernacular, from that time, like situated,
>
> V.S.: Yeah, and it's cool. Like you're in a time-warp, right? And uh, and not using some of the new vernacular because some of the new vernacular you can totally see how it's part of the commodified culture that *Chile* has become.
>
> A.B.: Like what, for example?
>
> V.S.: Like for example, saying *socio*, rather than saying *compadre*, because you know, *socio* is like a business partner, rather than *compadre*, which is like, hey man, you're my homie, like we've got a mutual connection here that's not based on anything except for family and community. Right? So it's like, it means a lot more to me that vernacular from the 1970s.

A full analysis of this excerpt requires peeling back several layers and would be enhanced by observations and a larger data set. Nevertheless, it might be said that for Victor to intentionally speak an antiquated variety of Chilean Spanish for the socialist values it represents—despite criticism by his peers—reflects a commitment to the political culture of his parents' generation, and an identification with the elders and other activists in his community who speak this way. It is interesting to see how his alignment with an outdated Chilean vernacular underscores a temporally- and spatially-situated Chilean identity that Victor seemed more comfortable to hold. His Chilean Spanish, at least, hails from a Chile that he identifies with, and that really only exists among elders and activists in Chile and in the diaspora. Thus, from our interviews it seemed that his "1970s vernacular" served the very particular function of connecting with community elders. It is noteworthy that this antiquated variety is only one of at least two varieties of Spanish that he speaks: 1970s diaspora Chilean Spanish and the university-acquired Spanish.

4.2.3 Conflicting Attitudes towards Spanish

Victor's attitudes about the Spanish language and its maintenance in his community were complex and at times contradictory. As was evident in the previous excerpt, there are certain elements of Chilean Spanish that Victor identified with and that he was proud to be able to use. But on the other hand, Victor felt that Spanish was the "language of the colonizer" and thus lost some importance in his (pragmatic) vision for the next generation of Chilean Canadian youth:

> Because we understand that a lot of our youth are losing *castellano.* For me, personally, I identify it as the language of the colonizer. So for me, keeping that language isn't as important as keeping the ideas, because moreover, the majority of us live here now. And because we're human beings, it's not where we're from, it's where we live.

In the second interview he expressed more interest in Spanish maintenance, but at the community level, and provided certain conditions were met:

> Like for us I think that an immense responsibility is to eventually begin providing spaces where we can teach the language, but through the art. […] For example taking you know, a couple of verses from *Las Alturas de Macchu Picchu*[29] in Spanish and in English, being able to read it in English and then read it in Spanish, and identifying the differences, right? Like, why is this different why is it the same.

The bilingual approach to heritage language maintenance that he proposes recognizes the English dominance of the second generation and subsequent generations and presents it as a bridge to their heritage or ancestral language. It also helps to ensure that no one will feel excluded if they are not very proficient in Spanish, reflecting both Victor's ideology of inclusivity and possibly also the primary ways he maintained Spanish after he started going to daycare (i.e., conversations in English and Spanish, reading [Spanish] texts, writing songs).

Perhaps partly because he did not identify with contemporary Chilean society, in general, Victor appeared to have fairly negative attitudes towards

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[29] Pablo Neruda's poem, *The Heights of Macchu Picchu*

current Chilean vernacular forms. He referred to Chilean Spanish disdainfully as "a complete street language" that he had difficulty understanding when he met working class Chileans. In the following excerpt we can see this sentiment expressed more fully:

> I think that *chilenos* probably speak the worst Spanish out of all the Latin Americans, just like, gosh! I'm in awe when I hear guys who come from *Chile* and come from you know that really kind of Lumpenproletariat background and I hear them talk and I'm like, what language are you speaking man? Because even I'm having trouble understanding you, you know? And like nothing bad about Lumpenproletariats or anything, you know?

Given his commitment to inclusivity, it is somewhat surprising that Victor did not seem to be fully aware that to disparage a variety of a language is to disparage its speakers. Even though he clarified that he meant "nothing bad about Lumpenproletariats," his comments about their speech partly betray this intention. Indeed, ideologies that privilege certain varieties over others are pervasive and often go unnoticed, especially if they are confirmed at home. Victor's awareness of the prestige of academic versus more vernacular varieties of Spanish had apparently originated, or had at least been reinforced, at home:

> I remember too, my first year of university, my father would always tell me that yeah, there's the way that Chilenos speak and then there's a kind of university level, where you don't talk like the slang and all that, so when I came to university and I started learning Spanish kind of all over again, this time, in a more academic setting rather than a vernacular, I tried to kind of build that.

Despite the implied superiority of a university level Spanish by his father here, it is not entirely clear from this comment that Victor himself valued school-acquired Spanish more than 1970s vernacular Chilean Spanish. In fact, we will see shortly how this negative attitude toward the vernacular did not result in his abandonment of the vernacular when he started learning the prestige variety; he reportedly used both regularly with different people. It might be that his father had had a stronger

preference for "educated Spanish," but that for Victor, "educated Spanish" was just another (albeit slightly more flexible) tool on his Spanish tool belt.

In contrast to popular concerns that school-learned varieties of Spanish position the rich dialectical and cultural features of Spanish as inferior (Silva-Corvalán, 2001) Victor presented standard Spanish as a bridge between cultures and individuals:

> [In high school, we would speak Chilean vernacular] rather than trying to speak a kind of more professional Spanish so that the Salvadorean comrades can understand what you're talking about. But you were like making the distinction, well yeah, you're Salvadorean and you talk a different way than we talk.

Victor's feeling that educated Spanish could break down barriers between Hispanics from different dialectal backgrounds in his community speaks strongly to his values of unity and equality, but at the same time shows how deeply ingrained standard language ideologies can be (Silva-Corvalán, 2001; Lippi-Green, 2011). What is perhaps unique about Victor's case, however, is that in spite of his negative attitudes towards contemporary Chilean Spanish, he seemed to embrace his vernacular 1970s Chilean vernacular as much as his school-acquired variety for the social functions it served:

> It became concrete when I came to university and then realized yes, there's a professional way of speaking Spanish as opposed to a colloquial way, and I had to learn both. It was really important for me to have both. So now there's times where for example when an older gentleman in the Chilean community would give me a phone call and I just slip right into *chileno* right away, and it's like boom I slip into *chileno*. While I'm here at the university and for example I'm talking to *el Dr. González* or I'm doing the [Spanish television program] I try to be much more professional about my Spanish, rather than just the end of the day hangin' out with the community.

Unlike many situations where the more prestigious, school-learned variety usurps the colloquial or home-variety, Victor's community interactions provided him with meaningful opportunities to use both.

4.3 Multilingual Ideologies and Warrior Identities

Although both he and his wife were Latin American, Victor's sons could not trace their ethnic heritage to one national source. It is partly for this reason that Victor envisioned an inclusive Latin American culture in the community, and one rooted in the indigenous ancestry that unites a majority of Latin Americans:

> A.B.: Is your wife Chilean?
>
> V.S.: Nope, she's Salvadorean. […] And I think that that's where a lot of the desire to become Latino—establish a *Latinoamericano* popular culture comes from. Because my boys are both, right? And moreover than that it's like I want them to understand that and pick up from the rich indigenous past, right? Our people were warriors that fought against the imposition of a colonialist culture. And that's who we are.

Unlike many immigrant or second-generation parents who refer to the dual national components of their children's hybrid identities (i.e., Chilean and Canadian), Victor made no reference to the host culture (Canada) in this comment and instead emphasized the pre-colonial peoples of El Salvador and Chile as his sons' primary ethnic referents. It was not until we began discussing his elder son's French immersion education that Canada found relevance, and even then Chile and El Salvador remained in the background as identity sources.

Although he and his wife spoke a mix of English and Spanish (from the background questionnaire), Spanish maintenance was not a priority in their home. Instead, his sons' acquisition of Spanish appeared to be one spoke of many in the multilingual wheel he was building for them. As we saw earlier, when Victor quoted his mother's reasons for wanting him to learn French, he felt that multilingualism was a key tool in promoting understanding and solidarity with other people, which was a central value of his. In the following excerpt we can see how his multilingual parenting ideology had its roots in a sort of symbolic resistance and solidarity with other oppressed peoples:

V.S.: So, now, granted, I think that Spanish like any other language is important to maintain, but I'll be honest with you, for example my son, rather than sending him to quote-unquote the Spanish school, I'm sending him to French immersion because I want him to learn the language of this [country]—but again it's another colonial language.

A.B.: As is English.

V.S.: As is English, right? So, for example, one of the things that we're doing right now is through the Public Library you can get these language kits, and one of the language kits that we've picked up was the Cree. So we're slowly teaching each other Cree because it's important to under—well this country also has a colonial past, like and I don't pretend that we're ever going to be able to speak Cree fluently, but more than the language it's the concept that, hey, there's a people that lived here before the Europeans came. That's more important to me, you see? So if I can use language in order to convey that message, then that's why we'll study Cree. Not that we are wanting to speak Cree fluently, but that we want to understand the relationship, and language is a cultural expression of that.

The usual aesthetic or economic arguments for language maintenance or acquisition are notably absent here.[30] Victor equated Spanish here with "any other language" and awarded no special consideration to his son's heritage language, suggesting that it was firmly part of a multilingual ideology. He also seemed to be keenly aware of the power of language to represent history and unequal power relationships; here, he presents Cree as an option to distance himself and his family from historically colonial nations. The desire to study Cree in order to demonstrate some kind of solidarity with, and recognition of, a locally oppressed people is comparable to the desire he had to speak an antiquated form of Chilean vernacular with community elders in order to show solidarity with them through a common value system—through both of these languages he can express an ideological solidarity and belonging. More than trying to gain access to the Cree

[30] I am grateful to Martín Guardado for helping me to conceptualize HLD in terms of discourses.

community, it would appear that Victor is trying to use some knowledge of Cree to express an understanding not only of the existence of Cree people as independent from Europe, but also of the oppression that Cree people have endured in Canada.

Victor was aware that French, like Spanish, was a language forced upon indigenous peoples historically, but he justified this choice to enroll his son in French immersion with the explanation that French is one of Canada's official languages and implied that knowledge of French would allow his sons to speak to their countrymen without the hegemonic tradition of resorting to English. The automatic switch to English when a non-French speaker entered the French conversational space was one that Victor had witnessed in his non-profit work, and a practice that he found oppressive: "there'll be a group of Francophones sitting at a table discussing something, and as soon as you as the Anglophone go sit down, they gotta switch to English. And I find that so oppressive and here it is only one person doesn't understand their language so they switch. But I think that that has become the norm based on Canadian history." Victor was also aware that Spanish—and specifically his school-acquired Spanish—was a tool that he possessed to confront the hegemony of English: "And I would tell [the Francophone activists], you know, because I know Spanish I can get a lot of what you guys are saying. Because I mean the conversations would always revolve around development, right? And that level of discourse has a lot more in common with Spanish than just the vernacular, right?" This comment is also evidence of Victor's awareness of the utility of formal language education.[31]

4.4 Going Home to Cuba

Also unlike many immigrant and second-generation immigrant families, Victor and María had not yet taken their sons to their countries of origin (Chile and El Salvador). This is not to say that they did not want to, but it is noteworthy

[31] After the data collection process officially ended, I learned that Victor had begun taking formal French classes, confirming his interest in Canada's official minority language and the primary language of his son's education.

that in Gabriel's first eight years of life, he would have travelled to Cuba twice, and not to the countries of his parents' or grandparents' birth.

Three years before our interviews, Victor took his family to Cuba, and at the time of our interviews, they were gearing up to return. At that time of the first trip, Gabriel was about five years old and Andrés would have been an infant or not yet born. Both of his sons—even the youngest—already felt a connection to, or at least an awareness of, Cuba, suggesting that the country was something that was talked about at home. In this excerpt Victor goes into more detail on this point:

> V.S.: This year I'm taking the kids.
>
> A.B.: How old are they?
>
> V.S.: Andrés is two years old right now. He turns three [soon], so he's getting to that age where he can have conversations now. And Gabriel, he's 7 and he'll turn 8 [in a few months].
>
> A.B.: So right around the time you're going.
>
> V.S.: Yeah, so he'll be eight years old.
>
> A.B.: Have they travelled yet?
>
> V.S.: Gabriel has been to *Cuba* already one time, like when we were three years ago, yeah.
>
> A.B.: Does he remember?
>
> V.S.: He loves Cuba.
>
> A.B.: Oh, really!
>
> V.S.: I got the funniest story. Like I mean, when we were in Cuba Gabriel turns to me and he's like, "*papá,* I wanna come and live in Cuba." (laughs) […] And Andrés already is like, yesterday I'm getting ready to go for a meeting and I'm walking to the door and he's like, "*papá*, are you going to Cuba?" (laughs) […] so he has this idea that there's this place called Cuba and you go there.

Victor mentioned that Cuba has places that are very spiritual "for people who believe in these things," making it clear that Cuba had a lot of personal significance to Victor. He remarked that the Latin American revolutionaries that

fought alongside each other in the Cuban revolution are now immortalized in public monuments there, giving the activist history of Cuba an inherently multicultural, pan-American dimension. Being that Victor's sons have Latin American heritage from different countries, it is possible that Cuba embodied not only the socialist values that Victor lived by and wished to raise his sons with, but also the pan-American identities that he held, and that his sons had access to by birth. In light of Victor's complicated relationship with his country of origin, Cuba represented a special place for Victor and his family that would likely have positive implications for his sons' evolving senses of self, ethnic identity formation, and Spanish development.

In the previous excerpt and the one that follows it is apparent that even as young boys, Victor's sons have developed an awareness of multilingualism and other countries:

> A.B.: So how does Gabriel feel about his French immersion?
>
> V.S.: He loves it. Yeah, he loves going to French immersion school, he loves learning the French, and I think that, his first year in kindergarten he was just like, "I wanna go to Paris" […] But I think that something that's really beautiful about it is that he has this consciousness now that, growing up in our house he knows there's English, he knows that there's French, he knows that there's Spanish, he knows that there's Cree, he knows that there's Mapungo, he knows that there's Aymara, he knows that all these different languages exist, and even the fact that we're going to Cuba I was like hey, you're gonna be able to practice more Spanish, so we need to practice more Spanish, so like yesterday I went to go pick him up at his cousin's house, my brother's place, Germán's place, and all the way back we spoke Spanish.

Without talking to Gabriel or making observations, it is not possible to confirm his willingness to speak Spanish or French, but being that Victor and María are raising their children in a home that embraces multilingualism and the value of other, economically potent and impotent languages, as well as enrolling Gabriel in a minority language immersion program, suggests that their sons will grow up in

an environment where positive attitudes towards other cultures and the languages used to access them are promoted. The boys were also involved in practices (i.e., Hispanic community events, travel to Cuba) that confirmed the positive language attitudes that were reportedly encouraged in their home, boding well for future language use in Spanish and in the other languages they would learn.

4.5 Chapter Summary

In sum, through dialogue and critical engagement with diverse communities in Canada and in Latin America, over his lifetime Victor had forged primary identities that were largely devoid of national referents: human being, Latin American, and indigenous. These identities exemplified Victor's understanding of the ability of nationalism to divide —an understanding that may have sprung from growing up in a Latin American community made up primarily of Salvadorans and Chileans who sometimes asserted their difference via language, as we saw earlier. Although Spanish represented colonialism to Victor, the variety of Spanish that his parents' generation spoke was near to his heart, and he took pride in speaking it with the elder members of his community especially. It seemed to be that his diverse community work in Edmonton provided him with ample opportunities to use his prestige and non-prestige varieties of Spanish, in addition to motivating him to learn other languages, like French and Cree.

The progressive culture that his community brought with them from Chile was one that he hoped future generations of Latin Americans in Edmonton would carry forward and apply to making a better society in multicultural Canada. Indeed, he was reportedly raising his sons with multilingual practices and ideologies in order to help them to understand the political and historical relationships between the speakers of languages, and to gain a first-hand understanding of those speakers' worldviews. Spanish was one of many languages he hoped his sons would acquire, and felt that it would "come" as their interest in the deeper elements of Latin American culture grew. Coincidentally, speaking Spanish appeared to be part of the family's preparations for travel to Cuba, a country that served as a kind of ideological "back home" for his family, as there the socialist values that Victor was raised with were still promoted, and he and his

sons could claim membership by virtue of their progressive ideas and Latin American heritage.

Chapter 5

Adriana Vega

5.1 Ideological Beginnings

Having come as political refugees, "politics" was an integral part of Adriana's family's immigration story. Indeed, Adriana's grandfather's political persecution was what drove him and his family out of Chile:

> My mother came very young [at the age of 12], her father, my grandfather, had been involved in some politics, enough to get noticed and be threatened, so he came as a political refugee first and then reclaimed his family who also came as refugees, so my mom's a refugee here. But they came as a child, so yeah, I guess that was, that's her story of coming here. But I grew up very much with the difficulties of an immigrant child, the social challenges of that.

To say that her experiences growing up were akin to those of an immigrant effectively blurs the lines that we attempt to draw between immigrant generations, and challenges our understanding of what it means to be fully "assimilated" into the host culture by the second or third generation. While Adriana did not elaborate on what the difficulties or social challenges she mentioned were, relating her experience growing up in Canada to her parents' experience as immigrants demonstrates an intergenerational understanding, or at least solidarity with them.

Leftist politics and Christianity formed the ideological umbrella under which Adriana and her siblings were raised (see also Francesca's results). Although Adriana's parents had virtually no involvement with political activism in Canada, they had both been heavily involved in the church that Adriana's maternal grandfather founded at some point after arriving in Edmonton; according to Adriana, issues surrounding his political involvement had "made him very bitter and very angry, and the church was something that he found healing in." As a result of this ideological duality, Adriana grew up in a family that "was always with a political ideology, our family, and I think that comes with the Christian

teaching also. Just of caring for your *prójimo."*[32] Indeed, Adriana saw the value of responsible, humanitarian-oriented citizenship as a commonality and strength of the two main ideologies with which she was raised. For instance, Adriana recalled that Salvador Allende was frequently praised for the work he did to support the disenfranchised members of society: "I mean *Salvador Allende* was just this like hero that I always knew about," and the word *socialism* had always been used around her family's home "without apologies." Members of the larger society, however, did not view socialism and Allende's legacy in the same light. Adriana remembered that a boy at school had disdainfully challenged her declaration of being a socialist, prompting her awareness "early on that there was kind of a defensiveness towards socialism, but [I] knew that this was like a good thing. I liked it and yeah, what else was something like wow I really want to be more involved in this." From this comment, it is apparent that the political and cultural ideological rootedness that Adriana's family fostered allowed her to withstand negative outside views about her culture and would give her the courage to pursue ideological and cultural activities that she deemed personally meaningful as an adult.

About a year before our interviews, Adriana had made the decision to leave the church but felt that she was taking with her teachings and ideologies that were entirely relevant to her activist pursuits: "When I was in church […] it was [about] working towards good, [and] I think that my activism also, in the same way is like fulfilling because it's also serving a good, which I believe in." Whereas at home she saw religion and politics as complementary, Adriana's ideological impasse with the church seemed to spring from its failure to recognize this ideological synergy: "I felt like in the church there was a lot of political apathy and it came out of this, you know, let's serve God, you know, not the government, and it just it didn't make any sense to me." Interestingly, it was in leaving the Latin American church that she would grow closer to her Chilean-Canadian community.

5.2 Culture and Identity when "Back Home" is not Chile

[32] Neighbour, fellow man

Adriana was able to articulate quite clearly and felt strongly about her national identity: "For my national identity I would absolutely put Canadian without even thinking twice about it. For me I'm Canadian. I'm a very political person and where I can draw my rights out of is absolutely Canadian […] I have a very strong Canadian identity also. I'm proud to be Canadian." That Adriana identified as Canadian not because she was born in Canada or had always lived there, but rather out of where she "draw[s] her rights," privileges a certain political ideology or awareness over geography in her concept of citizenship. Canada was also where she felt she could make the greatest impact in terms of social change: "This is my home, in Canada, or where I make my home anyway. And so I just think that it's more relevant and I can have a bigger impact." To say that Canada is where Adriana "make[s] [her] home anyway" seems to reflect her experience of growing up in a community of migrants. Much like her Canadian identity, her concept of Canada as "home" appears to be as much ideologically rooted as it is geographically rooted: home is where you make it, and you make change wherever you are. Indeed, her community was founded by people who ended up making their homes in Canada and had made great contributions to their local ethnic and non-ethnic communities.

At the time of our interviews[33] Adriana was very clear about not being able to identify as nationally Chilean:

> I am not a Chilean citizen and when I go to *Chile* I go as a tourist. I don't claim any status in *Chile* so I could not call myself nationally Chilean, however culturally I am a mix. Culturally I am very proud to be Chilean.

Adriana identified wholeheartedly as Chilean, but "in a different context than *Chilenos* in *Chile* are." She spoke confidently and proudly about the political context out of which her community had sprung, and her sense of belonging to it:

> My context is really special because it was, it's a context that really preserved the amazing years of 1970, or 1971-1973, because it's that

[33] After our interviews ended, Adriana went to Chile to visit her Chilean partner. As I was writing this thesis almost five months later, she was still there, so I was unable to include her reflections on this trip in the data.

> context and the community that I come out of, the Chilean-Canadian community, that was founded and framed by the supporters of *Salvador Allende*, and like, these were the founders of the community, so the culture of this Canadian-Chilean community is different then than what happened in Chile because it grew in a different context. […] I do call myself Chilean but when I call myself Chilean what I mean is what is Canadian Chilean, which is this different context than the *Chile* Chilean, which I think is, still Chilean. Still really Chilean but it's a different context, right? For me it's something really special I think.

Adriana's Canadian Chilean identity did not represent a hybrid Canadian/Anglo-Chilean hybrid identity, but rather focused on the Canadian diaspora context out of which her situated Chilean identity grew. When Adriana says that she is Chilean, she is identifying with her local community of exile Chileans, and not directly with their country of origin.

Adriana's certainty at not being able to "claim any status" in Chile may have been influenced by an experience she had in Chile as a teenager, in which her Chilean identity had been challenged and left her effectively "othered":

> A.V.: I don't think that my national political identity negates my Chilean identity at all. I think that it's something personal to be framed and yeah, I've been denied before that ability to you know, to be, to identify myself as Chilean because it's like "oh, *la gringa*"[34]
>
> A.B.: Really?
>
> A.V.: Well not completely, right? But when I did go to *Chile* you know like, it was noted that like, oh we don't speak like very good Spanish so are we really Chilean?

In Chile her right to identify as Chilean was contested on the basis of her proficiency in Spanish. I will go into more detail about language and identity when I talk about Adriana's bilingual development, but for now it is interesting to note that in Chile, Adriana's Spanish was presented as a barrier to identifying as an "authentic" Chilean, whereas in her Chilean community in Edmonton, the

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[34] Foreigner, especially from English-speaking North America

Spanish she spoke was a primary marker of her Chilean-ness. In the context of exile, then, her non-native Spanish both found validation and granted her membership in the Chilean community.

Identifying as a socialist, Adriana's current involvement in leftist REPARA was a form of local activism that she felt operated in accordance with her fundamental beliefs and vision to promote and preserve the history of her progressive Chilean diaspora culture: "Chilean culture is very, very progressive and this is the proof of it, [archiving community documents] is a promotion of the progressive culture, like this is how we've always been this is how we are and this is our culture." With REPARA being a form of "ethnic" activism in the local Chilean community, participation in the group offered her access and acceptance based on her heritage, which other groups could not:

> So today I think that most of my kind of activist energies are put into REPARA which I see as a kind of like community niche approach to activism where I'm kind of encouraging, promoting this progressive movement shift, but in a very limited community which I think is effective because I think it is something I have an "in" to and something that I can navigate through, that I have a link to, and it's something that I'm really excited about because I identify completely.

In this excerpt, Adriana's participation in REPARA does not only represent taking local actions that promote her beliefs, but it was also a way of interacting with her ethnic community that she found meaningful and even exciting. Her enthusiasm for REPARA appeared to be supported by the sense of belonging that having an ethnic "link" to something that she strongly identified with granted her. She always knew that she had family ties to Chile, but it was not until she started research for a class paper on the history of Edmonton's Chilean community that she began to get excited about her heritage culture and ethnic community. Notably, no one told her to embrace the activist elements of her heritage—indeed, one might say that the church discouraged them. It was Adriana's own interest in activism that enhanced the connection she felt to the founders of her community, which she encountered while researching for her paper: "There was something

there when I could see these photos, and if I remember right it was 1986 where the exile committee which was a mix committee of Salvadoreans and Chileans and they took over the passport office [in Edmonton] and I was just like whoa you guys were like radical! […] so it was something that I just identified with totally." Growing up in Canada meant never knowing the Chile that her parents' generation fled, but researching this paper and the research she did afterwards gave her a taste of the specific parts of Chilean culture that had flourished in exile—in her home town—and helped to ground her self-definition as Chilean-Canadian. In so far as the newspaper clippings provided Adriana with a tangible, sensory connection to her community, so did listening to Victor Jara's Spanish language music—many of whose songs were anthems of the Chilean left in the 1970s:

> And especially [writing the paper and] listening to you know like, *Victor Jara's* like, *Los jovenes revolucionarios*[35] and I was just like oh my gosh you know like this is something that I want to be that I already feel like I am […] this is something Chilean-Canadian, like, this is something me […] I went through this emotional rollercoaster sitting in this room [in the city archives] with nothing but my phone and a pencil, but yeah, just like totally moved by this folder of little newspaper clippings, and it was just like everyone was so special I just wanted to like smell them and touch them all and it was pretty amazing.

Because the newspaper clippings she was looking at were tangible artifacts that occupy physical space in Edmonton and demonstrate a public validation and recognition of Chilean (and Latin American) progressive culture, it is not surprising that her excitement and enthusiasm about these archival materials was accompanied by a physical desire to protect, rescue, preserve, touch, and smell representations of a community that, as she put it, "is something me." To summarize, then, both the historic audio and material cultural artifacts that she interacted with served to fortify her evolving ethnic identity in linguistic and ideological ways.

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[35] Revolutionary Youth

5.3 Adriana's Bilingual Development

English and Spanish were both reportedly spoken in Adriana's childhood home. Because Adriana's mother had arrived in Canada when she was twelve years old, she spoke "quite a lot of English," and her father, coming in his twenties, spoke considerably less. Although Adriana recalled that "they spoke to us in both," she cited the school as the primary source of her childhood deterioration of Spanish: "just being in school I lost a lot of the Spanish." It is important to remember, however, that for the Vega children, the school was not the first place where the children were exposed to an abundance of English. On the questionnaire, Adriana indicated that English was in fact her first language, and her "dad didn't speak to us in English very much, but my mom did." So perhaps it was more the absence of Spanish than the presence of English at school that contributed to her reported loss of Spanish skills; the Spanish that Adriana achieved before entering school reportedly happened in an environment where both English and Spanish were spoken regularly.

In addition to monolingual English schooling, Adriana felt that when Francesca entered elementary school "she brought English to the home"—as though it had not had a presence there already. But again, more than *introducing* English to the home, the advent of school more likely saw the children's increased use of English and reduced use of Spanish. It is not possible to determine at what point in their childhood Adriana was referring to when she said "our Spanish wasn't very good when we were kids," but this comment speaks to the fact that, while English-dominant heritage bilinguals, they were still competent to some degree in Spanish, which at least for Adriana was not a precursor to language loss later in life.

The home was only one of several domains and experiences Adriana talked about as having supported her HLD. The church, community Spanish classes, university French classes, travel to Chile, and interacting with Latin American peers and community members—many of which had a strong social component serving as a motivational factor—all arose in our interviews as factors that contributed to her HLD in some way. In what follows, I will look briefly at

the role that each of these played in Adriana's Spanish development as she moved into adulthood.

5.3.1 A Hol(e)y Language

Growing up, Adriana and her siblings had attended their family's Latin American church three times a week, making the Spanish-speaking church a cornerstone of Adriana's pre-adult, extra-domestic HLD. It comes as little surprise, then, that even though Adriana was English dominant, the idea of praying in English was odd to her:

> Because I always went to a Spanish-speaking church for me Spanish kind of became like my holy language […] for me praying in English was always strange because for me I just have an association with Spanish and the church and so my prayers were in Spanish even if I had less words to express myself.

Here it appears that the use of Spanish for prayer was not spiritually significant to Adriana, but rather was a practice that she had merely grown accustomed to. Similarly, she was used to speaking Spanish under the "Spanish-preferred" policy at the church, but she did not comply with this policy because she believed that Spanish was an expression of Chilean culture (see Section 5.4). Instead, Adriana attributed much of her Spanish development to the waves of native Spanish-speaking youth that she met at church and through church contacts:

> When I was [about 21…] there was a lot of *jóvene-adultos*[36] [and] a lot of them had just come from Latin America, so it was something that I really had to push myself to learn and one of them was *paraguayo*[37], he told me, he's like, when I met you to now, to like a year later, he's like, your Spanish is like way better now," right? So it was a lot of that, like forcing yourself to be able to communicate. Some of the younger kids needed help with school and things so I would tutor them and that also forced me a lot to learn.

While the frequent attendance in a Spanish-preferred domain undoubtedly had an influence on Adriana's HLD, the desire to welcome Latin American peers appears

[36] Young adults
[37] Paraguayan

to have been a stronger motivational factor for her. Indeed, some of these new immigrants also became Adriana's friends, which supported her effort to speak Spanish: "so it was something like I had to be speaking Spanish because they were all in my age group so like […] we were friends." As the excerpt above shows, these new friendships also provided Adriana with positive feedback on her Spanish development, likely giving her the confidence to continue speaking Spanish with them and with others.

Just like praying in Spanish, Adriana talked about speaking Spanish in the community as a natural course of events: "So yeah, I guess then there's also an association with Spanish and the community so like when you're doing community work or community events kinda thing it's like this is a Spanish event, this event is happening in Spanish, so you kinda gotta turn on your Spanish brain." But unlike Spanish for prayer, Spanish use in the community seemed to have pragmatic *and* affective or identity significance to her. In the following excerpt, Adriana talks about how in spite of the Canadian context in which she grew up, Spanish represented a means by which she could "identify with that collective memory" of colonialism, and assert her right to identify with the history of Latin Americans:

> A.B.: So tell me about the ways that you identify with your community. Your 'ins', what makes it special for you…
>
> A.V.: M-hm. Okay, so I'm working within the Latin American community, but really more specific than that, working in the Chilean community, so I guess like the most basic identity would be race, racial identity that is kind of like that we have the same blood. I don't know, but it's that same history. I guess there is an identity on language too because it's a medium by which I can also identify with other Latin Americans and a common history of colonialism [even though] I was born in Canada […] But still I identify into that collective memory by language of my ancestry, which I feel very close to because I feel is a big part of my own personal identity so I feel that the history of that identity is mine.

Thus, while in some ways Adriana seemed to take Spanish for granted as one of the tools that she used in certain domains in her life (e.g., church), when asked to reflect on her community experiences and her use of Spanish, her descriptions of it gained emotional intensity.

Her community interactions paralleled her Latin American friendships in their didactic function, bringing her attention to gaps in her Spanish vocabulary, and on some occasions motivating her to utilize her resources (both textual and personal) to pin-point the meaning of certain unknown words to her:

> [The president of a local Chilean cultural organization made a speech and said] one thing where he's like we—*no podemos seguir siendo*… um, and I can't remember the word but it was a word that I didn't understand like, *no podemos seguir haciendo… haciendo algo de lo partido politico*[38], right? And it was a word that I didn't understand, I tired to look up and it wasn't translatable and it was you know, something I asked [an elder member of the community] what it meant and he gave me two different meanings. So I got from it it's something that's in the context but again it had a lot of open-ended meanings and I was like, I don't understand what this word was… it seemed like it was such a crucial word to use.

Even though her personal, activist focus remained firmly on the transmission of cultural (socialist) values to future generations, it is noteworthy that these intergenerational community interactions encouraged her to investigate the meanings of Spanish words that carried cultural messages that she was eager to learn.

5.3.2 "Eeeeeh-pañol!"[39] at Abuelo's:[40] Spanish-Only Policies

Unlike at church where Spanish was merely the officially preferred language, at Adriana's grandparents' house there was an official Spanish-only

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[38] "We can't keep being… we can't keep doing… doing something [to do with] the political parties"

[39] Espanol/Spanish. I transcribed this word the way she said it, with vigor and the aspirated 's' characteristic of Chilean Spanish

[40] Grandfather's

policy. She reported that she did not question the policy because she felt proficient enough in Spanish to communicate with them:

> A.B.: Yeah. Did your parents ever, like explicitly say, you're Chilean, or speak to me in Spanish or anything…
>
> A.V.: My grandfather.
>
> A.B.: Okay. Not your parents but your grandfather.
>
> A.V.: My, our grandfather would not talk to us unless we asked him in Spanish, *decía*[41] "*eeeeeh-pañol!"* and yeah, we had to get it out.
>
> A.B.: Did that bug you when he asked you to speak Spanish?
>
> A.V.: Um, no, no, it didn't. I remember it bothered my cousins who lived in Vancouver and didn't have as much interaction with the family. We also always went to this church in Spanish, we had much more…
>
> A.B.: Was that just once a week or more often?
>
> A.V.: Uh, no. That was about three times a week.

Adriana's pragmatic view of Spanish at her grandparents' as opposed to her more critical view of it at church might have had to do with the reason for being in both places: the purpose of going to church was supposedly to "spread the gospel"—which could technically be done in any language, whereas the purpose of visiting her grandparents was to spend time with them and converse with them, which had to be done in Spanish. With her grandparents, as with her friendships with Latin American newcomers, there was no bilingual option; Spanish was required in order to achieve the objectives of their encounters. At her grandparents' house, Spanish was something that you had to "get out" if you wanted to speak within earshot of the grandparents. But obligations are not necessarily unpleasant, as Adriana confirmed when I asked her if it bothered her to have to speak Spanish. Her reference to the church immediately afterwards suggests that she attributed her ease with Spanish to her regular contact with her Spanish-speaking community there. Nevertheless, while Spanish may have had no place at church for Adriana, the Spanish that the church helped her to develop

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[41] He would say

enhanced her language abilities for use outside of the church, which she seemed to somehow recognize and value.

Also like her friendships with other Latin American youth, Adriana had shared interests with her grandfather. Conversations about politics—a subject generally avoided for its ability to provoke tension or to halt the flow of conversation—was a main area of common ground between Adriana and her grandfather, a man with whom she did not "see eye-to-eye" on many other issues:

> Me and my grandfather, it's difficult. He has a very strong personality and so do I. I mean we get along ok. He loves the way that I am. He even says sometimes that like I've surpassed him in politics. He's like oh, when Adrianita's talking politics I have to step aside a little bit, right? Like pay attention, which is a big put up coming from my grandfather, who is, I think very, very machoist.

This point is noteworthy from cultural, political, and linguistic standpoints, and cannot be fully explored in this thesis due to lack of data. It is nevertheless worth reiterating that these conversations were conducted entirely in Spanish, as Adriana's grandfather did not speak English according to her and Francesca. These conversations are of interest because heritage language use in domestic spheres tends to center on domestic topics, thereby failing, by and large, to expand the vocabularies or vary the grammatical structures of the heritage speaker. Centering on political topics, Adriana's conversations with her grandfather likely required the use of vocabulary and structures that reached beyond the home, and were likely further enhanced by the fact that the topic of politics arose from her own interests.

5.3.3 "Some formal training"

Although Adriana reported speaking more English with her mom than with her dad, she recalled that it was her mother who was concerned about her children's weakening Spanish skills and when Adriana was in grade 8 or 9, she enrolled her in a local Spanish community school:

> A.V.: Then I went to [Spanish community school] for a year and that helped my Spanish a lot having some like, some formal training.

> A.B.: Was that your idea or your parents'?
>
> A.V.: It was my parents'. Yeah, and my mom realized that our Spanish was getting worse and we, I don't know what her motivations was. I loved it though. It was really cool. I always went to public school, I never went to catholic school and there's a lot more Latinos in the catholic system so I didn't have any Latin friends at school or anything, even though I always had a Spanish community at church, but it was a very small church so girls my age would come and go […] so yeah that was really cool to have some Latina friends.

Community school seemed to have been a positive experience for Adriana, especially for its social function. Indeed, as a heritage bilingual, Adriana already had a foundation in Spanish and at this point in her bilingual trajectory, finding a group of Latin American bilingual peers may have been pivotal in motivating her to continue improving and using her Spanish. Indeed, growing up, Adriana did not have any Hispanic friends outside of the church, and even as an adult she found it challenging to meet other Chileans her age:

> No, I don't have any Chilean friends from the university. Yeah, the people that I've met I've mostly met through REPARA kind of networking and, well part of my networking was also getting into [a local Chilean community organization] […] yeah no I don't, I don't know where the Chilean…hang out at.

In some ways, then, participating in REPARA meant much more than "just another cause" (as Francesca put it); REPARA was an avenue for Adriana to get to know members of her ethnic community without having her group membership questioned on the basis of her Spanish proficiency, as it had been in Chile, or on the basis of her ethnic heritage, as it was when she was involved in solidarity actions with non-Latin American indigenous struggles in Alberta: "it was like well, you're not even native, why do you care so much?"

By the time Adriana entered university, she had taken an interest in learning French to support her career aspirations of working with the Canadian government. She did not study Spanish at university, but her beginner French

classes helped her to see the structure of her other languages (English and Spanish) better:

> A.V.: Also I took French, and seeing a language dissected like that, because I hadn't ever done that for English or Spanish, that really helped me kind of uh, what's the word?
>
> A.B.: Connect some dots?
>
> A.V.: Yeah, in Spanish and putting things into perspective and kind of grouping words together? I don't know, it was something that I found that helped me.

While Adriana recognized the role of university French classes, community Spanish school and travel to Chile (see below) in supporting her Spanish development, she maintained that the motivation to befriend Latin American newcomers to the church was more influential:

> Just the month that I spent [in Chile] like my Spanish improved so much because I just had so much practice. Even though I was talking like still with my siblings [in English] and things and it was just tons and we were really excited to use the words that we'd learned [at Spanish school], too. So yeah, that helped my Spanish a lot, but it was again, people who would come to the church, the, like the new immigrant families?

As we saw earlier, interacting in Spanish with Latin American youth at church sometimes prompted encouraging comments about her Spanish, whereas in Chile her Spanish marked her as an outsider, or *gringa*. In Canada, however, the newcomer Latin Americans were able to familiarize themselves with the bilingual context in which she had acquired her Spanish, and recognize her heritage bilingual Spanish competence as fluid and evolving. In so doing, they inadvertently positioned her as an authentic member of the Chilean/Latin American Canadian community in which they found themselves.

5.4 Spanish Language Attitudes

Adriana's attitudes towards Spanish seemed to stem mainly from her experiences of using Spanish in her daily life, rather than from prevailing societal attitudes. Her feelings about using Spanish were not negative, but rather

pragmatic and sometimes critical, as was the case at church. For instance, the church leaders were of the opinion that Spanish should be spoken at church because it was a Latin American church, and Spanish was part of their culture. Adriana did not see Spanish in the same way:

> The church was big on that, in only speaking Spanish. They never said you could not speak English, but for the Christmas plays all of the songs were all in Spanish. Whenever we did a presentation like at the front of the church […] All the like, *textos bíblicos*[42] always had to be in Spanish even though a lot of the time we would just memorize the words and not actually know what they said because they were like in Shakespearean Spanish […] later, it became something where I was like why are we so stuck on keeping, like everything in Spanish if the most important thing is supposed to be sharing the gospel? Then shouldn't we be sharing it with people that we'll, like that we'll understand? Like especially for the *jóvenes*[43], right? That we should you know, we should have the services in English and they're like no, but we're also Latin American church, so we want to also, you know, preserve that, and I'm like but we're a church, right? So the first thing should be sharing the gospel right? Not sharing the language, right? Like they can go to [Spanish school] if they wanna learn the language right? So the church was really big on let's keep this in Spanish kinda thing […] I guess and they did see the language very much as the culture.

The elders' clear preference that the younger members of their congregation speak Spanish and the use of biblical texts that Adriana had trouble understanding caused her attitude towards using Spanish at church to sour. From her perspective, Spanish was not a necessary expression of the Chilean culture she identified with, and its management should be concentrated in places like language schools where Spanish use is the modus operandi. Interestingly, the mandate of most (if not all) heritage language schools is to promote the heritage language *and* culture,

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[42] Biblical texts
[43] Youth

suggesting that perhaps for Adriana, Spanish was not a requirement for the promotion of Chilean-Canadian culture in the same way it is for older generations who aim to promote a more purely Chilean culture in Canada. As we will see later, in many ways Adriana's awareness of the role of Spanish in her situated Chilean identity was just beginning to emerge around the time of our interviews. It is also difficult to know whether or to what degree her attitude about Spanish at church was influenced by her increasingly critical perspective about the church as an institution.

5.4.1 When Groovy is Dorky

Unlike Victor, it embarrassed Adriana to speak the antiquated Spanish that she had been socialized into, and she appreciated the contemporary vernacular forms that she learned from interacting with young Spanish speakers in her church community. In the following excerpt we can see this sentiment expressed more fully as she shares her language concerns for an upcoming trip to Chile:

> There's times that like, words that I know, like, words that I know for sure, don't come to me as quickly as well, so then I just, I feel like a child talking. And the other thing I'm really nervous talking about is, 'cause my, I'm not like down with like the slang of like the *chilenismos*[44] and I remember there was one time I had a friend who had just moved here from Chile and I said one thing to him and […] he's like "*nadie dice eso* like *ya,"*[45] he's like, really? I guess it was like the equivalent of saying like 'that's so groovy' kind of thing right? Just like totally dorky to say. […] 'Cause the slangs that I know are stuff that my grandparents or my parents would say, so yeah, I'm kind of nervous about looking like a dork if I use something like that so, I made him teach me a lot.

On more than one occasion she identified her weakness in Spanish as primarily lexical, and my casual observations confirmed her self-reported fluency in the language: "I mean I'm fluent in Spanish and that's fine but […] I don't have a very extended vocabulary and I'm also like often short for words, even in English,

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[44] Chileanisms
[45] "No one says that, like, anymore."

but (laughs) in Spanish, right?" Indeed, to report feeling like a child because her words—in both languages—are not always readily accessible is characteristic of bilinguals. But perhaps more interesting than her reported strengths and weaknesses in Spanish are the insecurities she expressed here about speaking the Spanish she had grown up with. Fortunately, this embarrassment seemed to propel her to interact more frequently with Spanish native speakers rather than allowing it to silence her. And while Adriana had a negative attitude toward speaking the antiquated vernacular that she grew up with, this attitude only seemed to apply to her own Spanish and did not extend to the Spanish spoken by her elders. In other words, it would not be accurate to say categorically that Adriana had negative language attitudes about Chilean Spanish—in fact, in a sense the opposite was true. Adriana's embarrassment at speaking 1970s Chilean Spanish motivated her to learn the more current ways of saying things in order to be accepted (not be made to feel "dorky") by her Chilean peers. Thus, interacting with Latin American peers or friends seemed to have a positive effect on Adriana's motivation to continue developing her Spanish. Even in terms of dating, Adriana felt that "as soon as you find out someone's […] Chilean, they immediately got a little bit more attractive […] it was just like a special connection thing." Adriana's "special connection" to Chileans—past and present—arguably gave purpose to her continued use of Spanish, be it through talking with her native speaker contemporaries, or reading decades-old archival materials from community members.

5.5 The Future of an Unexamined Spanish

As Spanish featured largely in several of the key domains in Adriana's upbringing, in some ways it is not surprising that she seemed to take her bilingualism for granted and had "never really thought about it." During our interviews, she seemed to be at a point in her ethnic identity development where she was beginning to inquire about the meaning of Spanish in her life, and in Chilean culture in Canada. For Adriana, Spanish was a tool that she could use to identify with other Latin Americans, but was not necessarily an *expression* of culture. While it might be tempting to point out a contradiction here, it might be

more accurate to say that her understanding of Spanish and Chilean culture was still very much evolving.

Earlier, we learned that Adriana's interpretation of Chilean culture was that it is inherently political and "very progressive"; these are "deep" elements of culture. Language, on the other hand, is a more visible element of culture, and one that she had always felt was a part of "token culture." However, through Adriana's participation in a REPARA oral history project on a local Chilean dance group, we can see how her attitudes about Spanish and other visible elements of Chilean exile culture were changing:

> A.V.: When you get in touch with your roots you're also getting in touch with those values that come out, and those values come out in English as well.
>
> A.B.: So in terms of getting in touch with your roots, language is not a key part of your roots?
>
> A.V.: I guess yeah, I guess for me the key part is that progressive culture, it's… the socialist values. Um, the –language getting in part with your roots. I guess it is maybe in my mind I've put language in the 'token' area. It's something that I've ignored and now that we're doing this part on the, we're doing a special oral testimony collection of [a local Chilean dance group] […] you know it's not something that I feel personally, but I mean it is something that's really, like that people do have a connection with, with like the dancing, right? Which is something that I wanted to dismiss as like, oh that's token culture, right? And it was part of my culture that I was dismissing, so I feel like maybe I don't have enough consciousness about the language as part of my culture as well.

This comment shows how Adriana's community activism had brought her into contact with community members and initiatives that she would not normally have sought out, and had subsequently put her on a path to question her previously held beliefs about the value of Spanish in her community and culture. While the experience did not ignite her interest in Chilean folkloric dance, it allowed her to see how important it was to her community. And in order to have

the kinds of experiences that challenge what she felt and knew about her culture in Edmonton, Spanish was often necessary. Indeed, Spanish was an indispensible tool for conversing with the elders in her community, and she used it to learn about her Chilean progressive culture and "special context." In this sense, the personal connections that knowing Spanish allowed her to make were what she most valued and recognized about the role of Spanish in her life. Her attitudes towards Spanish were positive because of the meaningful connections it has allowed her to make, which she considered "beautiful." In other words, Spanish is not intrinsically beautiful; rather, the social consequences—being able to connect with others of using Spanish—is what she found beautiful.

5.5.1 Thinking about Maintenance "…and I don't know why!"

After our final interview, Adriana commented that these interviews were what she imagined therapy might be like. I took this to mean that things had come up in these interviews (such as questions about Spanish) that she had not previously given much thought to. This hunch was confirmed a few weeks later when I spoke with her informally at a community event and she mentioned that ever since our interviews, she had not been able to stop thinking about language. Further evidence that Adriana was now beginning to reflect on the role of Spanish in her life, in some ways for the first time, surfaced towards the end of the second interview when I asked her if she had any feelings about her future children's education and command of Spanish:

> A.B.: So if you have kids someday and say you're still living here, would you put them in an English program or another language program or, do you have any feelings on that?
>
> A.V.: Yeah. I would definitely put them in a language program. I would put them in a language that I can't offer them to give them one extra, right? And I'd probably put them in French immersion and then well, I no longer have the church community so I can't offer them that, but I would probably put them in [community Spanish classes] to at least to have them on that Saturday and try to get them involved with some Spanish programs, maybe [a Chilean dance group]

> A.B.: After the interviews [with dance group members]!
>
> A.V.: Yeah! I definitely look at them differently than I used to. I think I dismissed them way too lightly. And I don't know maybe some music program, ["a local Latin American folk music band"] is like the coolest group. I don't know, something where they can be involved in a Spanish speaking environment. Maybe get Spanish TV too, that was something that helped us when we were little, we watched *telenovelas,*[46] and it was huge for us. I think a lot of the language preservation was from reading—or not from reading but from watching television in Spanish.

As Adriana answered this question, I noticed that she pulled quickly away from her initial response regarding putting her children in a French or other-language program, and towards ways that she would use to facilitate her children's acquisition of Spanish. Her emphasis on Spanish here does not downplay her initial inclination towards putting her children in a language program that would "give them one extra." Indeed, that Spanish is presented as part of that multilingual palette that she hopes her children will have demonstrates Adriana's awareness of the value of multilingualism. Her emphasis on Spanish in this excerpt shows how thinking about her own future children caused her to reflect on the ways that she acquired Spanish and how she would transmit that experience to them, in order to experience similar benefits. Although at first Adriana felt she could not explain why she wanted her children to speak Spanish, she was eventually able to do so by referring to the ways it had served her in her own life:

> A.B.: I guess in your own life then for your own offspring, you see them speaking Spanish, hey?
>
> A.V.: Yeah. Oh definitely. It's something that I would love for them to know, you know, again like the food thing, you don't need to eat empanadas to have like, the socialist values, right? But it's still something that I would like to teach them as well, to have that. To have that as well. I don't know why, yeah, just because I want them to be I want them to have that, I definitely want them to have a language. It's a way, for me my

[46] Latin American soap operas

> language is a way to connect with my community. To communicate with the with the senior members, it was my way of communicating with my grandfather, the only way I could communicate with them. […] So Spanish was a key tool in so many parts of my life. For me, yeah and connecting with senior members of the community has been one of the most beautiful things, right? Being able to read, I guess, those papers like [a community member's study] on the Chilean organizations, that was all in Spanish, and reading through that was really important that I had that language to be able to access that, right? […] but I mean it makes you think to the, you know, what will my kids be losing right?
>
> A.B.: Yeah, so like I was gonna say, if it turns out that you do all you can but really your kids are just not interested or whatever, would that be sad for you? Or…
>
> A.V.: Oh definitely. Yeah I would be really sad if they couldn't, um, if they weren't able to retain the language. Um (pause) and I don't know why! I don't know how to express it because I don't think I could say because oh, they'd be losing their culture. I'm not, I don't know how I think about the language being part of my culture. I haven't really thought about it.

It is possible that Adriana did not feel that by losing Spanish her children would be losing their culture because, like her, they may well be raised in an English-speaking, Canadian context. This then begs the question of what her children's "culture" will be. Being a second-generation Canadian of Chilean heritage, Adriana has had to define for herself what her culture is, and what being a Canadian of Chilean descent means to her. As she begins to think about her future children, questions arise about what Spanish has meant to her in her "special context," and undoubtedly, of what Spanish and being of Chilean heritage might mean for the next generation. Will their context be special? How will they identify? What languages will they speak and why?

5.6 Chapter Summary

While Adriana's grandfather had taken solace in the church for the pain that his political beliefs had caused him, Adriana chose to turn away from the church and dedicate herself to the politics. This decision would ultimately put her on a path to connecting with her Chilean heritage in a way that her church community could not; it would seem that a great deal of her current ethnic identity was informed by her involvement in the collection of archival materials in her Chilean Canadian community. Also, being denied the ability to identify as Chilean in Chile may have prompted her to reflect more deeply on the Chilean identity she held, and what this identity meant to her specifically. Consequently, her Chilean identity was of her own design: She identified as Chilean, but in a different context—a context that had a strong history of political resistance and activism—of which she was proud to be a member.

Learning other languages like French helped to put "learning" Spanish into perspective for her, which she found useful. Envisioning her children having "one extra [language]" also reflects a positive attitude towards multilingualism and compliments her predominantly pragmatic language attitudes. So even though she said she was not exactly sure why she wanted her future children to speak Spanish, her response suggested that she would want her children to have the same opportunities to connect with their community that she had found so enriching.

Adriana's community activism and Latin American friendships appeared to have been her primary motivations to use Spanish at the time of the interviews. Her peers had pointed out that the vernacular that she had learned at home sounded outdated, but she seemed to eagerly welcome the more contemporary alternatives they offered. Similarly, not knowing certain words at community events propelled her to seek out their meanings and thus play an active role in her HLD. Although she had not received more than a year of community Spanish language classes, that year had a positive impact on her language and identity development also, as she was able to make bilingual Latina friends outside of the church for the first time. So although Adriana never explicitly said that developing Spanish was important to her, many of her reported actions

demonstrated that she was keen to build on the foundation that her bilingual upbringing had granted her.

Introduction to Chapters 6 & 7

The Non-Activists

In Chapters 6 and 7, I present and analyze relevant data collected with the two participants I have identified as Non-Activists, Germán Sandoval and Francesca Vega. Although Germán and Francesca both recognized the politics and activism that had characterized Chilean socialist culture in the 1970s, they did not embrace it as part of their current Chilean identities. Indeed, they expressed concern about the negative repercussions they felt their siblings' political involvement could have on their career aspirations. Partly as a result of having little involvement with the local Chilean or Latin American community, Germán and Francesca's opportunities to speak Spanish as adults were reportedly less than they had been when they still lived with their parents. And for different reasons, neither Germán nor Francesca expressed a desire to seek out new ways to use Spanish or to connect with their community.

In what follows, I examine the ways in which factors such as settlement challenges, political socialization, language use, and lack of community participation may have influenced their HLD and ethnic identity formation.

Chapter 6

Germán Sandoval

6.1 Chilean by Default: An Identity of Difference

From our interviews, it seemed that a portion of Germán's childhood had been characterized by displacement and the quest to find belonging. Germán arrived in Edmonton in the summer of 1976 with his mother and two-year-old brother, Victor, and was reunited with his father upon arrival. He was nine years old. Several factors made Germán's adaptation process challenging, and he remembered his childhood in Edmonton as being quite lonely. Although he should have been placed in grade five because of his age, Germán's mother registered him in grade six because she did not want him to be held back. The age gap that Germán encountered between himself and his peers compounded the

existing social challenges he was facing, such as the language barrier and, presumably, culture shock. The school eventually placed him in the appropriate grade level and he subsequently spent a year with his children in his age group and began to learn English. But then the family moved to another part of the city, and he would have to change schools again, leaving behind his new friends. At that time, his non-school friends were primarily the children of other Chilean immigrants who he would see on the weekends. Communication was easier because he could use Spanish with them, but he recalled that most of them were his brother Victor's age, who was a toddler at the time.

Germán and his mother both had memories of the verbal harassment he received from other children. As an immigrant child of a fairly recent wave of immigrants, Germán said that he would hear comments from his peers like: "Why don't you get out of here and go back to your huts, we don't need you." His mother recalled that these comments would follow him home, too; once when Germán was still in elementary school, she and her son were sitting on the front step of their home and some children rode past on bicycles shouting: "You eff Chilean, go home, you dirty eff Chilean, go home!" Now in his 40s, Germán felt that he was "reminded every day by different things that happen that [he was] not really Canadian." Although Germán had a light complexion, he recalled having filled in "visible minority" in response to the question regarding ethnicity on the Canadian Census. On two occasions he attributed his feeling of difference as race-related, and felt that "after being here for so long, there has to be, well I guess not that there has to be something you have to grab onto, but your roots, I guess, becomes [sic] more and more important."

It was not only interactions with Canadians that challenged his identity, however. He remembered being upset when a Hispanic friend challenged his Chilean identity on the basis of having lived in Canada most of his life:

> That really stirred something in me and I said, "no, I identify myself more Chilean because I see other people and who are Canadian, I don't really, I don't fit, I think that I don't fit in with that so I consider myself Chilean."

> But I guess if I were to go to Chile today and speak to people they would tell me no, you're not Chilean you're Canadian.

In this sense, Germán's Chilean identity was only valid in a Canadian context where he felt unable to claim a Canadian identity. Even though he had never returned to Chile, Germán expected that he would not be accepted as Chilean were he to go there. This feeling may be partly attributable to his aunt's visit many years prior to the interaction he had with his Hispanic friend:

> [My uncle's sister] came she came over to our house I remember and we started speaking in Spanish and she told us, "oh, you guys don't have a Chilean accent anymore," so that was kinda shocking, like, what? You're telling me I'm different?

When family or friends from the country of origin come to visit, it is generally regarded as an opportunity for the children to practice the heritage language and deepen their emerging ethnic identities. Unfortunately, the excerpt above suggests that despite family members' best intentions, these visits can also have less desirable outcomes. Although Germán said that at the time of the interviews he still spoke Spanish with his aunt, this comment likely did not help his already well-established feelings of difference in Canada. To describe his aunt's comment as "shocking," suggests that he did not expect to be "othered" by his Chilean aunt—especially when his Chilean identity had provided him with an identity refuge in a Canadian society that rejected him daily in subtle ways.

As a young adult, Germán was reminded that his right to claim a Chilean identity was enmeshed in how especially other Chileans perceived his Spanish proficiency. On one occasion, he recalled that he had been conversing in English with a long-time Chilean-Edmontonian friend when his friend's acquaintance (who was visiting from Chile) had expressed his surprise at two Chileans not speaking Spanish together. Germán had reacted negatively to the remark:

> [His comment] kind of made, like afterwards I kind of felt ashamed. I should be speaking Spanish but back then it was like, from my parents' point of view, they wanted me to get an education, they wanted me to get a good job, so speaking Spanish kinda was a lower priority.

Instead of asserting a hybrid, localized Chilean identity that could logically be expressed with equal weight in English or Spanish, Germán seemed to feel that speaking English took away from his singular Chilean identity, as was evidenced by the shame he expressed at being caught not speaking Spanish in this situation. In this sense, Germán did not seem to have a hybrid Chilean-Canadian identity—or at least he had not embraced this identity option. It is also interesting that he attributed his preference for English in this excerpt to the migration-related challenges his parents faced, and not to any other potential factors like his monolingual education in English or English-dominant friends. Germán made several comments throughout our interviews that demonstrated his keen awareness of his parents' struggles, both in terms of how they fought "to stay employed" in Chile, and worked around the clock once in Canada to provide their sons with every opportunity; it would appear, then, that the challenges of migration that his family had faced had an impact on how Germán perceived his Spanish deterioration and by implication, his Chilean identity.

In sum, Germán's Spanish and Chilean identity occupied a contested zone where visiting Chileans could freely comment and pass judgment, provoking negative feelings in him like shock and shame. But in spite of the numerous identity negotiations he faced, Germán's Chilean identity seemed to be his preferred identity of refuge in an Anglo Canada that did not offer him a sense of belonging ethnically or racially.

6.1.1 Feeling Difference, Making a Difference

As the foregoing analysis shows, Germán felt quite strongly about his Chilean identity. And because he tended to talk about it in terms of a kind of default alternative to the Canadian identity that he did not "fit in with," I asked him what being Chilean meant to him. This was his response:

> I guess for me it means knowing where I came from, knowing why I think differently, knowing... Trying to make a difference, knowing why you should try to make a difference in the world, maybe one day. Give back what was lost.

For Germán, identifying as Chilean helped to explain his personal feelings of difference culturally (e.g., "why I think differently") and related to origin (e.g., "knowing where I came from"), but his comments about making change and reclaiming "what was lost" also reflect the aspirations of many of the leftist exiles of his community, thereby pointing to the possible influence of his particular community on the way he understood his ethnic identity.

Music, and particularly the Spanish language music of the Chilean *nueva canción*, served as both a guiding force and illustration of Chilean culture for Germán. In the second interview I asked him to elaborate on what he had meant by "making a difference," and he used an Inti-Illimani song to describe his point:

> I guess about a month ago I was on YouTube listening to songs and all of a sudden I came across this Inti-Illimani song […] It was a song about Che[47], and they wrote it before Che died, like a few months. And I just listened to the lyrics and I just, realizing that so many people had a dream for a better country and have that all go away, it's very sad […] But just knowing that we can still work towards what those dreams were is still important.

Without at least receptive knowledge of Spanish, Germán would not have been able to understand the message of the song that ultimately helped him to illustrate for me what being Chilean meant to him. Chile has over two hundred sovereign years worth of musical history, but Germán chose music from his parents' generation—not his or any other—to talk about his concept of Chileanness. This example suggests that the socialist ideologies and values he grew up with were influential in the development of his ethnic self-concept; indeed, Inti-Illimani's song, *Venceremos*[48], became the anthem of the Popular Unity (Salvador Allende's party), making the group a voice for Chilean socialism.

6.2 Chilean Culture is not Necessarily Political

Although the socialist history and struggles in Chile resonated with Germán through music, he was hesitant to describe Chilean culture as political in

[47] Reference to revolutionary, Ernesto Che Guevara.
[48] "We shall overcome"

and of itself. In contrast to the other participants who one way or another felt very strongly about the role of politics in their ethnic culture, for Germán politics was not an intrinsic characteristic:

> Are we more political than Canadians? Some Canadians are very political, I don't know if I would agree with that but, certainly… I guess the group of Chileans that we know are more politically, motivated or. It's a hard question to…

It is possible that Germán's uncertainty here had its roots in his family's refugee past. At one point when we were talking about Victor's involvement in REPARA he noted that he himself was "a little bit afraid of going left because of what happened in Chile." Furthermore, just as Germán was aware of the way his parents struggled economically in Chile and in Canada, he was also aware of the fact that holding certain political views—even in the diaspora—was not an uncomplicated matter, and his family's political views were consequently relegated to the home:

> [My parents] weren't comfortable with sharing their beliefs I guess, amongst all the Chileans. They kinda preferred to keep a low profile? Like they never really discussed politics with anyone. So, at home I guess my parents would discuss it a little bit more so, yeah, that's I guess where we all grew our left-leaning view on politics […] they didn't want to get involved here with the people of the left because they were very angry, right? They wanted to fight for Chile or at least the old government, and then there was a wave of economic immigrants from Chile who weren't really leftist, and they didn't agree with them either, so they kind of just said well, the friends we have we're not going to talk about politics.

Germán and Victor both remembered that their parents had not really shared the details of "what they saw" around the time of the coup (with the notable exception of Victor's story in utero), and they both mentioned the anger that a lot of exiles felt when they were growing up. Their mother's testimony confirmed Germán and Victor's comments about their parents keeping a low-profile in the community; not wanting to share their political views publicly, the Sandoval

family was left with the home as the primary domain where they felt comfortable discussing their political beliefs, which, according to Germán, resulted in his and his brothers' "left-leaning view on politics." Thus, it can be argued that Germán grew up understanding that it was safest to voice one's political views in more private spheres. This feeling was reinforced in his parents' practice of limiting the places and people with whom they discussed politics. Indeed, Germán worried that Victor's activism would cause him problems, even in Canada: "[Victor] voices his opinions so strongly sometimes that I think that he could get in trouble." And although Germán seemed to support Victor's participation in REPARA, he failed to see its relevance in the Canadian context:

> Well, yeah so for me REPARA would be something like, yeah we wanna remember the socialist past, or what happened in Chile but it's so conservative here that sometimes I question like, is it gonna mean anything in the end? […] Sure it's gonna make [the older generation] happy that this is going on, but also, like you look at Chile now and they've moved on.

Here, as elsewhere, Germán underscored the authenticity of Chilean culture in Chile—a country he had not returned to since his family moved into exile when he was nine years old, and that somehow held the key to his ethnic identity. This point is noteworthy because it further illustrates Germán's perpetual sense of difference, unable to claim an authentic Chilean identity in the diaspora because from his perspective, Chilean culture lived in Chile, and the activism that had characterized part of its recent history (and consequently, of many diaspora communities) had no future here. Germán felt that his current career in healthcare was "something that in the end will benefit other people. And my wife thinks the same way. For right now that's enough for me, […] if I was really interested in doing [activism], I think I would go back to Chile."

In sum, for Germán being Chilean meant making a positive difference in the world—something he felt he was doing in his profession. Listening to music from his parents' generation reminded him of the martyrs who died fighting for social justice, while at the same time motivating him to continue working for

social good here (albeit not in the form of political activism). And while to a certain extent he questioned the benefits of groups like REPARA, his belief in the importance of achieving the dreams of his parents' generation reflected the unique diaspora environment in which he grew up that strove to preserve the memory and momentum of this movement. From this section it is thus possible to conclude that Germán's notion about Chilean culture being characterized by humanitarian ideals (not activism) came from a combination of conversations at home, the aspirations of his exile community, and the music of the *nueva canción*.

6.3 Pragmatic Language Attitudes

According to Germán, his parents had always encouraged him and his brothers to speak Spanish, because it could open doors for them in terms of employment:

> A.B.: Did your folks ever talk about Spanish, like as something, to do or to speak, or…?
>
> G.S.: They did impress on us the fact that it was important to keep it, to not lose it and because they were telling us, well you could get a job where you could need Spanish so I would practice it.

Because he was older than his brothers and therefore closer to working age, he felt that this advice had affected him more than it affected them, who "never really spoke [Spanish], until like maybe in their late teens." However, in spite of these positive attitudes about Spanish maintenance, the challenges of establishing themselves in Canadian society with virtually no support from governmental or non-profit organizations were many, and securing steady and meaningful employment took priority over his Spanish development:

> I guess their focus and my focus back then was more on integration and I guess we didn't value, like culturally we had everything at home, so outside the house it wasn't that, we didn't seek it out I guess.

Compounding the effects of prevailing assimilationist ideologies, the Sandovals' reluctance to "seek it out"—language or culture—in society might have stemmed in part from their desire to keep a low profile in their politically-charged community.

Germán remembered that the family only spoke Spanish at home until Victor started school, when Germán was already in grade nine. The infusion of English into the home appears to have been a welcome addition by Germán's father especially, who was eager to perfect his English and enhance his employment possibilities:

> G.S.: Yeah, so in the house it was like the brothers all spoke English to each other and we spoke Spanish to our parents. And then at some point my dad switched, and he would always speak English to us […] I think he switched to English with us because he wanted to improve his English and vocabulary and because of his job he wanted yeah, he wanted to make sure that he spoke very, very well.
>
> A.B.: Right, and you guys, how did you feel about that? Cause you noticed the shift, so.
>
> G.S.: Yeah. Yeah. I think it was, it made it really easy for us.

From this account, the household switch to English was welcomed by the sons, who were now English dominant, and by the parents, who were eager to improve their English and broaden their socioeconomic horizons. Germán's enjoyment of speaking English at home was not unproblematic, however. Although there was no Spanish-only policy reported in the Sandoval home, Germán was aware that speaking English around his mother, whose knowledge of colloquial English was still very little, had excluded her:

> When we would speak English we were kind of segregating our parents out of that circle, which wasn't really fair looking back on it […] But I guess that happens in every family, but I guess the difference in language kind of makes it more I guess, puts more emphasis on it.

Indeed, for a time in his youth, Germán had spoken exclusively in English with his mother, but by the time of our interviews he had begun speaking Spanish to her again, "out of respect." Germán's desire to speak to his mother in Spanish again appeared to have evolved over time, though, because as a young child, translating for his mother in public was a duty that contributed to his sense of difference:

> A.B.: …and how did you, how did that make you feel when you had to [translate for your mom]?
>
> G.S.: Yeah I guess, when kids have to do that they kinda feel different and a little bit of shame involved, 'cause like all the other parents know English but my parents don't, kinda thing. But, you just went with it because that's how things were.

So, as this comment suggests, not only did Germán grow up in a time when there were not many other minority language-speaking parents, but there were not many Spanish-speaking children, either. Being part of one of the larger first waves of Spanish-speaking immigrants to the city, neither the public education system nor the community had been prepared to provide first language support to Germán until he reached high school. And without broader societal or community language support, it is not surprising that the other settlement challenges his parents faced took priority in the family's daily practices. By the time Spanish classes were available in the eleventh and twelfth grades, Germán felt that he was "too old, I guess" to study Spanish formally.

When Germán left home at age 22, his parents were more established in Canada and they and his brothers were able to have "more fun, I guess, as a family." In other words, in the twelve years since their arrival, the settlement-related goals that had characterized his childhood were no longer as pressing as they had once been. In combination with other factors, the family's increased socioeconomic stability in Canada likely reduced his parents' urgency to master English opening spaces for Spanish to re-enter the home, a linguistic practice undoubtedly encouraged by his teenage brothers' emergent interest in their heritage:

> A.B.: So did you guys, like, did your parents talk much about inequality or injustice when you were growing up?
>
> G.S.: Not that I remember. But I guess my case is a little bit different because I left the family in 1990, and so I guess Victor would have been like 15, so they kinda became the adults they are now while I wasn't living in the family so I don't really, like I know that they talked a lot with my

> dad about why he came and why he wanted to leave Chile and I never really got to hear that stuff before I left, so in a sense, yeah, I kind of miss, I'm kinda sad that I missed that part.

Thus, affective factors involving language use coupled with his understanding of integration as blending into the mainstream while keeping the ethnic culture alive at home may have contributed to the dilemma Germán would have regarding his own son's language education, as we will see below.

6.4 The Bilingual Education Dilemma

The decision to put his son, Luis, in a Spanish bilingual kindergarten class was not an obvious one for Germán. His dilemma was this: on the one hand, a Spanish bilingual program would allow his son to develop an awareness of his heritage. But on the other hand, Germán's own experience with difference in school made him reluctant to place his son in a language program that might cause him to feel segregated:

> Because I didn't go to Spanish school when we moved here, there was no such thing, so I was thinking well, if he goes to Spanish school, he'll be kind of s—I don't know, apart from the main group? And I didn't really want that. But I also saw that it is very important for him to know his roots and where he came from.

Conversely, his wife had had a positive experience with Spanish schooling in Sweden and was adamant that their son develop Spanish in order to communicate with her mother who was virtually monolingual in Spanish. And despite Germán's feelings that his own mother's Spanish was stronger than her English, he felt that Luis' development of Spanish was more important to his wife:

> [My wife] doesn't want our son to forget about her part of the family. […] So she wants that bond to build up, and, by him knowing Spanish, by being able to communicate with her, with his grandma, that bond's gonna be stronger.

Here again, Germán recognized Spanish as a device for strengthening family ties, namely with the older generation. But he also talked about Spanish as a potential

tool for his son to learn about the essence of what it means "to be Chilean" via conversations with Chileans in Chile:

> A.B.: …let's say Luis grows up speaking Spanish, what will Spanish do to help him learn about his roots?
>
> G.S.: (pause) I guess primarily if we ever go back to Chile, he'll be able to communicate at a deeper level with people, and I mean if he's even interested at that point he can start asking questions about what being Chilean is about. So I guess by learning Spanish we're setting the roots and hopefully someday it's gonna blossom into, into him really knowing what it is to be Chilean.

Like activism, Germán talked about Spanish as having more relevance in Chile, and also in terms of "really knowing what it is to be Chilean." As much as Germán's attitudes towards Spanish and espousing a Chilean identity were not negative, however, he did cast them in an optional light—especially with regards to Luis' development of his HL: "but I wouldn't really push [a Chilean identity] in him, I would just let him develop it if he wants to. It all depends on his interests I guess."

In sum, it is clear that the vastly different experiences Germán and his wife remembered having with language at school in the diaspora had had an impact on their feelings about whether to enroll Luis in a Spanish bilingual program. And aside from the cultural and identity benefits that speaking Spanish might bring his son, there was a distinctly pragmatic tone to Germán's comments about learning Spanish and other languages in Anglo-dominant Edmonton, as we will see in what follows.

6.4.1 "He's an engineer now so he's okay": Language Maintenance in a Global Economy

Germán reported that he and his wife put a lot of thought into making sure that their son went through life with the keys to any door he wished to open, and attributed this desire to their upbringing as "people from Chile" who had often lacked opportunities: "In Chile back in the 70s not everybody had all the opportunities they could, so I guess for my parents it comes from that and for my

wife as well." Thus, although the decision to register Luis in Spanish bilingual kindergarten was initially for more sentimental and cultural reasons, their decision was backed by the knowledge that he was registered in a program that was recognized in Spanish universities:

> So the Spanish at the school is supported by the Spanish government, so when he graduates from grade 12 he could go to a university in Spain because the degree will be recognized, so we thought that that was good motivation for us, or it would open up more opportunities for him, and I guess parents are just thinking about opportunities for their children […] [and] for us, specifically for people from Chile.

Economic-leaning arguments about language learning also surfaced when I asked him about his son's future development of Spanish:

> A.B.: If Luis grows up to not speak Spanish but he can get around sort of, but you know, he doesn't go very far with it, will you be disappointed?
>
> G.S.: No. Like my, like our youngest brother, Carlos, he never studied Spanish, he speaks very broken Spanish, but for him, like he's an engineer now so he's okay. I guess, no I wouldn't be disappointed, I would just want him to follow whatever his interests are.

This rather pragmatic attitude applied to learning other languages as well, and in fact, if it had not been for the familial and identity reasons that led to their decision to put Luis in Spanish, they may have registered him in another minority language:

> G.S.: …my nephew's in French immersion.
>
> A.B.: Oh, really?
>
> G.S.: Yeah, well. French is important if, let's say you want to work in the federal government, so I guess they're trying to open up those opportunities to their kids, but we're more and more becoming a global economy so it's equally important to learn Spanish or Chinese or Japanese or, but when you're five years old you can't expose your child to so many languages right? So for us it made sense to pick Spanish.

Although it is interesting that Germán did not believe a child is capable of learning several languages, what is perhaps more interesting here is his view that in a global economy "it's equally important" to learn various languages—with Spanish having no more apparent economic value than other languages. I did not probe his reasons for equating Spanish with Japanese in terms of global economic value, but this comment does attest for the notable lack of nostalgia that Germán felt for Spanish.

However pragmatic his attitudes towards bilingualism and bilingual education were, though, they were not entirely economic in nature. In the following excerpt we can see how Germán saw learning languages other than English as broadening social horizons: "…if you just focus on English, that is going to be a bit limiting and there is, we live in a big world where there's so many different cultures and languages, so why not start them young?" Thus, in spite of Germán's sometimes traumatic experiences with language and cultural assimilation as a child, his attitudes towards cultural diversity and multilingualism remained positive. And while his negative childhood experiences in school surfaced when the time came to make educational decisions for his son, the experiences and relationships he had cultivated in adulthood helped shape his current perspectives.

In sum, based on Germán's memories of growing up with newcomer parents for whom speaking Spanish came second to obtaining a good education and secure employment, it would appear that Germán was following in their footsteps; he seemed to view his son's acquisition of Spanish as a bonus and not a necessity.

6.5 Chapter Summary

The memories that Germán shared with me about his childhood and youth in Canada painted a fairly somber picture of his experience as a new immigrant. Having come on one of the first large waves of immigration from Chile, for a time he found himself without peers that shared a common language and experience. And to make matters worse, some of his Canadian peers had been far from welcoming. Feeling unable to claim a Canadian identity as he grew up, he clung

to his Chilean identity—even in the face of visiting Chileans who passed judgment on his proficiency and pronunciation and effectively questioned his Chilean-ness. In terms of culture, Germán embraced Chile's activist history via its music, but did not feel comfortable vocalizing his political views in more public ways. Also, rather than the activist, socialist cultural elements that characterized his local ethnic community, he seemed to prefer what he understood to be the more apolitical, modern day Chilean culture *in Chile* as a model for Chileans in the diaspora. This understanding may have had implications for his reported lack of Spanish use locally, with the exception of certain family relationships.

Perhaps because of the range of experiences Germán had had growing up in two countries and in two languages, he seemed to have developed an acute awareness of the power of language to foster bonds and to exclude or "segregate" people. Now as a father, Germán was called upon to reflect on his experiences with difference, language, and ethnicity as he and his wife made decisions concerning their son's language education and upbringing. Germán's priority seemed to be to provide his son with every opportunity—much like his own parents' priority had been when raising him. But not sharing his parents' settlement concerns and having a wife who had had a positive experience with bilingualism in school in the diaspora allowed Germán to see that his son's acquisition of Spanish and educational success did not have to be mutually exclusive, and actually had the potential to facilitate his future life chances.

Chapter 7

Francesca Vega

7.1 Chilean on the Inside: Finding the Right Fit

As with all of the other participants, Francesca's identity was one that hung in the balance of finding where she felt she "fit." She spoke of her identity as something that she had reflected on at different points in her life and that a trip to Chile in 2000 had not simplified for her. When I asked her later what had motivated her to travel to her parents' country of origin, she listed several answers centering mostly on the idea of getting to know her family and "to be able to put a face to a place that is so dear to [my parents'] hearts and I've never seen."

Although Francesca had always identified as Chilean "because my parents were both Chilean," travel to Chile challenged her ethnic identification and resulted in "a bit of an identity crisis":

> For the first time that I felt like I couldn't identify with either countries. You know, you grow up knowing you're first generation Canadian but without really identifying with what is the quote-un-quote the Canadian culture. Like, going back to *Chile* you realize that you can't identify with the Chilean culture either, so we kind of don't have our own place. […] [I wanted to go to Chile] just to know, for my own two eyes and be able to say, yes this is me and this is why. Or no it's totally not. And so it was it was a little devastating to not feel like I fit.

Over time, Francesca reported having reconciled her identity crisis by remaining Chilean at heart, and identifying as first generation Canadian—her "technical term"—to anyone who asked. In not feeling able to identify with the mainstream, "quote-un-quote" Canadian culture, she had been reluctant to identify simply as "Canadian," as was her birthright. While in one way it can be interpreted as a positive development that Francesca finally decided on identities that she was comfortable with, that she continued to use "first generation Canadian" rather than simply "Canadian" points to her persistent sense of difference in Canadian society and should not be disregarded.

Feeling unable to identify with Canadian culture did not seem to extend to her feelings *about* Canada, however. Indeed, Francesca felt very much at home in Edmonton, and this sense was underscored by having grown up here and now raising her own children in the Canadian context:

> I love my country. Well, I love both my countries, I love *Chile* and I love Canada, right? And I would never move to *Chile*, right? I would visit every year for months on end, but this will always be my home, right? Because this is where I was born this is where I now being a parent, being, you know, everything else is where I better identify myself, right? So I mean am I Chilean still? Absolutely. That's always gonna be in my heart because that was my first culture, but yeah, I really wish that they would

> have less you know, political push, and more cultural push, because there's so much more to us…

7.1.1 Politics is a "sore spot"

Indeed, at the heart of Francesca's Chilean-Canadian identity there appeared to be a tension between politics and culture. Unlike Adriana and Victor, for whom the political aspects of Chilean culture were its strength in the diaspora, Francesca felt that the political elements of Chilean culture that certain community members and groups (like REPARA) emphasized were problematic, and ultimately off-putting:

> …there's a lot of history and there's a lot of rich culture. I think it's very um, (pause) one-sided, in the respect that the majority of the groups that are affiliated are all political. And that's why I tend to kind of, I'm not interested, and I think a lot of Chileans seem to feel the same way. Um (pause) it's kind of a sore spot, and […] it's like you have to be one way or the other, and if you're neither then you don't fit. And while I think that [REPARA] is fantastic, it almost feels like you have to you have to be political in order to be Chilean, and that's why me personally I said peace out!

So, not only did Francesca struggle to fit in with Canadian culture, but her feeling that "you have to be political in order to be Chilean" discouraged her from publically identifying as Chilean. As she mentioned above, she intended to remain Chilean in her heart, but to identify as first generation Canadian to anyone who asked, as if to not be identified as "political" by claiming a Chilean identity.

Francesca exhibited a keen awareness that she had been "raised Chilean," "raised socialist," "raised political," and raised in the church. Nevertheless, now in her early thirties, she articulated very clearly how she actively resisted the politically-concentrated ideologies of her childhood home:

> I mean, I was raised to be socialist. I was raised with those values with that mindset of you know, one group, one country, one labour force, you know, the whole nine yards. Democratic, but still united. But I'm not gonna, you know, I'm not an activist. That's just not me. And so I, yeah I really, I

> appreciate the fact that there is finally someone who's taking care of getting our history and putting it together, I just wish it wasn't all with regards to one thing. And I think that's not necessarily the group's fault, but our entire community's fault because the only thing that ever comes to light is political.

Given the political turmoil that expelled a majority of the members of her Chilean community from their home country, some might say that especially in the context of exile, separating the political from the cultural is an impossibility. However, for Francesca, it was not only a possibility for her community, but the only way to move forward in such a way that everyone felt included.

7.1.2 Inheriting Political Views and Soccer Clubs

Although Francesca felt that it was important to volunteer in initiatives that promoted non-political Chilean culture in her community, she was very clear about not identifying as an activist. Her resistance to activism may have had to do with her political socialization growing up. Indeed, on more than two other occasions she referred to politics as having been "shoved down" her throat, suggesting that the issue of politics was one that she had been subjected to against her will. She expressed this sentiment about religious ideologies as well: "I don't want politics or religion shoved down my throat. I get enough of that at home."

Francesca described her political socialization as something that had been transmitted to her and that she was expected to embrace out of loyalty to her parents and grandparents for their political persecution:

> A.B.: […] you were raised to be political?
>
> F.V.: We totally were, we totally were. […] my grandfather […] doesn't normally even talk about that part of his life, except to drill into your brain that Pinochet is bad, right? So it's one of those things where you kind of pick up what's in your environment, right? Just like you inherit a soccer club, right? You don't necessarily know anything about them…
>
> A.B.: But you know that your family likes that club
>
> F.V.: And that's who you like, right? And that's who you will follow for the rest of your life because that's who your dad follows. Right, and so—

> A.B.: Yeah, it's like inherited
>
> F.V.: M-hm. And I think to a certain degree our political views as Chileans are inherited, at least for our generation, because it's still so fresh. I think that if you ask Chileans in a couple generations, you know, second generation, third generation, that will be gone. But because our parents, it's almost, it's a loyalty thing. Like, I know what my parents went through I know what my parents' parents went through, how could I not stand behind them stand by them? In their fight?

Francesca's use of metaphor is very effective here in illustrating her attitudes towards her political socialization. According to Francesca, when she was growing up, politics were "shoved down your throat" and opinions about Pinochet were "drilled into your brain"; both of these metaphors are aggressive and suggest that she was the unwilling recipient of both. She drew on a soccer club metaphor (of specific relevance in Latin American cultures) to explain how she did not challenge her political socialization because it was expected that she follow in her family's footsteps out of loyalty for what they suffered. This kind of political transmission was complex, however, because unlike soccer club affiliations, holding certain political views at one time in Chile had resulted in the persecution, torture, disappearance, murder, and exile of a number of her parents' peers, and even of her own grandfather. And so from her perspective, as the inter-generational divide between her parents' generation and future generations grows, so will a growing indifference towards their political heritage. In terms of heritage language use, her resistance to the politically-charged nature and history of her community resulted largely in her distancing herself from community events, as we will see later.

7.2 "There's no Chilean immersion"

In addition to seeing a focus on politics as a shortcoming of her community, Francesca also felt that Chileans here had not done enough to assert their national identity. She lamented that "there's no Chilean immersion, you have Spanish immersion" and that there was no "Chilean Alliance Church," but rather "you go to a Hispanic speaking church." In other words, these examples show

how Francesca rejected the inclusive Hispanic, or Latin American identity that the founders of her community had purposefully tried to promote on an official level in their community language schools in the 1980s.[49] While I did not probe further on what exactly she meant by "Chilean immersion," there are numerous possible interpretations. One possibility is that she felt threatened by the lack of recognition of Chilean culture in her community and in the broader society and used "Chilean immersion" as an example of a way in which her culture (and by extension, language) could be validated not only in Canadian society, but also in the local Latin American community

With this desire to promote a specifically Chilean culture in Canada (as opposed to a broader Latin American culture) came a sense of responsibility to proceed with sensitivity and inclusivity towards the host culture. As Francesca put it, "yes, we're uniting our Chilean culture, but don't forget we're in Canada, right? Let's not forget that we have to be inclusive"—inclusive, perhaps, not only of non-Chilean Canadians, but of Chileans-Canadians like Francesca who considered Canada her home, and identified as Canadian in her own way.

Francesca's sensitivity to Canadians and Canadian culture was apparent in her concern about the role of Chilean activism in Canada. Regarding REPARA's annual commemoration of the Chilean coup d'état, Francesca feared that protesting the causes of the Chilean coup d'état could be dangerous in North America, where September 11th was more readily associated with the Twin Tower attacks in New York City on the same day in 2001:

> I don't think that it's necessary to re-hash the bad things that have happened to us as a community, as a country, every year. I think it's

---

[49] From the Gabriela Mistral Latin American School website: "The Gabriela Mistral Latin American School was founded [in Edmonton] on October 9, 1987, by a group of parents and teachers who sought to *maintain* the Spanish language and *Latin American culture* (para. 1, my emphasis)… In the first general meeting, this group established our school's objectives and decided that *it should be primarily focused on Latin America* (para. 2)… In 1987, 100% of our teachers were Chileans. Now our teaching staff is from all over Latin America." (para. 7, my emphasis)

> dangerous to rehash that every year, especially living in a country where that date has now become identifiable with something else [i.e. the Twin Tower attacks].

But regardless of what September 11th meant to Chileans and Canadians, Francesca preferred to distance herself from the root political trauma that expelled many members of the Chilean community. Although political persecution was what she believed drove her father and grandfather out of Chile, she seemed to feel that political activism could also have negative repercussions in Canada as well. Francesca was especially concerned about the implications of Adriana's activism for her personal safety, and for her future career aspirations:

> [Adriana] wants to work in, you know, Indian Affairs and do all of this which is I think amazing [but] I think it's dangerous for her career path to attach herself to one specific thing. Or to, well I mean to do activism in a certain degree in general because you better believe that when they're looking [into your background] all of that's gonna come up.

While there was not enough data to clearly establish a relationship between knowing that her grandfather and other members of her community had been persecuted for their political activism and her concerns for Adriana's safety, it nevertheless remains a possibility. It is worth repeating here that Germán expressed a similar concern for Victor, so it is possible that as the eldest children in their families, the knowledge of the persecution that their family members faced in Chile (in combination with other birth-order related factors) affected Francesca and Germán somehow more strongly or negatively than it did their younger siblings. Arguably, through their interests in the political history of Chile and of activism in their own families, Victor and Adriana were also very aware of the persecution that some of their family members had faced, but for reasons not discernable here, they did not seem to share their older siblings' concerns.

7.3 A Filipino "breath of fresh air": Constructing Cultural Identity

Before marrying her Filipino-Canadian husband, Ryan, Francesca had dated within the Chilean community and had concluded she "wanted nothing to do with the Chileans here." She did not elaborate much on why she felt this way,

but said that "it just kind of depends on how jaded you were as a teenager by the Chilean community," implying that she had been "jaded" by her community. Indeed, she quite appreciated Ryan's disinterest in politics and soccer—presumably two interests that were common among her Chilean-Canadian partners. That Ryan "gets along great with the few Chilean friends that I have left" suggests that her friendships with here Chilean peers had undergone challenges, which may or may not have had to do with other elements of her culture that she was averse to (i.e., the politics).

Indeed, as the divide between Francesca and the Chilean community widened, her husband's Filipino heritage presented itself as a new identity option not only for their children, but also for herself. In talking about the Filipino customs they had incorporated into their wedding, it became apparent that Francesca also embraced her husband's heritage:

> When we got married, Ryan and I had like the four main Filipino culture with like customs involved into our wedding ceremony, so, I think that culture is very important and I think it's important and I think it's important for the kids to understand where they came from and run with it and know that you know, it's three. Right? It's a three part, right? It's not just, they're not Chilean, they're not Filipino, they're not Canadian, they're everything. Right? Like, they're unique and they need to embrace that.

Francesca and Ryan's family's identity cannot be traced to a single cultural source—a feature that Francesca seemed to see as a strength. She described her children's identities in terms of a fresh start, in the sense that they would be their own people, unbound by the national and ethnic labels that for her, never appeared to have fit quite right. When I asked Francesca about the culture her children were growing up with at home, she described it in terms of the languages of the books her children had access to:

> A.B.: Is there like a predominant cultural thrust or is it kinda your own thing, or like, how would you describe the culture in your house?

> F.V.: I think it's kind of a mish-mash of everything. I mean they have, you know, they have books in Spanish, they have books in English, they have books in French, they have books in Filipino, so.

From our interviews, it was evident that Francesca valued reading highly, so it is not remarkable that she would describe her family's culture by referring to books. But in explaining her children's home culture in terms of books in multiple languages, it would seem that Francesca recognized *language* (in general) as an expression of culture and subsequently as tools for constructing self-concept. Francesca described her children's lives—not only their home—as replete with multilingual books that they often chose to read over other playtime activities:

> We have books everywhere. I always have books easily accessible and so you know throughout the day, often during play time or whether it's at home or during the week or on the weekends, at mum's house and my house and my in-laws' there's always books everywhere. I always put books in their toy boxes and so even in the car, so you know often they'll be like oh, they'll bring me a book, oh can we read this story.

Having books in different languages readily available to her young children at all times reflects Francesca's positive attitude towards languages other than English in a concrete way. Furthermore, she spoke of the sense of agency that goes with using one's imagination via books, versus television which "does not grant you an imagination" and leaves "no room" for freedom of thought. Unlike her childhood where she had religion and politics "shoved down [her] throat," Francesca spoke of her children's upbringing as somehow freer and void of political and religious dogma. Moreover, being that these languages had a textual presence in the family's home—and even at the grandparents' homes—brings attention to the importance of these minority languages in the domestic spaces that her children lived and played in.

7.4 Translating was like "eating, breathing, something you did"

Like many children whose immigrant family members have limited English proficiency, as a child and youth Francesca was often called on to translate in different areas of her daily life. But unlike many children like Germán,

who feel pride or embarrassment at having to translate for family members in public, Francesca talked about never having really thought about it, and subsequently not really feeling one way or another:

> I don't know it was just part of the way that I was raised, or the way that I was brought up, right? So I never really stopped to think that I even had a choice right? Like it was not even, you know something, it was like you know, eating, breathing, something that I did.

She even volunteered to be a Spanish tutor in high school, which, she assured me, was for no other reason than to earn extra credit: "I had plenty of other ways to volunteer but no, [tutoring Spanish] was just for easy credits."

In this sense, Spanish was something that Francesca needed to achieve certain pragmatic goals (i.e., extra credits), or to participate in the communities that she belonged to (i.e., church) at specific points in her life. Even when describing Spanish as the language of her prayers, her reasoning for this was purely pragmatic, as opposed to sentimental: "I pray in Spanish because that was how I learned initially."

7.4.1 A Shift in Spanish Use

As she grew up and began expanding her social circle beyond the home and the church, Francesca's reasons for using Spanish decreased. As a teenager, Francesca reported speaking English with her Chilean friends in private, and Spanish with them in public "so people couldn't understand you." Now in her thirties, however, she reported using Spanish much less frequently than she did as a child at least. According to the questionnaire, the only people she spoke to exclusively in Spanish most of the time were her parents. To her children, extended family members, and closest friends, she indicated that she speaks "a combination of English and Spanish" (although it is likely that she spoke entirely in Spanish to her Chilean relatives in Chile, and a combination of English and Spanish to her Chilean relatives in Canada; the survey item did not allow me to distinguish between language use with individual family members aside from 'spouse').

Although she felt that as a girl Adriana's Spanish "was really poor [and] to this day it still is," Francesca did not hesitate to offer that her youngest sister currently used Spanish more than the rest of the siblings—herself included:

> A.B.: So, of all of your siblings, who do you think is the most, in Spanish mode, right now? Who uses it the most?
>
> F.V.: Um, ha! Adriana. […] You know and the reason for it is because of her activism […] with [REPARA] and [various Chilean community organizations] and [community projects] and her papers and her school, right? And so all of that plus now that she's got her Chilean boyfriend, right, so she's probably the one that's you know, uses it the most, and is more involved in the Chilean community, you know? My extent is that I go to [a Latin bar] every three months or so.

This excerpt supports Adriana's comment about Spanish being a tool to reach her community, but it also suggests that the activist element of Adriana's interest in her ethnic community has provided her with more avenues to use Spanish than Francesca, who, as we saw above, found Chilean events of a non-political nature to be scarce.

7.4.2 "English-speaking is just fine"

Given her pride at providing her children with books in different languages, it would follow that Francesca might also want to take advantage of the Spanish bilingual programs offered at several schools in Edmonton. But like Germán, the decision to enroll her children in a Spanish program was not an obvious one, albeit for different reasons. When it came to choosing a language program, she felt that the quality of their children's education was their top priority, and from the research that she and Ryan had done, they found that "second languages" did not feature into a quality education, and that a monolingual English education could even be "better in some ways":

> I did toy with the idea of putting them in Spanish immersion, and then we both decided that I don't know how necessary it is for, you know, a couple different reasons, one being the fact that they're second generation. […] and whatever they're really gonna need to know, they can learn at home.

> Plus, with Ryan partially speaking, I don't want them or him to feel alienated. You know, from his kids or vice versa, and so that's why we as a family decided that you know what, English-speaking is just fine, you know they get just as good, if not, you know, better in some ways, of an education, so.

Part of Francesca's current disinterest in bilingual education might also be attributable to her own acquisition of Spanish. Spanish was her first language, acquired naturally at home; she did not begin to learn English until she needed it— "until I started school, to the point where actually they put me in ESL in kindergarten." Moreover, Francesca's Spanish literacy took place at home and in the church—never at school, and her primary domain of Spanish use outside of home was at the family's Hispanic church, which her young family does not attend.

Given Francesca's acquisition of Spanish at home and in the church, it is not surprising that she did not see bilingual education as key to language maintenance. But at the same time, she was also not very concerned that her children maintain their heritage language:

> A.B.: If your kids don't speak Spanish, will that be a big deal?
>
> F.V.: No.
>
> A.B.: Do you think it'll be a big deal for your parents?
>
> F.V.: Um, maybe for my dad, but I mean I keep going back to them and I say listen, you know what? If you want them to speak Spanish, you need to put in some of the effort. Right, like I mean I can only ask them to speak so much Spanish at home because their dad doesn't speak Spanish, right? […] I mean, I try, but I can only take it so far, right?

And so, while Francesca did not appear to have any negative attitudes about Spanish, she also did not feel that it was a priority that her children speak Spanish, especially because their father was not a Spanish-speaker and her children would not need it as children of English-dominant parents. She felt that if her parents wanted their grandchildren to speak Spanish, they should take the lead because it was going to be impossible for her to do by herself at home.

In the same pragmatic vein, Francesca's preference for English at home did not seem to have resulted from negative attitudes towards Spanish, but rather more in response to her husband's lack of command in Spanish. English represented a lingua franca that would ensure that everyone understood what everyone else was saying at all times and no one would feel "alienated." The rationale behind her grandparents' Spanish-only policy had been the same:

> If we were playing and grandma was in the kitchen, or grandpa was outside or whatever, we talked in English. It was just when they were back we would respect, I mean it's one of those, it's a respect thing, right? Because you know, if you go over to someone's house and they're speaking a different language that you don't understand, you're like, are they talking about me? You know, so, it was just their way of saying no, you know what, in our house you speak Spanish because then everybody understands what's going on, and… and that's that. And I think that's fair, you know. I just, you know I, it's, so I never really thought about it, right? And it makes sense to me, right?

Although it is unclear whether her grandparents' Spanish-only policy was intended to be a maintenance strategy, in Francesca's case at least its success seems to have been limited to her generation; the message she took from this policy was that there should be a common language in the house that everyone understands, and in her home, Spanish could not be this language without great effort on behalf of Ryan to learn Spanish. Furthermore, for both of them to speak Spanish exclusively when they have spoken English together every day for over a decade would have required a tremendous effort that Francesca did not appear to be interested in making.

> The English as lingua franca ideology extended to their spiritual life, also: We actually go to Canadian-speaking church now—um, English-speaking church now. That's the Chileanism, right? […] Shortly after we got married we started going to an English-speaking church just 'cause it, I thought okay, if we're married, then it's kind of selfish of me to say we're gonna keep going to a Spanish speaking church just because that's where

> my family is, right? Like that's just not… we need to find something that works for us.

It is noteworthy that she conflates nationality (Canadian) with language (English) here, possibly suggesting that semantically, for Francesca, Canadian is synonymous with English-speaking to some degree. Calling this mistake to a "Chileanism" further supports the overlap between language and culture for her, because Hispanic immigrants sometimes refer to Anglophones and English-speaking events as "*Canadiense*[50]"; she has probably heard Chileans refer, in Spanish, to English-speaking churches/institutions as "Canadian," and even said this herself before. This kind of conflation reinforces the stereotype that Canadians are monolingual Anglophones, and conceivably has consequences for her feelings of cultural belonging as a bilingual ethnic minority.

7.4.3 Counting to Ten with Mum, Lolo[51]*, Dora, and Diego*

Francesca indicated in the questionnaire that she spoke to her children in a combination of English and Spanish. This assertion was corroborated by our conversations:

> I've always tried to, like your basics, when I'm teaching them a word in English I try and teach it to them in Spanish at the same time, so like Jason can count to 10 in English, Spanish, and Tagalog. He knows his body parts in English and Spanish, he knows his clothing items in English and in Spanish, some foods, in English and in Spanish.

Even though the linguistic situation in her home remained a challenge, as we saw above Francesca encouraged her parents to take the initiative in Emily and Jason's Spanish development. According to Francesca, her Filipino in-laws spoke mostly in English with their grandchildren, although at the time of the interviews, she reported that they were currently trying to speak more in Tagalog with them:

> My in-laws come over, you know, my mum-in-law taught Jason how to count to 10 in Tagalog, so he can count in ten. You know, when we go to

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[50] Canadian

[51] "Lolo" is a Filipino word for grandfather, which Francesca used to refer to her children's paternal grandparents on one occasion.

> my parents' house they talk to the kids in Spanish or try to and my kids know some words in Spanish and they answer back and what not and when my in-laws come over they talk to them in Tagalog.

Despite the prevalence of English in Francesca and Ryan's home, it would appear that their young children were aware of the different languages that their care-givers used with them:

> F.V.: Jason, when I get mad at him, when I talk to him in Spanish, he jibber-jabbers back, he thinks that he's speaking Spanish because he's like you know, babbling
>
> A.B.: Because that's what it sounds like to him
>
> F.V.: Exactly, but I mean he does know some words, so. And I mean now, they, I never pushed any sort of cartoons that are you know oh, this and that, never. They decided that they like Dora and Diego so they're learning more Spanish words on their own.
>
> A.B.: Really?
>
> F.V.: But I never pushed them on them. I'm not a huge fan of Dora or Diego personally. I think they're annoying and they're always yelling. You know they decided on their own that they like it so they watch it and they've picked up a couple more Spanish words because of it, but not, I take no responsibility for that.

While it is not within the scope of this study to probe the reasons why Jason would babble back to his mother when she spoke Spanish to him, it is possible that his verbal gesture signals his awareness that his mother was not speaking English and he was trying to imitate her as she used this other language to communicate an emotional message of disapproval. But regardless of Jason's reasons for babbling back at her when Francesca spoke Spanish to him, it seems clear that Francesca's children were developing (or at least had opportunities to develop) an awareness of their multiple heritage languages from a young age. That Francesca allowed them to watch Dora and Diego even though she disliked the program, encouraged their grandparents to speak to them in their heritage and ancestral languages, and made multilingual books accessible in all of their living

and playing spaces, suggests that she not only has positive attitudes towards her children's heritage languages, but that she is also (somewhat) committed to practices that support these. These are all arguably positive measures in minority language development, and it would be interesting to see how Jason and Emily's languages and identities develop over the course of their childhood and adolescence.

7.5 Chapter Summary

Francesca's trip to Chile did not offer her the identity confirmation she had been seeking. Although she had been "raised Chilean" and held this identity in her heart, "first generation Canadian" was her preferred public identity—likely because it was free of the political connotations that "Chilean" evoked. By saying explicitly that she was not an activist, she positioned herself in opposition to the activist presence, spirit, or history in her community, and in so doing, recognized its strong presence. Furthermore, her concern about the safety and career limitations of Adriana's activism suggests that she had been negatively affected by the activist part of her community's and family's story. Her problematic relationship with the Chilean community appeared to make it difficult for her to develop a strong local Chilean identity in Canada, and the difference that she felt while in Chile made it difficult for her to identify as Chilean in Chile.

Interestingly, however, Ryan's Filipino culture seemed to present a new politics- and soccer-free identity option—not only for their children—but also for her. Through her ethnically hybrid children, she was able to reinvent herself and her family's cultural identity in a way that she was comfortable with. As she described their home culture, books in multiple languages characterized the cultural building blocks of her children, whom she encouraged to "run with" the many aspects of their ethnic heritages in order to carve out their own sense of self. Although she felt that her children would not need Spanish nor would they find relevance in their maternal grandparents' political history, she invited her parents to speak Spanish with her children and taught them some age-appropriate vocabulary. It is not surprising that she would have such pragmatic views of language maintenance, being that she talked about Spanish purely as a tool that

she used (and that she was used for) growing up. Thus, now that the uses for Spanish had diminished in her own life, she could see how her children would not need Spanish either. She did want them to develop rich cultural identities, however, and seemed to see their heritage languages as building blocks of these.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusions

8.0 Chapter Introduction

In this chapter, I perform a cross-case analysis of the foregoing presentation of the results (chapters 4-7) and interpret the findings in relation to the relevant literature. The discussion that follows is organized around seven central themes that emerged during data analysis: political narratives, peers, language attitudes, community participation, travel to Chile, identity, and Spanish in the next generation. Following the discussion, I conclude this thesis by summarizing the major findings, outlining the study's limitations, and suggesting directions for future research.

8.1 Political Narratives and HLD

The results suggest that the topic of interaction—in this case, politics, or issues surrounding the political struggle in Chile of the 1970s—has the potential to facilitate or inhibit HLD processes, and not simply the opportunity for interaction. Talking about politics was motivating for Victor and Adriana, off-putting for Francesca, and mostly absent in Germán's upbringing, consequently prompting or discouraging further community engagement or Spanish use/ learning.

The socialization of group values through language instruction is inevitable, but in contexts such as grassroots groups (Guardado, 2010), churches (Baquedano-López, 2000) and community language schools (Guardado, 2008; Blackledge & Creese, 2010), these values are often made more explicit. Eastmond (1993) reported that the main objective of the community Saturday Spanish school in the Northern-California community she studied was "to teach them Chilean political history… [while] identify[ing] its heritage in a pre-Hispanic history [and] articulating a wider Latin American identity" (pp. 41-42), which

drew heavily on other political struggles and revolutionary movements happening throughout Latin America at the time. While it is not uncommon to teach national history in such schools (Blackledge & Creese, 2010), to my knowledge, this politically-oriented cultural teaching has not been reported elsewhere in studies of HL socialization. The information that Victor provided me with about how the oftentimes political dinner table conversations were carried out in Spanish and English in his childhood home, how they made him feel, and what he gained from them, provide us valuable insight into Gibbons and Ramírez's (2004) initial finding that that political narratives were a prominent feature in Chilean-Australian dinner table conversations. Victor's comments remind us that the language of socialization is not a neutral messenger, and how the heritage bilingual identifies with the topic being discussed can be a deciding factor in whether they choose to engage in the language required to talk about this topic.

Some HLD studies have examined language use by topic in quotidian and affective matters, but a majority of HLD studies focus primarily on the language of interaction (Gibbons & Ramírez, 2004). Adriana reported that talking to her grandfather about politics was one of the few things where they found common ground, and in which other cultural and intergenerational differences (e.g.: his attitudes towards women) did not interfere. Such conversations involve different lexical fields than domestic conversations and expand the heritage bilingual's range of communicative functions in the HL. In discussing political issues, the heritage bilingual learns argumentation and debating skills in the HL—a function they would not likely have developed as fully talking only about domestic activities. Thus, through conversations about extra-domestic topics (namely, political ones) the existing limits of the heritage bilingual's vocabulary and grammatical structures in the HL are pushed, subsequently facilitating deeper interactions with family, peers and community members (Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Thomas and Cao, 1999).

Music by *nueva canción* groups was a carrier of language and political discourse that all of the participants except Francesca reported listening to enthusiastically and referred to as an expression of their culture. Walker (2011)

and Guardado (2006) have also recognized the utility of Spanish pop or dance music in supporting and developing Latin American identities in the diaspora, but the specific ways that music influences heritage identity formation and HLD have received less attention. Indeed, this study was able to establish that *nueva canción* music not only resonated with Adriana, Victor, and Germán on an ideological level, but it also provided them with advanced input in Spanish. Given that they were only able to access the messages contained in the music because they possessed a certain level of proficiency in Spanish suggests that musical genre and/or lyrical complexity might be related to HLD. If anything, the messages in these songs reinforced the political narratives they heard at home and in the community and inspired them to keep pursuing the socialist dreams contained in them through community engagement in Spanish.

Once Victor and Adriana began to explore their ethnic identity options more fully, they drew on their latent literacy (Tse, 2001) to access poetry, books, music, and community documents containing the political cultural discourse that they identified with and to probe the political narratives of their upbringings further. In other words, they were able to revitalize the Spanish literacy that they had been exposed to in the church or briefly in Spanish community school (Tse, 2001). The messages then provided them with the linguistic and ideological tools to engage with diverse Latin American and non-Latin American communities locally and abroad. Spanish united them with other Spanish speakers, but also with French speakers, as Victor reported. And with the understanding that all people are part of oppressive political structures, they had claimed membership in a vast array of multilingual and multicultural imagined communities—participation in some of which required Spanish (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Tse, 1997).

The predominant cultural political narratives were not embraced, or heard, equally by all of the participants, however. Francesca, especially, reported feeling oppressed by them. Francesca's metaphorical description of politics being shoved down her throat and Pinochet's malevolence having been "drill[ed] into your brain" suggests that political narratives were firmly enmeshed with her family's

re-creation of Chilean culture in exile, and that they did not feature highly into her own conceptualization of her culture. Although she conceded that she was "raised to be socialist […] with those values with that mindset of you know, one group, one, one country, one labour force," she was adamant about not being an activist, and thereby disassociated herself with a number of community elders (and youth) (Kanno, 2003), resulting in fewer opportunities to use Spanish. It is also likely that her disinterest in engaging with the political aspects of her community deterred her from listening to the linguistically and ideologically complex *nueva canción* genre that provided the other participants with valuable Spanish input.

8.1.2 When Peers are Few and Far Between

To a certain extent, peers (or lack thereof in Germán's case) were one of the most influential factors in all of the participants' HLD in this study (Tse, 2001; Li, 2009). However, merely having contact with Hispanic peers is often not sufficient to motivate heritage bilinguals to speak and develop their Spanish (Guardado, 2006; Potowski, 2004). The results of this study suggest that other points of ideological commonality and compatibility between heritage bilinguals must be present in order to facilitate friendships where HLD can be supported.

Some of the friendships that Adriana had forged with newcomer peers at her family's church endured when she decided to leave it, thereby giving continued purpose to her Spanish use (Fishman, 1991). When Francesca left the church (albeit for different reasons), not having a strong peer group appears to have significantly reduced her reasons to use Spanish. While Adriana's goal was never to find Spanish-speaking friends to "practice" Spanish with, Spanish was at once a way to access and maintain friendships with newcomer peers with whom she wished to interact. In the same way, Victor formed a friendship with a Chilean-Canadian peer at university based on their "intimate knowledge of what *Violetta Parra* and *Victor Jara* and *Pablo Neruda* had been for the Chilean movement." The way their friendship started speaks to the value of identifying with ethnic peers on points other than language initially; they did not identify with each other solely because they were Spanish speakers, but because they understood the influence that certain key musicians had on a cultural and

historical event with which they both strongly identified. Coincidentally, knowledge of Spanish allowed them to access the lyrics of these musicians, and then, as a friendship developed out of their ideological bond, HL use found renewed purpose when they began to create their own music in English *and* Spanish with similar messages. These findings contribute to Tse's (1997) conclusion that ethnic minority youth are more inclined to speak the HL if proficiency in HL is required for peer group membership by also pointing to the positive implications for HLD when HL proficiency is required for a common temporally and linguistically situated understanding of cultural values (e.g. 1970s *nueva canción* music).

Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998) found that young people "tend to adopt and use the dialect of their peers, rather than that of their parents" (quoted in Tse, 2001, p. 699), which was partly true for Adriana. Perhaps because she had grown up without a group of "Latina friends" or knowing "where the Chilean… hang out at," Adriana spoke her parents' somewhat antiquated variety of Spanish, which marked her speech as different when speaking with Chilean newcomer peers. Nevertheless, this sense of difference motivated her to learn the vernacular of her peers, without abandoning the antiquated variety that was still useful when talking to community elders. Thus, Adriana's peer interactions in combination with interactions with community elders could be said to have provided her with an opportunity to expand her versatility in Spanish varieties, rather than threatening her existing, heritage bilingual Spanish.

Victor was also aware of the antiquated heritage bilingual Chilean Spanish variety he spoke, but was proud to use it—especially with his peers. He appeared to be familiar with the Chilean vernacular, but rejected it for its apparent incomprehensibility, and for the capitalist values he saw reflected in it (e.g. *socio* vs. *compadre*). The dialectal differences that his Chilean and Salvadoran high school peers used to mark national group membership did not resonate with Victor's principles of uniting the Latin American community by highlighting cultural similarities instead of differences. Like his father, Victor stated that he was more interested in communicating with peers who shared his values—in

Cuba, Chile, and Canada than with those who did not—an imagined community of people who shared his worldview (Kanno & Norton, 2003; Omoto & Snyder, 2010). It is interesting to note that not age, but a shared worldview, define *peer* in this ideological conceptualization of the term.

Adriana and Victor were fortunate to eventually find peers with whom they could identify and use Spanish, when in their relatively small and recent ethnolinguistic community, the possibilities of finding Spanish-speaking peers with whom they identified ideologically were limited, as Germán and Francesca's stories make clear.

8.1.3 Attitudes towards Spanish and Spanish-Only Policies: Lost in Translation

Another finding is that mixed marriages in and of themselves are not reliable indicators of potential language loss (c.f. Gibbons & Ramírez, 2005), just as same-culture marriages or Spanish-only policies are not predictors of maintenance (Guardado, 2008). Spanish-only policies may be successful in laying the groundwork for Spanish use, but the ideological underpinnings of Spanish-only policies do not necessarily promote a sense of connection to the HL, or the desire to keep speaking it. In fact, as we have seen with Francesca and Adriana, they can have the reverse effect.

The data suggest that perhaps more than her mixed marriage, it was the Spanish-only policy that Francesca experienced at her grandparents' house growing up that had a greater effect on her decision to use English. While Spanish-only policies can promote positive identities and language attitudes in children (Guardado, 2006), Francesca explained that her current, moderate English-only policy was based in the same logic that her grandparents had appealed to: everyone in the house should be able to understand what everyone is saying, which in her new context meant using English. Furthermore, even though both Germán and Victor's wives spoke Spanish, they reported English as the most commonly spoken language around the house (see Decapua and Wintergerst, 2009 for a similar case).

Although the Vega sisters reported having more domains of Spanish use than the Sandoval sons (e.g. Hispanic church, Spanish-Only at their grandparents'

house), their increased number of domains did not have any apparent advantages for Adriana and Francesca's HLD (Fishman, 1991). This finding contradicts those of studies that have concluded that the more domains of use that the heritage bilingual is involved in, the more likely their attitudes towards learning and using Spanish will be positive (Fishman, 1991; Guardado, 2006), and points to other attitudes, beliefs, and practices in the home and in the larger community as alternative influences. For instance, regular literacy activities—even in English—framed books as a valuable resource in Victor's young life. Later, when he decided he wanted to revitalize his Spanish skills, Latin American poetry was the first resource he turned to when the family returned from Mexico. Also, civic engagement, of which communication is the lifeblood, was central to the political heritage culture that Victor and Adriana embraced. Subsequently, in order to participate in the goals of their cultural heritage, Spanish was frequently necessary. And finally, the value that Victor's father placed on "educated Spanish" supported Victor's own decision to enroll in Spanish classes at the post-secondary level, when his identity had evolved to a point where he saw Spanish as necessary. Furthermore, Victor's increased community involvement and Spanish study came in late adolescence, suggesting that if strategies to promote Spanish and ethnic identities are not in place in childhood, much like dormant or partially acquired language skills (Tse, 2001; Au, 2008), ethnic identity can be revitalized later in life, especially when supported by some of the "alternative influences" listed above.

Participants reported positive attitudes towards bilingualism in the home, and all but the Vega father was reported to have achieved fair proficiency in English,[52] making Spanish not absolutely necessary for family communication in these families (Fillmore, 1995). He's (2008b) By-Choice Hypothesis posits that when heritage bilinguals grow up in homes where the HL is not a requirement for communication, they develop more positive attitudes towards it because they see

[52] Despite Germán's feeling that his mother's English was not particularly strong, she and her husband were both competent enough in English to earn certification in different trades at a local technical college.

it as optional (broadening), rather than socially restrictive (limiting); there is some evidence that this was the case in the Sandoval and Vega families. In general, the participants displayed no exclusively negative attitudes towards Spanish, but their attitudes towards *using* Spanish, especially in public, varied much more, and appeared to have varied throughout their lifetimes (Garrett and Baquedano-López, 2002), especially as their need for it changed (Grosjean, 2010) and their ethnic identities developed (Tse, 1997, 2001). For instance, Germán remembered not wanting to use Spanish in public to translate for his mother because it made him feel different to have a mother who needed help communicating when other mothers did not. At the time of our interviews, however, he reported speaking Spanish with her as much as possible "out of respect," because he felt that Spanish was easier for her. Some of Orellana's (2009) participants also felt embarrassed when having to translate for family members in public, but more because they did not want the English speaker to think their parent was unintelligent. Most reported positive feelings (e.g. pride) or commented on the immense responsibility and empowerment that went with relaying adult messages. Germán's attitudes towards translating in public are better supported by Tse's (2001) finding that "[t]he heritage language was a prominent symbol of [a] stigmatized minority status, which [some of my participants] wanted to avoid reinforcing in the eyes of their peers or among those in authority. During this period, many remembered wanting to speak only English in order to fit in." (p. 693). Although Germán did not feel any less "different" as an adult, this example demonstrates how his identity as Chilean and Spanish-speaking had possibly developed to a place where his feelings of difference were no longer exacerbated by language. Rather, in the interviews he mentioned how he felt racially—not linguistically—marked as an adult in Canadian society (King & Ganuza, 2005). Unlike Tse's (2001) participants who had gone though a period of feeling ashamed of speaking their HL, this period did not result in his increased interest in developing his Spanish skills or literacy. Germán felt that by the time the community and the school system was able to provide Spanish classes, he was "too old, I guess" to learn.

Adriana also resisted using Spanish for a while, but she resisted it in the church's Spanish-only environment, as opposed to the English-dominant, public space that prompted Germán's negative feelings. She felt excluded by biblical texts that she did not understand, and failed to see the rationale behind insisting on Spanish when English was the preferred language of many of the youth. The church's language policy clearly failed to address her "affective needs" (Guardado, 2008), and it is possible that her attitudes towards using Spanish at church were compounded by her mounting ideological differences with the Church, and lack of Spanish education (Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Baker, 2011).[53] Interestingly, after she left the church and as her interest in learning about the community grew, so did her willingness to use Spanish. It would seem then, that the participants' attitudes towards speaking Spanish was heavily influenced by whether speaking Spanish facilitated their sense of belonging, or granted them membership to groups that they desired to access (Tse, 1997).

8.1.4 Real and Imagined Community Participation

Community membership can manifest in real, every day interactions, but also in imagining the possibility of interacting with certain groups of individuals (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Anderson, 1983). Kanno and Norton (2003) define imagined communities as "groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination" (p. 241). The implications that imagined communities have for HLD are especially relevant in small ethnolinguistic communities that do not enjoy much official support, such as the second-generation Chileans under investigation here and Hispanics in other Canadian cities (Guardado, 2006, 2008).

Imagining one's self as part of an imagined community of people "may compel learners to seek certain kinds of educational opportunities they might not otherwise seek" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 246), which is readily apparent in Victor and Adriana's cases. A significant amount of their activist cultural building

[53] I do not have an exact timeline of Adriana's fluctuating Spanish proficiency and involvement of the church to confirm this, but it is likely that Adriana's attitudes towards Spanish use at church were the result of a combination of factors.

blocks came from a movement that no longer existed in Chile, but that they believed lived on in like-minded people and in community elders, which prompted them to use and improve their Spanish. Victor's desire to break down dialectal obstacles in his community prompted him to study "educated Spanish" at university. Pursuing an education in Spanish was part of his overarching cosmopolitan goals of communicating with an imagined community populated by a wide range of people from a diversity of socioeconomic and national backgrounds (Guardado, 2010). A similar example can be found in Adriana's increased eagerness to understand the meaning of unknown Spanish words at community meetings discussing politics, as opposed to feeling excluded by the inaccessible "Shakespearean Spanish" of her church's biblical texts. In other words, once Victor and Adriana aligned themselves with a certain type of imagined speaker, they began to seek out ways to ameliorate their Spanish in order to deepen their membership in these communities. Tse (2001) also had a Mexican-American participant who, once he found out about the Chicano movement in the US, gained a renewed interest in participating in his culture, studying it at university, and mastering Spanish by taking advanced courses in it.

Imagined communities and "tangible" communities are not mutually exclusive concepts; Victor and Adriana interacted in real time with individuals who were part of the community of their imagining. Imagined communities are really just the abstract manifestation of communities that may or may not be defined by concrete referents, like geography or accent. For instance, the Chileans that challenged Victor, Adriana, and Germán's "authentic" Chileanness on the basis of their pronunciation belonged to a different imagined community of Chileans, one in which Chileans spoke differently than these three participants. But interestingly, when Victor's Spanish was called into question when he first started going to community meetings in his late teens, his membership to an imagined community of Latin American activists supported him and motivated him to persist: "You can either feel ashamed and shut up, or be like I don't care I'm gonna keep talking here." By the time I interviewed him years after this negotiation, his *gringuismos* that had prompted the community members to laugh

at him were either no longer existent, or no longer a concern of his. Along the same lines, being called *gringa* when in Chile propelled Adriana to identify more with the exile culture she grew up with, or imagined community of Chilean refugees who shared her belief in socialism, and her understanding of Chilean political history. Indeed, both Adriana and Victor both claimed legitimate membership in their "tangible" community by appealing to the larger, imagined community of Latin Americans whose families shared socialist values. Spanish, and especially their antiquated version of Chilean Spanish, also served to identify them to others as the community's children. In her own community, Adriana had history that her native speaker, newcomer peers did not have, and she grounded herself in the knowledge of her "special context" (King & Ganuza, 2005). In this sense, the local community provided a site of validation (Pacini-Ketchabaw, Bernhard & Freire, 2001) where their diasporic second-generation identities were commonplace, and they seemed to withstand "othering" resiliently (Kanno, 2003). Indeed, Adriana felt that daily contact with newcomers and elders in her community had a much greater impact on her Spanish development than travelling to Chile, which is corroborated by the notion of communities of practice (see Lave & Wenger, 1991).

In addition to providing Victor and Adriana with another domain of use (Fishman, 1991), real community participation gave them the social and linguistic tools to envision and build the future of their community. As Kanno (2003) has noted, "identity is not just about our past and present; our future trajectories, too, influence our current relationship with the world" (p. 126). Their involvement in REPARA was evidence that Adriana and Victor were proud to hear, engage with, and disseminate the political history of their community in both of their languages. Victor referred to his community's specific history of activism as a template upon which he wanted to model his community and Canadian society in future. He spoke in some detail about the kinds of cultural awareness raising and activism he hoped to be a part of in uniting the local Latin American community, and both he and Adriana were currently committed to achieving those goals. Spanish was

often key to accessing and building rapport with community members who had the information they sought.

The concept of imagined communities may be central in examining the processes of HLD in refugee communities where travel to the country of origin—or travel at all—is frequently inhibited by economic and/or political factors in the first several years after arriving. For second-generation immigrants like Germán who were not able to claim authentic membership in the host community or return to the country of origin, belonging to imagined communities offered him another option, "expand[ing his] range of possible selves" (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 246). Like King and Ganuza's (2005) participants who had never returned to Chile, Germán seemed to identify with an imagined community that was rooted in a kind of mythologized, apolitical homeland. Contrary to Kanno and Norton's (2003) finding that membership to imagined communities can be as powerful for language development as participation in real communities, Germán seemed to feel that Spanish was most useful in Spanish-speaking countries, or when talking to people like his mother-in-law who spoke no English. Francesca, too, belonged to an imagined community of apolitical Chileans in Chile, who spoke Spanish *in Chile*, or as necessary in Canada. As far as real community involvement was concerned, neither Francesca nor Germán reported having much community involvement—Francesca, because of the heavy political content she found at most events, and Germán, because spending time with his son was his priority, and possibly because he felt that talking about politics publicly could have negative implications for future employment and interpersonal relationships. Francesca talked about most of her community involvement having been in the church, but because of her desire for her husband to understand the service, her family now attended a "Canadian church."

Kanno and Norton (2003) remind us that even a speaker's "imagined relationship to their work and the world will have a profound effect on their ongoing learning" (p. 246) of the heritage language, which is readily apparent in the present examination of Adriana and Victor's community involvement. Real and imagined community belonging led to their desire to participate in real

communities where Spanish was used, and imagining their future participation in these communities incited them to seek out ways of developing their Spanish. Even Germán and Francesca's imagined belonging in Chile served as a motivator to use Spanish in their (or their children's) projected trips there. But regardless of the imagined community they described, the participants' ability to imagine themselves as part of an ethnic community that reflected their values was, in the words of Blackledge and Creese (2010): "a sophisticated response to their place in the world, as they negotiated subject positions which took them on a path through the language [and culture] ideological worlds constructed by others " (p. 180).

8.1.5 The Politics of Travel to Chile

All of the participants except Germán had travelled to Chile at some point, and he seemed to have predominantly positive attitudes towards the country (King & Ganuza, 2005). They had all gone around or just before college age—the age associated with the time that the second generation begins to explore and embrace their ethnic identities (Tse, 1997; Kanno, 2003) but for different reported reasons. On Francesca's suggestion, the Vega family had gone when the two sisters were in older adolescence and young adulthood to visit extended family members, and Victor had gone alone in his twenties, "looking for that seed" of solidarity and brotherhood that he saw expressed on the faces of the Chilean people in documentaries of Allende's presidency. Similar to the visual narrative contained in the documentary that inspired him to make the trip, Francesca's comment about wanting "to be able to put a face to a place that is so dear to [her parents'] hearts" also spoke to the curiosity that hearing narratives about Chile throughout her upbringing likely prompted. Because of the solidarity efforts that popped up around the Chilean diaspora (del Pozo, 2006; Power, 2009; Shayne, 2009) Chile was kept alive in the community's mind—regardless of whether parents chose to talk about Chile and the events surrounding the coup d'état explicitly. In this sense, the second generation's curiosity about their origins was nourished by the political, cultural, and historical narratives intersecting at home-community junctures. While it is not uncommon for members of the second generation to travel to the country of origin, it tends to be reported as a parent-initiated trip

(Guardado, 2008; Decapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Blackledge & Creese, 2010), making the trip to Chile reported here somewhat atypical in one sense. But unlike other HLD studies focusing on immigrant families with more socioeconomic capital (Guardado, 2008; Sakamoto, 2001), for refugee families, initial financial and political factors prohibited these families from traveling at all earlier in their children's lives (according to the Sandoval mother).

The bulk of research on second-generation travel to the country of origin has found the experience to be a culturally and linguistically enriching experience (Decapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Guardado, 2008; Sakamoto, 2001), although some have reported it as having been alienating (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Repeated trips to and extended periods of time spent in the country of origin tend to correlate with positive attitudes towards its language and culture (Decapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Guardado, 2006), so it is somewhat surprising that Victor and Adriana, who had spent more time in Chile by the end of the data collection process than their siblings, were the least inclined to identify with the Chilean culture they found there.

Of all the participants, Victor had spent the longest period of time in Chile. The nature of his trip was atypical of cases of heritage bilingual travel frequently reported in the literature, because he spent less time in the homes of his extended family members (c.f. Decapua & Wintergerst, 2009; Guardado, 2008; Sakamoto, 2001), and more time living alone or with an Aymara family he met through his work. Consequently, he gained a perspective of his country of origin that he might not have gained had he gone with his family; to my knowledge, experiences such as this have been rarely documented. Much like the participants in King and Ganuza's study (2005) who had travelled to Chile, Victor came away with a rather negative opinion of contemporary Chilean culture, and in fact, with similar descriptors. King and Ganuza's participants complained that the Chileans they found in Chile "were conservative and prejudiced as well as superficial" (2005, p. 187), among other things. Living with the Aymara family had given Victor direct experience with the prejudice that his adoptive host family experienced regularly, and the superficiality, or as he explained, the "commodified culture that Chile has

become" was something that Victor resisted with every tool at his disposal—including language, as we saw in his strong preference for *compadre* over *socio*.

It is worth reiterating that Victor's trip to Chile was not his first experience of Latin America: Mexico was, and that was where he began to reflect more on "his language" and his identity as a Latin American. By the time he arrived in Chile, he had already spent several years active in his Latin American community in Edmonton and thus had already selected the elements of his heritage culture that resonated with him (Kanno, 2003; He, 2008b). Spanish is spoken natively by over 300 million people in over 20 countries, including over 20 million speakers in the United States diaspora alone (Azevedo, 2005), so in some ways Victor was in the advantageous position of cultural selectivity. Other heritage bilinguals of languages like Japanese (Sakamoto, 2001) and German (Decapua & Wintergerst, 2009) with large numbers of native speakers concentrated predominantly in one country do not have this option. If the heritage bilingual fails to find belonging in the parents' country of origin, their opportunities to speak the HL are limited to diaspora communities where the country's official language tends to dominate (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Victor's identification as Latin American thus opened doors of belonging for him in other Spanish-speaking countries like Cuba, where he travelled frequently, and where he felt his cultural values were still practiced, and in turn facilitated his HL and identity development. Similarly, the disappointing absence of politics in Chilean mainstream, modern-day culture prompted Adriana to use Spanish in order to delve deeper into the political culture that had thrived in her diaspora community in the 1970s and 80s especially. For both Victor and Adriana, the 1970s' Chilean culture that rooted itself in exile was powerful, both ideologically and in its practices, and they identified strongly with this temporally-situated Chilean (sub)culture. Unlike the second generation Chileans in King and Ganuza's study (2005), however, their responses lacked a sense of returning to a mythologized homeland permanently, which may have had to do with their age and with having actually travelled to Chile (something some of King and Ganuza's participants had not done). Victor and Adriana did not rely on the dream-of-return narratives in which parents in King and Ganuza's study

were said to engage, but rather chose elements of the 1970s Chilean culture that they found useful to integrate into their current identities and cultural palettes (Kanno, 2003).

Germán and Francesca both found belonging in the imagined community that a relatively apolitical contemporary Chile represented to them. Chile was the place where Chileans who spoke authentic Chilean Spanish lived, and where the people had "moved on" from the political strife that had driven their parents out. In spite of her initial feelings of not belonging in Chile, Francesca's parents' country of origin represented an alternative place where she could engage more fully with cultural activities in which politics was not a staple feature; she said that she would gladly return to Chile "for months on end" to tour the country and explore other aspects of Chilean culture. From our interviews, however, there was not really any evidence to suggest that their membership in to this imagined Chilean community resulted in their interest in using or improving existing Spanish abilities, possibly because they already considered themselves to be fairly proficient speakers (c.f. Kanno & Norton, 2003).

Although their attitudes about the culture they found in Chile varied, all three reported having experienced some kind of identity negotiation, or questioning of their authentic belonging there (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). For instance, when Adriana was in Chile and her relatives called her *gringa* for the way she spoke Spanish, or when Germán's Chilean aunt was visiting his family in Edmonton and commented that he no longer sounded Chilean, these two participants were denied the ability to claim legitimate ethnic group membership in those interactions. Interestingly, Germán's reaction to this rather negative identity negotiation did not deter him from developing a Chilean identity. In fact, his sense of difference in Canadian society—especially racially (King & Ganuza, 2005; Kanno, 2003)—led Germán to assert his Chilean identity over any sort of Canadian or hybrid, hyphenated identity on more than one occasion as a young adult (also see King & Ganuza, 2005). As a result, however, his Chilean identity seemed to be more aimed at positioning himself as *not* Canadian, as opposed to proudly Chilean. The experience of "othering" seemed to have the opposite effect

on Adriana, driving her to identify and engage more with the "special context" that was her local ethnic community. Francesca was more willing to proclaim a hybrid national identity, but with qualifiers. She identified as first generation Canadian, but only as a "technical term." Although Germán and Francesca professed strong affective ties to their Chilean identity, community participation or regular Spanish use did not seem to be a necessary requirement in order to claim this identity (Potowski, 2004), possibly because their imagined Chilean community was located in Chile. Indeed, so strong was Francesca's Chilean identity that she perceived the Latin American identity that her sister espoused and her community promoted as a threat to their "Chilean-ness" (Zentella, 1996).

In sum, as we saw with Francesca, travel to the country of origin can be a welcome experience for members of the second generation (Sakamoto, 2001). For others like Victor, however, it can be an eye-opening experience that does not foster positive feelings or a sense of identification with the contemporary home-country society (King & Ganuza, 2005). It is important to note also that none of the participants' travel experiences in Chile were invariably positive or negative: Francesca loved Chilean culture in Chile but had "a bit of an identity crisis" when she first arrived there, and Victor was very critical of contemporary, Hispanic Chilean culture but considered himself a member of the Aymara family that he had lived with (Poyatos Matas & CuatroNochez, 2011). Contrary to the research that maintains that travel to the country of origin has generally positive effects on HL and identity development (Decapua & Wintergerst, 2009), the findings of this study corroborate those of Blackledge and Creese (2010), who posit that travel to the country of origin remains a complex activity whose outcomes are largely related to the heritage bilingual's self-concept, and can be quite unpredictable.

8.1.6 Diaspora, Sojourner and Cosmopolitan Identities

Adriana and Victor's expressions of hybrid identities differed from regularly reported conceptions of nationally hyphenated ethnic hybrid identities. Victor expressed the confluence of the ideologies and communities with which he identified by using nationally devoid terms like *human being, Latin American, revolutionary, and indigenous* (Eastmond, 1993). Similarly, Adriana defined

being Chilean-Canadian not in terms of belonging to two countries, but in terms of how she interpreted the intersection of two cultures in her Canadian diaspora community: "when I call myself Chilean what I mean is what is Canadian Chilean, which is this different context than the *Chile* Chilean"; she elaborated by saying that Canada is her home, "or where I make my home anyway." One 17-year-old male participant in King and Ganuza's (2005) study described his ethnic identity in similar terms: "[I have an identity based on] where I am. I am Chilean even if it doesn't say so in my passport […] I am a Chilean, but from Stockholm" (p. 186). King and Ganuza interpreted this type of identification as positive, in contrast with the "more pessimistic terms" that others used to describe their Chilean identities (p. 186). It is interesting to note, too, that both of the identity descriptions above contain a sense of home as constructed and transient, perhaps stemming from their parents' displacement. But what is intriguing about this finding is that, for The Activists in this study at least, such a mutable sense of home and belonging seemed to lend itself to participation in multiple communities (Kanno, 2003). Through their activism, both Victor and Adriana's ethnic descriptors reflected a sense of global citizenry and civic responsibility (Guardado, 2010) with deep roots in Latin American history and political struggle. They seemed to draw their Latin American-ness from the knowledge that they were descended from people who railed against and fled the oppressive conditions that had characterized their (parents') countries of origin at one time. Through this common history of struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, Adriana and Victor felt a connection not only with other community members of Latin American descent in Edmonton and in the world, but also with non-Hispanics who had faced similar adversities.

Strong parallels can be drawn between Adriana and Victor's hybrid heritage identities and the "sojourner" hybrid identities that Kanno (2003) found in her research with Japanese returnee youth. In contrast with immigrant youth (like Germán) who sometimes struggle to find authentic belonging in the heritage country because they become trapped in "the monolithic characterization of each culture and the dichotomy between the host and home cultures (i.e., 'Canadian

culture is like that; Japanese culture is like this')" (p. 130), the sojourner youth in Kanno's study did not expect

> "to have all their needs fulfilled in one community and actively sought out diverse groups, each of which responded to different interests and needs they had… Their understanding of culture became more sophisticated, too—probably as a result of the interaction with a more diverse range of people… they came to identify with parts of each culture that they were comfortable with, and by participating in those aspects, they were able to affirm that they belonged to both cultures" (p.130).

As activists with membership to a web of ideological communities, however, Adriana and Victor belonged not to two cultures, but to another cosmopolitan culture that united people from diverse backgrounds. Adriana rejected her Latin American church community when she felt no longer ideologically at home there, and claimed membership in a movement to defend local indigenous land claims despite her family's confusion at her participation in a group when she was "not even native." When Victor first began his involvement in the Latin American community at age 18 and was laughed at for his non-native Spanish, he made the decision to "keep talking" because he had a larger agenda and did not allow negotiations about his language to become an obstacle to his achievement of those goals. In this sense, their non-geographically-based multimembership provided them a certain resilience in the face of negative identity negotiations (Omoto & Snyder, 2010)—some of which had been prompted by their perceived lack of Spanish proficiency.

Additionally, growing up in a refugee community that grew quickly and became more diverse in the 1980s with the arrival of Salvadoran, Nicaraguan, and Guatemalan refugees (Gosse, 1996), Adriana and Victor grew up knowing that they were part of "a broader conglomerate" (Guardado, 2010, p. 244) of other displaced peoples where political and activist narratives had a foundational presence and with whom they could identify via the historical and ideological struggles they had in common. Comments like those of Victor's father who said that he has more in common with a Canadian who shares his ideas than with a

Chilean who does not appears to have been an attempt to challenge nationalistic sources of ethnic identity, and perhaps to "socialize them into hybrid identities as Canadians, which to them meant embracing an affiliation to a broader identity beyond that of Latin American or [Chilean]" (Guardado, 2010, p. 340; also see Dagenais & Day, 1999). Indeed, the indigenous identity that Victor claimed could be said to have its roots in the leftist movement in Chile in the 1970s that included recognizing and reclaiming the rights of indigenous Mapuche people (Eastmond, 1993)—in other words, long before the revelatory interaction he had with his father at the public library. Such ideological understandings and far-reaching acts of solidarity were not only portable when the family moved to Canada, but readily applicable to a context where indigenous rights have been historically trampled. This is just one example of the ways in which the political ideologies and awareness that this community brought from Chile gave some of its children the tools to engage in Canadian society.

8.1.7 Spanish and Multilingualism in the Next Generation

Although the transmission of Spanish from the second generation to the third was not an explicit objective of this study, the way participants talked about their children's (or, in the case of Adriana, future children's) use of Spanish in many ways reflected their own relationship to their HL and culture—ultimately, their ethnic identities. As we will see in the discussion that follows, the advent of childrearing triggered the participants to reflect on how their parents socialized them into the HL and certain values (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999). This process of reflection also encompassed extra-domestic childhood experiences with language and belonging, as well as current influences like the opinions of spouses and their vision for their child/ren's participation in their real and imagined communities. In other words, a lifetime of diverse experiences not only informed how they understood their current identity, but they also came to bear on the decisions they make regarding the language and culture socialization of their children.

Without much prompting, the participants frequently made reference to the influence that their parents had had on their thinking, behavior, and child rearing (for all but Adriana). Taken together, their comments illustrated that they

had been raised in homes where education, good work ethic, and social responsibility were highly valued. These values were likely influenced by the immigration experience where education was the key to addressing a range of settlement issues, and social responsibility was a continuation of the religious and/or socialist ideologies their parents had espoused in Chile. The immigration experience also fostered an upbringing where the social and economic capital that acquiring English implied (Bourdieu, 1986) was reinforced daily. The parents' budding bilingualism was key to the families' social mobility in Canada, and thus bilingualism and multilingualism in general were regarded as an asset around their homes. But as the focal participants grew older, they realized that French-English bilingualism had different weight in terms of capital than Spanish-English bilingualism. Germán's comment about his younger brother not speaking much Spanish, but "he's an engineer now so he's okay," reflects his belief that Spanish-English bilingualism was not necessary to secure lucrative employment in Canada. Adriana, Germán and Francesca all recognized the economic value that speaking French could have in the Canadian context, however, especially in government positions. But the reality is that with a Hispanic population of less that 1%, Spanish would be considered more a skill than an asset to most Canadian employers. Economic arguments are common in discourses of HLD (Guardado, in press), but the data suggest that they might not be the strongest arguments once heritage bilinguals come of working age. Francesca and Germán both said that Spanish was not required in their professions, which in some ways diminished the weight that the economic argument their parents had made for developing it. Francesca also confirmed this by saying that whatever Spanish her children might need in the future, they could learn at home (as she had). In terms of global economic arguments, Germán equated speaking Spanish with speaking any other major international language, thereby awarding it no special consideration. This point does not necessarily suggest that Germán did not identify with Spanish, but rather that he identified more with the professional goals his parents had set for him, and to achieve these goals in a global economy, any major international language would be beneficial. Indeed, because of his negative childhood

experiences in school, if it had not been for his and his wife's Chilean heritage, it is likely that Germán would have enrolled his son in another international language or in a monolingual English program.

Adriana and Victor's comments about Spanish HLD in the next generation indicated their clearly positive stance on additive bilingualism within the framework of their current real and imagined community memberships. Adriana had not yet given much thought to which languages she wanted her future children to speak, but she knew she wanted to give them "one extra"—in other words, in addition to Spanish and English. Spanish, she found as the second interview progressed, would be a fundamental part of her children's projected multilingual skills. When I asked her why she would want them to speak Spanish, she reflected on her own experiences as a heritage bilingual in her community and concluded that being able to connect with community members (in Spanish) had been "one of the most beautiful things." Victor's reasons for promoting a HL-based multilingualism in his sons was also rooted in motivations to reach out to diverse others in a spirit of dialogue, ultimately leading to social change and building solidarities (Guardado, 2010; He, 2008b).

In sum, all of the participants had instrumental reasons for wanting to promote Spanish in the next generation in the sense that they saw Spanish as opening the door to future career opportunities (Germán) and as a tool for building solidarities (Victor and Adriana), or as a tool for building hybrid ethnic identities (Francesca). All of these reasons for wanting their children to speak Spanish were reflections of the participants' life experiences, current identities and values. Being that an individual's "investment in the target language… can be best understood in the context of future affiliations and identifications, rather than prevailing sets of relationships" (Norton and Kanno, 2003, p. 244), the synergy of their past and present identities in combination with the identities they projected for themselves and their children is not surprising. Thus, as the local community shifts more and more towards English with each generation (Kouritzin, 1999), "prevailing sets of relationships" (Norton and Kanno, 2003, p. 244) are not necessarily ideal or strong motivators to keep speaking the heritage language.

Victor and Adriana projected their identities and those of their children into future imagined communities of Latin Americans (and non-Latin Americans) who were working towards building a more just world, and in order to reach future imagined community members, they and their children would benefit greatly from multilingual skills, of which Spanish played a formative role. Making reference to their own life experiences, Spanish had provided Victor with a tool to gain access to some French speaking circles (Guardado, 2010), and studying French formally had opened Adriana's eyes to the structure of Spanish. In their lives, Spanish did not only open the door to acquiring other languages (Guardado, 2008; Dagenais & Day, 1999), but in a somewhat reciprocal fashion, other languages helped shed light on aspects of Spanish they had not previously considered. It is therefore also not surprising that Adriana and Victor had positive attitudes towards multilingualism: they saw themselves as part of diverse communities with speakers of different languages (Guardado, 2010; Dagenais & Day, 1999), and hoped their children would enjoy membership in the same real and imagined communities.

8.2 Conclusions

For these four second-generation children of Chilean exiles, identification with the political ideologies and narratives with which they were raised had a facilitating or detrimental effect on whether they formed relationships with other Spanish speakers and were subsequently motivated to develop their Spanish skills. There also seemed to be a negotiation taking place between the life goals and ideologies their parents had had socialized them into, and the goals that the participants now had for themselves and for their own children. In some cases, Spanish seemed to lose value in this negotiation, while in others it took on renewed meaning. In what follows, I synthesize the study's main findings, outline considerations for future research, and describe some of the limitations of this thesis research.

Consistent with much of the literature on HLD, this study found identity to be a central reason for second-generation Chileans to continue developing their heritage language into adulthood (Tse, 1997, 2001; Kanno, 2003). But the

participants expressed a range of belongings to real and imagined communities that were defined by different ideological orientations towards the political nature of their heritage culture. This finding nuances our understanding of the role that identity plays in HLD. For instance, by aligning themselves with the political activism that characterized their exile community, The Activists were motivated to discuss politics in Spanish with community members, thereby expanding their communicative competence in Spanish while simultaneously facilitating intergenerational and intercultural understanding. On the other hand, a dislike for or fear of the consequences of political activism caused The Non-Activists to distance themselves from many opportunities to use Spanish in the community.

One of the major findings of this study was that simply having access to peers that valued the HL was insufficient for friendships where Spanish would be a preferred or necessary language (c.f. Tse, 1997; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2001). Common understandings of the political aspects of their heritage appeared to be crucial for meaningful friendships to form with other Latin Americans where Spanish was necessary. Similarly, having positive attitudes towards the home country or culture of origin did not result in increased identification with using Spanish. Strong ethnic identities include the elements of the heritage culture with which the heritage bilingual identifies and appropriates, and they do not allow outsiders or monolithic nationalistic definitions to determine their belonging (Kanno, 2003). Membership to multiple communities can also serve as a sort of identity support when the ethnic identity is challenged—especially on the basis of language proficiency or accent. While travel to the country of origin does not simplify matters of ethnic identity or language use, it has the potential to offer different perspectives and identity options because countries are composed of diverse peoples and cultures with particular worldviews. Thus, heritage bilinguals with ties to multiple communities seemed to be able to withstand negotiation and rejection from one more resiliently than those who did not because the validity of their identity does not depend on acceptance by any one single group.

In educational and institutional contexts, the variety of life experiences and interpretations of heritage presented in this study encourage us to honour the dynamic and constructivist language and identity experiences of heritage bilinguals (Abdi, 2009). Heritage bilinguals may feel no relationship to the home country, or even resist identification with it (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). They might also be building strong local or diaspora identities that should not be overlooked or diminished by pedagogical agendas to "celebrate" multiculturalism by appealing solely to broad national discourses. A deeper multicultural society can begin to emerge when we look beyond the flags, and to the experiences, languages and core values that unite diverse peoples. Furthermore, while it may offer a welcome identity alternative to some heritage bilinguals, this study found "inclusive" Latin American identities to be no less complex than national identities, especially for those participants who did not embrace Latin American-ness as part of their self-concept.

Multiple understandings of Chilean and Latin American cultural heritage emerged in this thesis, challenging our understanding of what is really inherited in heritage language contexts (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Parents contribute much more to the HLD process than simply language input and positive language ethnic identities; indeed, this study found that the participants' parents' settlement-related challenges, political ideologies, and the hopes they had for their children were central factors that framed their language attitudes and maintenance efforts. For instance, the Sandoval parents presented Spanish as key to accessing a greater range of economic opportunities, but in practice Spanish is not required for socioeconomic mobility in Edmonton and thus this argument did not motivate the participants to develop their Spanish. However, when presented as a key to achieving non-economic goals, like building solidarities, The Activists worked to improve their existing Spanish skills. Whether the children of Chilean immigrants from the 1970s continued to use Spanish as adults seemed to depend on whether Spanish use factored in to their own life goals as they grew older. Likewise, community involvement only enhanced HLD in adulthood for those who identified with the objectives of Hispanic/ Chilean community groups and events.

As soon as the participants aligned or disaligned themselves with the aims of community endeavours, their participation and subsequent Spanish use was positively or negatively affected. In other words, over the course of the heritage bilingual's life, parental influences pertaining to HLD appear to gain and lose power with their children's changing identities and life goals, including the goals that the second generation has for their children.

Thus, in spite of parents' best intentions and most positive language ideologies and practices, their role in HLD socialization is only one piece of the puzzle (Fishman, 1991), and the puzzle continues to be made throughout the heritage bilingual's lifetime, subject to a myriad of external influences, like prevailing ideologies and life goals. As heritage bilinguals' identities evolve, so do the language requirements for participation in the groups with which they identify (Tse, 1997; Grosjean, 2919). Identities include ideological, spatial, and temporal layers that can form the basis for solidarities and belonging between groups and individuals. These solidarities are facilitated in turn by proficiency in a common language, which, depending on the groups involved, can be the HL. And the more diverse the heritage bilingual's group memberships, the more likely it is that their HL is contextualized within a larger, multilingual global context. Where nationalistic binaries can exclude heritage bilinguals (Kanno, 2003), diasporic identities—those that refuse national hyphenation and claim legitimate membership in the host society grounded in the knowledge of their diasporic ethnocultural context—offer an intriguing alternative to the way we currently interpret and promote heritage identities and languages.

8.3 Limitations

Within the qualitative paradigm there tends to be a lack of consensus on what is considered a limitation (Duff, 2008), but taken within the stated objectives of the investigation, it is possible to identify the limitations that were relevant to the analysis, interpretation, and generalizability of the results. Being a multiple case study, generalizability was not sought in the present research and thus I will not discuss it much further. With this study I hoped to provide a preliminary description of how four second-generation members of Edmonton's Chilean

community described their ethnic culture and positioned themselves in relation to it (linguistically and otherwise) in order to gain an understanding of how culture and identity influence/d their HLD. In this section I will describe what I perceive to have been limitations to meeting the objectives of this study.

With more time I might have been able to gain the trust of Victor and Adriana's (my primary contacts) family members, and perhaps have been welcome to make formal observations in more intimate settings like their homes. It would have been very useful to involve the participants' partners in order to gain some insight into how the relevant attitudes, identities, and ideologies that they possessed might have influenced the HLD attitudes and identities of their spouses. For instance, Germán's Chilean wife grew up in the exile context of Sweden. According to Germán, his wife was more enthusiastic about and adamant that their son's education be in Spanish. Observations of the second generation with their children would have provided data to triangulate with their reported HLD attitudes and practices at home. And finally, the participation of all of the siblings in the Sandoval and Vega families would have allowed me to paint a bigger picture of how the political and language socialization practices in these families affected their Spanish and identity development as the second generation of a Chilean exile community.

Like home observations, collecting more naturally-occurring forms of data like social network comments and making formal observations at community events and meetings would have helped me to triangulate the responses that the participants gave in the interviews. Similarly, if I had conducted member checks, the data may have been considered to be more reliable (Duff, 2008). The follow-up interviews were conducted partly in an effort to address this lack of rigor.

And finally, questionnaires are complex data collection tools and should be piloted in order to ensure that the interpretability of the responses is maximized. The questionnaire used in this study was quite limited in terms of examining whether relationships existed between language use and political involvement. While establishing relationships between these two factors was not the explicit aim of the background questionnaire, the interview data of this study were able to

establish a relationship between political orientation, involvement, and language use. Thus, HLD researchers in communities with overt political ideologies might consider looking for ways to probe this relationship more directly using questionnaires.

8.4 Implications and Directions for Future Research

The lack of literature on HLD in refugee contexts in general provides us with an opportunity to begin building this body of research, keeping in mind that refugees, unlike other immigrants, are 'reluctant migrants' who were forced to flee their countries. Taking this factor into account in these early stages would facilitate comparison between the results of future HLD studies in refugee contexts, and help to clearly define them in relation to similar studies in non-refugee contexts. What follows are implications for education and factors that this study has identified as important to consider when studying refugees and HLD.

8.4.1 Implications for Education

The findings from this study support Abdi's (2009) call to refrain from imposing ethnic identities on heritage bilingual students, and to invite students to engage with their heritage creatively by encouraging them to probe and appropriate elements that they find personally meaningful. Much like the second language learner, if the heritage bilingual can identify parts of the ethnic culture with which they wish to engage, they are more likely to embrace the language used to access these cultural features.

Administrators should continue to revise social studies curricula regularly to reflect current immigration patterns. This way, even if the language of instruction is English or French, heritage speakers will see part of their family's story validated in the school—the first important socializing institution in which a child participates. It is somewhat curious that the first time that Victor learned about "what happened in Chile" was on his own when he was 13. Canadian students and teachers not born of immigrant parents would also benefit from knowing more about the circumstances under which their classmates and/or their families arrived in Canada.

In bilingual and heritage language programs, instructors should talk explicitly about language change over time, and how language can reflect cultural values. Doing so would help mitigate the possible negative effects of privileging standard varieties over home varieties in the school and home domains (Silva-Corvalán, 2001). Furthermore, while the Spanish bilingual teachers with whom I have spoken in Edmonton claim to bring their students' attention to regional differences among Spanish dialects whenever possible, bringing students' attention to temporal/ intergenerational differences within dialects would provide them with a broader sociolinguistic palate and could potentially facilitate intergenerational understanding.

8.4.2 The Family's Relationship to Events Leading up to Expulsion

Even within the Chilean refugee community, some members left because they were barred from employment for their political beliefs and affiliations, while others fled after being tortured in concentration camps. The specific narratives that make up the family's exile story become intertwined in how their children construct their ethnic identities in the diaspora; thus, future studies should be explicit about the reasons their participants give for their exile. *Refugee* has multiple meanings and interpretations, and is highly context-specific in terms of the unique factors resulting in exile, arising during (trans)migration, and meeting refugees at the time of settlement in the locale under study. For instance, although the participants' flight from East Africa in Hatoss and Sheely's (2010) study was related to political conflict (albeit over fifty years of it), several factors distinguish their experience of exile in Australia from that of Chilean exiles in the diaspora—the least of which is the extensive periods of time many had spent as orphans in refugee camps across East-Africa, acquiring multiple local languages. Upon arrival in Australia, they settled in what the authors refer to as a largely monolingual, "highly visible minority community" (p. 131), and struggled with having had interrupted or non-existent literacy skills in their first language—all factors not identified in the Chilean community under examination in the present study.

8.4.3 Reception upon Arrival

Another question that future studies in refugee contexts should attend to is how the participants were received by the host society upon arrival (King & Ganuza, 2005; Lambert & Taylor, 1996). Although the Sandoval family might be classified as having come to Canada during the same wave of immigration from Chile, because of the seven-year age difference between Germán and Victor, their experiences as young Chileans in Canada were markedly different. Germán felt quite isolated and unwelcome when he first arrived at age seven because many of the children who arrived with that wave of immigration were Victor's age—seven years younger than Germán. As a result, Germán had fewer opportunities to make Chilean friends, which may have influenced his HL and identity development. The Vega sisters, who were 5-10 years younger than Victor and Germán, grew up in the same community but at a different time. Thus, the issues surrounding reception, belonging, and identity development that Germán struggled with would have been different for the Vega children whose parents arrived on different refugee waves and for slightly different reasons. Also, Germán's discomfort at having to translate for his mother in public, and Francesca's indifference (Tse, 2001) are further examples of the effects of reception on HL attitudes and use. When Germán arrived, none of his peers had to translate for their mothers, which made him feel different. Francesca, on the other hand, grew up going to a Latin American church three times a week where translation was commonplace. Translation had already been normalized her daily life, and she likely had a peer group that also had to translate for family outside of the church.

8.4.4 Imagined Communities in Exile

Studies have shown that travel to places where the heritage language and culture are widely practiced can be very beneficial to budding ethnic identities and HLD (Guardado, 2006), but in some cases, political and/or economic reasons inhibit refugees' return to the home country for many years after arriving in the host country. In other cases, an upbringing characterized by repeated displacement and/or "broken families" (e.g. Hatoss & Sheely, 2010, p. 135) can result in very complex language attitudes and practices, as well as a sense of belonging or home.

Future studies with refugees would benefit from considering the imagined communities and resulting identities that emerge in contexts where return to the country of origin is not possible. Even though all but one of the participants in this study travelled to Chile at one point, they all imagined themselves as part of a Chile that reflected their values—be they non-activist, apolitical, or adamantly political and stemming from the 1970s. Identification with their "imagined Chiles" had positive implications for Spanish use for Adriana and Victor.

This study also found that music from the heritage culture not only provides useful HL input, but can also intensify and deepen connections to an individual's construction of belonging to their heritage. Language is, after all, not a neutral messenger, and the results of this study suggest that messages it carries can be equally powerful. Future studies might also benefit from asking not only whether their participants are consumers of art and literature from the heritage culture, but also how advanced the linguistic structures embedded in these artifacts are, and their subject matter. All of the participants in this study (except Francesca) had a strong affective connection to the revolutionary messages in the 1970s *nueva canción* music they listened to, regardless of their identification as activist or non-activist.

8.4.5 Imagined Communities and Resilience

Many refugees have faced tremendous adversity and are distinctly disadvantaged psychologically and socioeconomically when they arrive in the host country. However, some groups integrate into the new society more resiliently than others—the Chileans in this study being one. Language maintenance and revitalization have been associated with improved overall wellbeing in Canadian indigenous communities (McIvor, 2009) and with stronger family relationships in immigrant communities (Fillmore, 1995; Tannenbaum, 2005; Guardado, 2002; Schecter & Bayley, 1997), but it has not yet been associated with the psychological concept of resilience. Resilience is key to integration because it refers to "successful adaptations to adversity, stressful events and oppressive systems" (Sonn & Fischer, 1998, p. 468); in other words, immigrant groups who are not resilient are less likely to overcome the barriers to

integration that face them in the host country and that have followed them from the country of origin.

The Activists in this study, through language, community participation, and civic engagement, chose to remember the tragedies that their community had endured and recontextualized them in order to achieve what they considered to be full participation in Canadian society. It would appear that in the solidarities that the Chileans formed on arrival, the seeds of cultural continuity and resilience were planted. They were not uprooted and cast aside to live out their lives passively. They continued to be active and alive in the diaspora, in spite of the settlement issues that plagued them in the beginning. When the society would or could not provide them with affordable housing solutions upon arrival, their socialist ideology united them and they organized cooperative housing complexes where they could socialize their children into their language and cultural narratives. According to Mays (1986), language and music facilitated resilience among African American communities in the US, who used these as tools to identify themselves as a culture distinct from the mainstream, and were able to resist the hegemonic, racist, and assimilationist societal forces. Especially in minority groups with fewer forms and degrees of capital (Bourdieu, 1986), the way that the HL contributes to a community's healthy integration into the host society, in addition to the way that families approach to integration,[54] affects their children's HLD, and should be carefully considered.

8.5 Closing Remarks

Refugees are commonly talked about as somehow broken, fleeing their homelands with nothing, and burdening the host countries with their many needs. While there may be some truth to this, it does not tell the whole story. Refugees are survivors, and as such, bring much with them. They bring life experiences

[54] As Germán recounted, his parents' main goal upon arrival was to achieve the social mobility that had been difficult to achieve in Chile, and which seemed to deprioritize their efforts to support his Spanish maintenance. Indeed, like many immigrant parents for whom high proficiency in English is their perceived barrier to full economic participation in the host society, the Sandoval parents reportedly encouraged their sons to converse with them in English.

shaped by tremendous adversity, and many look to the future with a spirit of resilience. Like other kinds of migrants, they bring specific ideologies, cultural practices and religious beliefs, all of which are learned and sustained in large part by the languages that they bring with them (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). With this study, it was my hope to begin a dialogue about this under-researched group in terms of the political ideologies that the first generation brought with them, and how these ideologies influenced their ethnic identities and HLD of their children in the diaspora. I believe this study has helped open the door to understanding HLD in refugee communities, and has deepened our knowledge of how Spanish as a heritage language develops in the Western Canadian context.

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Appendices

Questionnaire for second-generation participants: English[55]

1. Please fill in as much of the following as you feel comfortable. 'Name' is required, but will only be used by the researcher to personalize her interview questions with you. Your real name will never be revealed in association with any information collected from you.
Name:

Month/ Year of arrival in Canada:
Place of arrival in Canada:
Email Address:

2. Please list the places you and your family have lived in Canada and approximate amount of time in each.

3. Please identify your reasons for coming to Canada.

- Education
- Family
- Economic reasons
- Political reasons
- Adventure
- Other (please specify)

4. What is your current marital status?

- Married
- Never married
- In a common-law relationship
- Single
- Divorced/ Separated
- Widowed

5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Elementary
- Junior High
- High School
- College/ Trade School

[55] The questionnaire was administered via SurveyMonkey.com. All items were followed by a space for comments.

- Undergraduate
- Post-graduate

6. What are your current occupation(s)? Please include paid and unpaid work (e.g., student, volunteer, etc.)

7. What is your first language(s)?

8. What languages do you speak? Please list in order of proficiency with the first being your
strongest/ most proficient

9. Most of the time, in which language do you speak to your PARENTS?

- English
- Spanish
- A combination of English and Spanish
- A language other than English or Spanish
- It depends on which parent I'm talking to
- N/A

10. Most of the time, in which language do you speak to your CHILDREN? Select all that apply.

- English
- Spanish
- A combination of English and Spanish
- A language other than English or Spanish
- It depends on which child I'm talking to
- N/A

11. Most of the time, in which language do you speak to your EXTENDED FAMILY MEMBERS?

- English
- Spanish
- A combination of English and Spanish
- A language other than English or Spanish
- It depends on which family members I'm talking to
- N/A

11. Most of the time, in which language do you speak to your EXTENDED FAMILY MEMBERS?

- English

- Spanish
- A combination of English and Spanish
- A language other than English or Spanish
- It depends on which family members I'm talking to
- N/A

12. Most of the time, in which language do you speak to your PARTNER/ HUSBAND/ WIFE?

- English
- Spanish
- A combination of English and Spanish
- A language other than English or Spanish
- N/A

13. Most of the time, in which language do you speak to your CLOSEST FRIENDS?
English

- English
- Spanish
- A combination of English and Spanish
- A language other than English or Spanish
- It really depends on which friend
- N/A

14. If you thought, "it really depends…" for any of the last five questions, please state briefly and in general what "it" depends on.

15. The following two questions are regarding your speaking and listening abilities in Spanish. I
speak Spanish...

- Like my Spanish-speaking relatives in Chile
- Like a Chilean who grew up in Canada
- Fluently, but I don't always use "proper" grammar/ know the Spanish word for things
- Not fluently
- Not at all

16. I understand spoken Spanish...

- All of the time. It doesn't matter where the Spanish is coming from (e.g., friends, family, the radio, movies…)
- Some of the time. It depends on where the Spanish is coming from.

- Almost never. I usually need someone to translate for me when there is Spanish spoken.
- Never. I don't understand spoken Spanish beyond greetings (Hola, ¿cómo estás?, etc.)

17. How would you describe your political views?

18. Please indicate how much each of the following statements holds true for you and your family. 1 is "very much so," and 5 is "not at all"

1. In Chile, my parents were involved in political activities.
2. In the first few months/ years after arriving in Canada, my parents were involved in the solidarity movement with Chile, political, and/ or social justice activities.
3. …and they would often bring me with them to meetings and events related to these activities.
4. I am currently involved in the solidarity movement with Chile, political, and/ or social justice activities here.
5. I have always been encouraged to be involved in Chilean cultural activities here.
6. I (will) encourage my children to participate in the solidarity movement with Chile, political, and/ or social justice activities.

Sample Interview Questions with second-generation participants: English

Background

1. Why did your parents come to Canada?
2. Please describe what your first few years in Canada were like. What was easy for you and your family? Difficult? How were you received by Canadians? (e.g., warmly/ coldly/ with compassion/ with repugnance) Was there any group in particular that you felt more supported/ welcomed by?
3. What kind of neighbourhood did you live in when you first arrived? Soon after?
    a. Who were your friends growing up? What ethnicities? What language did you speak with them?
4. Have you been (back) to Chile? Can you tell me about that experience?
    a. What kind of contact do you have with Chile currently?
5. Did you attend school in Spanish (on weekends, in a bilingual program, etc.)?
6. Do you prefer to use English or Spanish with your parents?
    a. What does your language choice depend on?
7. Can you tell me about some of the things you place great value on in your life?
8. What do you think are the best ways to get kids in Canada to speak Spanish?

9. How would you describe *Chilean culture* to non-Chileans? What are its features? (e.g., Music, but by whom? What do they sing about? Why do they represent Chile?)
10. Is it important for you and or your (future) children to be interested in the socio-political history of Chile? Of its current socio-political situation?

Politics

1. Did your parents have involvement in politics back in Chile? Can you describe your understanding of their involvement to me?
    a. What do you know about:
        i. What the socio-political climate was like when your parents left?
        ii. What the main debates were?
        iii. Where your parents stood on critical issues being talked about (like democracy, human rights, etc.)?
2. How often did your parents talk to you about Chile? About the coup? What would they say?
    a. Did you want to know more? Did you find it tiring to hear about "back home"?
3. Did you attend local events organized in solidarity with Chile?
    a. How do you remember these events? What would be seen/ heard/ talked about/ eaten/ performed? Who would come? What were the reasons for having these events (ie: besides Chile)? Were there Canadians at this event? What was your relationship to them? What language did you speak with them?
    b. What would you do at them?
    c. At what age did you stop going (if you did)? Why?
    d. Describe an event for me.
4. How do you show solidarity with other Chileans here/there? (e.g., using Spanish maybe?)
    a. What does it mean to you? Your community?
    b. What is its history in your community as you understand it?
    c. Do you remember when you started being interested in it? Was there ever a time when you weren't? How has your understanding of it changed over your life?
    d. How does reaching out in solidarity to other cultures make you think about your language and culture?
5. Do you remember the arrival of Central American refugees in the 1980s? In what way? How did this affect your life/ community/ language use?
    a. Did you feel a sense of *solidarity* with these refugees?
6. What does the word *solidarity* mean to you?
7. How do you "show solidarity" to new Chileans that you meet, here or in Chile?
8. What does Salvador Allende mean to you?

Current Situation

1. Would you say that you can communicate freely with your family members on any topic in the language of their preference? If not, why not? Does it matter which language you speak to your parents and relatives in?
2. For you, what does it mean to be Chilean in Canada? Is there a connection between being a Chilean in Canada and being "in solidarity" with other Chileans around the world?
    a. How do you identify?
    b. Have there been times when you've felt more Chilean or more Canadian?
3. How would you describe Edmonton's Chilean community at the moment? (Strong, united…?) What unites/ divides Chileans here?
4. How do you feel about the recent student protests on education in Chile?
5. (Why) are you involved with [youth/ethnic/social justice group X]? (If so) what is the group's mandate? What is your vision for the group?