

Arts-based Curricula for Heritage Language Development and Maintenance

by

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ABSTRACT

Most immigrants and refugees lose their Heritage Language (HL) within one to three generations of moving to Canada. This study addresses a major gap in language education research about the potential of *arts-based curricula* to support the *HL development and maintenance* (HLDM) of multilingual youth in Canada and counter rapid HL loss. Anchored within an *arts-based research* paradigm (Conrad & Beck, 2015), the study explores two research questions: 1) What contributions might arts-based curricula make to our understanding of HL development and maintenance in Alberta? and 2) How might arts-based practices support Spanish HL youth learners' language and literacy experiences and aspirations? Informing this study are theoretical commitments to *Sociocultural Theory* (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and *Multiliteracies Theory* (New London Group, 1996), pedagogical commitments to *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009) and *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (Hanauer, 2012), and methodological commitments to community *arts-based research* (Barndt, 2008; Cahnmann-Taylor, 2008; Conrad & Beck, 2015) and *Poetic Inquiry* (Sameshima et al., 2017). The two research questions were explored through a case study of a month-long digital *Spanish Art Camp* in August 2020 with nine participating Spanish HL youth learners aged 13-18. Data collection included pre- and post-camp individual semi-structured interviews, participants' multimedia artworks, their online interactions on *Zoom* and *Slack*, our recorded individual and group art sessions, and my observations and arts-based field-notes. Data revealed how arts-based curricula (such as self-portraiture, bilingual poetry, protest art, illustration, photography, video, animation, and painting) can support the literacy and language development of HL youth, facilitate identity exploration and relationship building in the HL, and boost learner engagement and motivation. Being the first study of its kind in Canada to creatively combine HLDM and arts-based research, it presents an original contribution to language education research. In addition, the study includes a rich contextual

chapter, where Bronfenbrenner's *Ecological Systems Theory* (1979) is used to trace three chronosystems in Canada's history in relation to HL policies, planning, programs, and practices. It also features a unique literature review of 96 studies pertaining to language learning through the arts, revealing the gaps in research on youth HL development and maintenance through the arts in Canada.

PREFACE

This dissertation is an original intellectual product of the author, Adriana Oniță. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Arts-Based Curricula for Heritage Language Maintenance,” No. Pro00101987, approved on July 27, 2020. This thesis, especially Chapter 2 and 7, informed A. Oniță (2022), “Articulating an Arts-based Language Pedagogy,” a book chapter in E. Lyle (Ed.) *Re/Humanizing Education*. Poems and paintings in Chapter 1 appeared in A. Oniță (2019), “Limba maternă: A creative inquiry into mother language shift and loss,” *In:cite Journal*, 2(1), 51–57. Sections of Chapter 3 informed a forthcoming book chapter, “Canada's Un/written Rules for Cultural and Linguistic Conformity,” edited by O. Bilash.

Drag Cititor: Entering a Multilingual and Multimodal Inquiry

Drag cititor, I have written this dissertation in a way that honours and embodies the ideas that it presents. My topic of inquiry, “Arts-Based Curricula for Heritage Language Development and Maintenance,” calls forth ways of *a ști, a fi, a simți, și a gândi* (knowing, being, feeling, and thinking) that are multimodal and multilingual. *Așadar*, this dissertation weaves the personal with the theoretical, the artistic with the academic, and the poetic with the scholarly. I invite you, *drag cititor*, to embrace the ambiguity and *disconfortul* that often accompanies being a language learner, poetry reader, or art spectator, to celebrate the “theoretical potential and the transformative potential” of multilingual art and poetry in and as research (Knowles & Cole, 2008, p. 67).

Multimodal ways of *a ști, a fi, a simți, și a gândi*

“If I could say it in words, there would be no reason to paint.” —Edward Hopper

I include my own poems and paintings in this dissertation for several reasons: to locate myself as artist/pedagogue/researcher (Biggs, 2006), to create a personal relationship with the

reader and the community that the research impacts (Barndt, 2008), and to synthesize what I have learned in multimodal ways (Kress, 2003; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). I also include the artworks and poems of my study's participants, youth Spanish Heritage Language (HL) learners, following a collaborative community arts research practice that values and makes space for participants' voices and creations (Barndt, 2008). In including art products and processes *a través de mi disertación*, I am working within a creative scholarship tradition that includes *arts-based researchers* (Conrad & Beck, 2015; Knowles & Cole, 2008; Leavy, 2018), *research-creation practitioners* (Loveless, 2015; Springgay & Rotas, 2015), *poetic inquirers* (Sameshima et al., 2017), and intersectional *scholar-activists* (Anzaldúa, 1987; Anzaldúa & Morraga, 1981). Many of the above researchers also share a commitment to anti-oppressive education and the power of art to reach audiences and learners beyond academia.

Although artists and poets have been engaging in research for millennia, it is only recently that post-secondary institutions, funding bodies, and journals have made space for arts-based, arts-informed, or research-creation approaches in academic research. In 2019, the *Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council* of Canada defined research-creation as an approach that “combines creative and academic research practices, and supports the development of knowledge and innovation through artistic expression, scholarly investigation, and experimentation” (Research Creation section). *În ultimele decenii*, dozens of doctoral dissertations in Canada have been presented in alternative, arts-based formats “to evoke or provoke understandings that traditional research formats cannot provide” (Sinner et al., 2006, p. 1225). *Mai ales*, scholars have also noted that arts-based research has the possibility to question what doctoral research *is* and what/who it is *for*. As Biggs (2006) argues, perhaps the most distinctive and subversive element about doctoral degrees based on art as research is that they “bring into sharp focus questions about the relationship between art as a sensuous knowing and the world of conceptual knowledge

privileged by the university” (p. 2). The growing community of arts-based researchers challenge the paradigm of “logical positivism and technical rationality as the only acceptable guides to explaining human behavior and understanding” (Knowles & Cole, 2008, p. 59).

My doctoral research follows this critical and creative scholarly path, and also gratefully acknowledges the path paved by Indigenous researchers who deeply value multimodal ways of knowing, emphasize relationality in research, and mix the personal with the theoretical in their writing styles (Hill, 2008; Kenny, 1998; King, 2008; Wilson, 2008). Because the purpose of this study is to explore the contributions of arts-based curricula to our understanding of HL development and maintenance in Canada, I engage in “research *through* creation, not research and creation” (Fisher, 2015, p. 48). Thus, some of the insights gained in this project will appear in multimodal, stand-alone visual pieces, where I place the symbolic and the poetic on the same level as the academic and empirical.

Multilingual ways of *a ști, a fi, a simți, și a gândi*

“Until I am free to write bilingually and to switch codes without having always to translate....and as long as I have to accommodate the English speakers rather than having them accommodate me, my tongue will be illegitimate.”

—Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 1987, p. 8

Though English is the main “carrier” language in this dissertation, I also make the decision to include insights in my mother tongue (*limba română*) and other languages that I speak, think, dream, and work in (*español, français, italiano*). I employ creative code-switching, weaving together *diferentes lenguas*, to “keep my tongue wild” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 40), to show the reader how I belong to multiple worlds, and to raise the status of Heritage Languages in academic and creative writing. To help guide you, *drag cititor*, I judiciously use cognates, translations, and italics for words or phrases that appear in languages other than English (the unofficial *lingua*

franca of the University of Alberta). As Jumoke Verissimo (2019) argues, when italics are used in multilingual writing, they can act as an “assertion of selfhood” (para. 6) that accomplish several things at once: they can “shift the gaze and force attention to lingual hybridity as a state of existence” (para. 19); “highlight the incompetence of English to assimilate” (para. 19); and “invite the reader to pause and reflect on the fact that they have stumbled on another world with all its flourishes” (para. 7). In short: “the italics as emphasis ask—do you want to listen?” (para. 21). My wish for you, *drag cititor*, is that you listen with an open heart *și un suflet deschis*. May we unsettle and challenge the deeply entrenched (yet largely unaddressed) Anglocentrism in academia that often erases or suppresses multilingual voices. *Hai să experimentăm* in pushing the boundaries of what doctoral research, research-creation, poetic inquiry, and arts-based research can *be* and *do* for our communities. *Muțumesc, drag cititor, și călătorie frumoasă.*

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all young
Heritage Language learners,
sobre todo mis sobrinos,
Leo, Enzo, Lorena, y Lucía.
Ustedes son el futuro.

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“So much to do still, all of it praise,” as poet Derek Walcott (2010, p. 83) said. The most challenging part of this dissertation has been writing this section because *cuvintele nu sunt de ajuns*, in any language, to express my deep gratitude and praise for the people who made this work possible. I will begin by naming my teachers and mentors. *În primul rând*, thank you to Dr. Olenka Bilash, my doctoral supervisor. Your steadfast support, passion, kindness, and generosity is simply unmatched. Since 2010, you have encouraged me to ask incisive questions, follow my intuition, and nurture my art and poetry alongside my academic pursuits. More than anything, you showed me what a loving and caring community can look like in academia. This dissertation is a long poem for you—a synthesis of the last decade of thinking and learning with you. *Сердечно дякую!* A tremendous *mulțumesc* goes out to my amazing doctoral committee members, Dr. Diane Conrad and Dr. Cathryn van Kessel, for your thoughtful feedback and care for my work. I will never forget the joy I felt in your courses and the buzz after our lively conversations. Dr. Martín Guardado, Dr. Lucille Mandin, and Dr. Jim Cummins also have my immense gratitude for stretching my imagination with their questions and comments. *În plus*, I learned so much from conversations with Dr. Roman Petryshyn, Dr. Mark Pyzyk, and Dr. Trudie Aberdeen, which is reflected in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Finally, I had the great fortune of studying with dr. alexandra fidyk, who introduced me to Poetic Inquiry and nurtured play and creativity in my research; dr. jan jagodzinski, whose kindness and brilliance is unbounded; and Dr. Hans Smits, who modeled humility and generosity in research and teaching.

To the nine research participants who took part in the *Spanish Art Camp* and my study: a heartfelt *gracias* for being creative, vulnerable, sincere, and open in this journey. *Gracias por compartir tu arte y tus historias conmigo y con el mundo. Ha sido el honor más grande para mi.*

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¹ Inspired by rapper Snoop Dogg's acknowledgement of his own hard work (EuroNews, 2018).

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Significance of Research: *Limbile Dispar*



Figure 1: Adriana Oniță, *Limbile dispar*, [watercolour on paper], 2019

What do we lose when we lose a language?

pe scurt: entire ways of being
and knowing and feeling

ways to pray, ways to curse
ways to cure, praise, grieve
scold, love, remember

people think it's just words
vocabulariu și gramatică
syntaxis y morfologia

they say languages live	limbile dispar
survival of the fittest	una competencia

dar o limba traieste, zambeste, gandește
è una cosa viva, that lives and blooms

we must protect a language
come se fosse una foresta
a botanical belonging²

² Painting and poem first appeared in Oniță (2019).

What do we lose when we lose a language? This is a question that gnaws at me every day, *întrebarea care mă măcina în fiecare zi*, with such urgency that sometimes I cannot fall asleep at night. *De ce? Limbile dispar cu o viteză amețitoare*. Languages in our world are disappearing at an alarming rate. Similar to the urgency of preserving our biological diversity, linguists over the past few decades have stressed an immediate call to action to address language loss, shift, and endangerment, to maintain our linguistic diversity (Brenzinger, 2007; Krauss, 1992; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Wilford, 2007). Researchers estimate that at least half of the world's 6000+ languages will be gone by the end of the 21st century unless there are massive decolonization and revitalization efforts to reverse these effects (Crystal, 2002; Harrison, 2007; Hinton, 2017; Moseley, 2010; Nicholas, 2011).

Canada nu e o excepție. Although the latest census paints Canada as a linguistically diverse country, where 213 languages are spoken, and one in four people report a non-official mother tongue³ (Statistics Canada, 2017a), Indigenous Languages (ILs) are all endangered (Morin, 2017), and only a small percentage of Heritage Languages⁴ (HLs) are transmitted intergenerationally (Houle, 2015). *De ce? În primul rând*, Canada has a tragic history of linguicide (the deliberate killing of languages) regarding ILs (Fontaine, 2017; Griffith 2017; Nicholas, 2011). This history is evidenced by residential schools, where an English or French-only policy prevailed and Indigenous children were punished for speaking their mother tongues (Kirkness, 1998; Nicholas, 2011). There is also a documented three-generation process of linguistic assimilation, which ends in the loss of immigrant HLs by third generation adults, if not second (Alba et al., 2002;

³ The rise in the number of people who reported an immigrant mother tongue in Canada (from 13.3% or 6.8 million in 2011 to 7.7 million in 2016) reflects an increase in immigration, not language use since only 28% of those people regularly spoke their language at home (Lepage, 2017), as compared to 94.3% of those with English and 83.1% of those with French as their first languages.

⁴ While an HL is almost always an immigrant language in the Canadian context, it is important to note that an HL may or may not be a mother tongue (first language) for people, especially if first or second-generation immigrants are reclaiming their languages after having first learned a dominant/majority language like English or French. The "Definitions of Key Terms" section of this dissertation attempts to untangle the terminologies used to refer to HLs.

Cummins, 2000; Hinton, 2001; Houle, 2015; Kouritzin, 1999; Portes & Hao, 1998; Sabourin & Belanger, 2015; Wong Fillmore, 1991). *De exemplu*, in 1981, 41% of immigrant women in Canada passed on their *limba maternă* (mother tongue) to their children. A quarter century later, in 2006, 23% of first-generation women who had been transmitted their own mother's *limba maternă* would have passed it on to their own children. By the third generation, only 10% of the grandchildren of the 1981 immigrant mothers would have the same *limba maternă* as their mother and grandmother (Houle, 2015). *Din nou*, this process of linguistic assimilation is involuntary: many immigrants feel that passing on their *limba maternă* to their children is of “paramount importance” (Turcotte, 2006, p. 20), but there are “ideologies, structures, and practices used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources between language groups” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988, p. 13). In Canada, this has resulted in the calculated linguicide of ILs and the minoritisation of HLs through coercive practices to replace minority languages/cultures with majority or colonizing languages/cultures (English and French).



Figure 2: Adriana Oniță, *amiskwacîwâskahikan linguistic landscape*, [collage], 2019

My city, *amiskwacîwâskahikan* (colonially known as Edmonton, Alberta, Canada), is leading Canada in HL growth (Wakefield, 2017). The number of Edmontonians who have a “non-official” mother tongue surged 31% between 2011 and 2016, a faster rate than in any of Canada’s other big cities, and nearly double the number of the 1996 census, making up a quarter of the metro area’s 1.3 million people (Wakefield, 2017). However, the reasons for this are increased immigration, and not intergenerational HLDM. If we look closer, although more than 345,000 Edmontonians claim a non-official first language, of those, only 87,115 (25%) regularly speak their language at home. This percentage of mother tongue retention drops remarkably throughout generations (Wakefield, 2017; Statistics Canada, 2017a; Sabourin & Bélanger, 2015), leading to drastic HL loss that remains unaddressed in our communities. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1985) maintains that Canada should “preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada” (Article 3, section i). If 75% of immigrant Edmontonians, and 72% of immigrant Canadians do *not* speak their languages regularly (Lepage, 2017), we are not meeting our goal as a “multicultural society that protects the use of heritage languages and fosters and celebrates cultural diversity” (Campanaro, 2013, p. 6). In my doctoral research, I am guided by an overarching inquiry: What can be done to creatively support HL development and maintenance in my community?

Research Questions

Recent research has shown that *arts-based curricula* (ABC) support HL development and maintenance (HLDM) by not only enhancing learners’ linguistic competence and multiliteracies development, but also empowering them to take pride in their identities and challenge the marginalized status of HLs in multicultural societies (Abdelhadi et al., 2019; Anderson & Chung, 2011; 2012; Anderson et al., 2018; Anderson & MacLeroy, 2016; Bradley et al., 2018; Cahnmann,

2006; Charalambous & Yerosimou, 2015; Heath, 1993). This growing body of evidence shows how ABC at both school and community levels can enable a dynamic, rich, creative interaction between language, heritage, and culture. Visual, literary, digital, and performing arts (e.g., painting, photography, film, poetry, drama, dance, etc.) can disrupt traditional monolingual perspectives on the curriculum “by offering a space in which learners are empowered to resist the hegemonic discourses which shape the way the education system operates and tend to devalue minority languages and cultures” (Anderson & Chung, 2011, p. 554). My research built upon these innovative studies and sought to explore two questions:

1. What contributions might *arts-based curricula* (ABC) make to our understanding of *Heritage Language development and maintenance* (HLDM) in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada?
2. How might arts-based practices support Spanish HL youth learners’ language and literacy experiences and aspirations?

These questions were explored through an *arts-based case study* of nine Spanish HL youth learners taking part in a month-long immersive *Spanish Art Camp*, transported online due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The case study and camp will be more granularly explained in Chapter 4: Methodology. In the following section, I locate myself and describe how I came to these research questions through a poetic | artistic autoethnography.

Locating Myself: A Poetic | Artistic Autoethnography

Language shift is often defined in the Canadian context as the process whereby “individuals abandon their native language as the principal language spoken at home and adopt another” (Sabourin & Bélanger, 2015, p. 727). Through poetic inquiry, in Oniță (2019), I question:

But is abandon the right verb? And what about adopt? *A abandona inseamnă ca ai avut o alegere de făcut. A adopta* also means you had a choice and you consciously made it.

What if your *limba maternă* hid in your body, *s-a ascuns*, out of fear? And what if it still lives inside of you at the cellular level, in your body's home, *adânc, așteptând momentul potrivit* to resurface? (p. 51)



Figure 3: Adriana Oniță, *Strada Odăi, Nr. 39, Jilava*, [watercolour on paper], 2019

Limba Maternă

I should have begun by saying
that I lost my mother tongue.

I know what you are thinking:
How can you lose something
that lives inside of you, unless
you chose to live languageless?

Forgive me, loss never occurs
on purpose. Think of the way
you lose a loved one, or a faith.

I did not deem Romanian
inconvenient, crumple it up

by a trash bin, hoping someone
will stumble by, find it useful.

Nor did I sweat it away
in the labour of learning
another language –

S-a ascuns inside myself
corpul meu, my body's weight
and I know it's still there

Memoria mea, burnt sienna,
a clot of regret, limba maternă

Its letters still line my throat,
its old curses live in my fingertips. (p. 52)

Mă numesc Adriana Oniță and my story is part of the statistics. *Acasă*, for me, is *Jilava*, *România*. I speak five languages (*română, engleză, spaniolă, franceză, italiană*), but my first, *limba română*, is my weakest. *Mi-ar plăcea să-ți povestesc cum am pierdut limba maternă*. I want to tell you the story of how I almost lost my mother tongue upon immigrating to Edmonton in elementary school, and will likely dedicate *toată viața mea* to raising awareness about Heritage Language development and maintenance (HLDM) and preserving linguistic diversity. Of particular interest to me as an educator, poet, community arts organizer, and researcher is how we can better value, honour, and support HLDM in *creative* ways, especially in educational contexts. I believe that the more passionate, engaged, and aware that youth, educators, parents, researchers, and educational leaders are about HLs, the better the chances for maintenance of these languages in our communities.

I see poetry and painting as the perfect media for locating myself in this dissertation through autoethnographic inquiry. According to Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011), “autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience” (p.1). *Această abordare*

treats research as a “political, socially-just and socially-conscious act” (p. 1). *Cu alte cuvinte*, autoethnographers do not tell their personal stories to be self-indulgent navel gazers; rather they explore their lived experience “to illustrate facets of cultural experience, and, in so doing, make characteristics of a culture familiar for insiders and outsiders” (p. 4). Similarly, *Poetic Inquiry*, an emergent arts-based research approach, is “understood as the act of writing poetry with greater purpose and intent than solely for self expression” (James, 2017, p. 25). Poetry in/as research has ethical, philosophical, and pragmatic qualities: it can move us to participation and activism, it can lay bare personal and collective truths, and it can offer practical, meaningful options for research, community practice, and episteme (Fidyk, 2017, p. 33). I see *poezia* as a more capacious genre than prose (Leggo, 2017). Remember Emily Dickinson’s terrific stanza? “I dwell in Possibility – / A fairer House than Prose – / More numerous of Windows – / Superior – for Doors.” Poetry’s power lies in its capaciousness and capacity to turn “learners, teachers, and researchers to their emotions, senses, intuition, imagination, and feeling, aspects of humanity that reveal our relational coexistence in an interconnected world” (Fidyk, 2015, p. 33). However, a poet, like an autoethnographer, must tread carefully in order to not generalize her experience: for example, *povestea mea* (my story) about language loss may resonate with others living in Canada, or it may not. Thus, my writing will oscillate between Prendergast’s (2015) categorizations *Vox Poetica* (poems about self, writing, and poetry as method) and *Vox Justitia* (writing about equity, equality, social justice, freedom of expression).

În orice caz, in any sort of autobiographical inquiry, the emphasis is on “working from within” (Pinar, 1972, p. 331), allowing us to get to know ourselves as *selves*, “to disclose experience, so that we may see more of it and see more clearly” (Pinar & Grumet, 1976, p. vii). Both poets and artists often rely on the “freshness and immediacy” (Grumet, 1976, p. 34) of a moment to make the invisible *visible*, to work from within, and constantly negotiate the tension



Figure 4: Adriana Oniță, *Apartment, Edmonton*, [watercolour on paper], 2019

Home, both physically and metaphorically, is complex *pentru mine*. Being *româncă*-Canadian, I inhabit that interstitial, hybrid, third space that Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), Homi Bhabha (2004), and so many others have theorized. “Life on the hyphen,” to borrow Cuban-American poet Gustavo Pérez-Firmat’s (1995) words, *e destinul meu*, a destiny for many who do not feel entirely at home in any place. Neither here nor *acolo*. Having two cultures, I belong wholly to neither, and yet I am, paradoxically, a whole part of both. *He cometido el error de irme, y siempre cometo el error de volver*. I have simultaneous worlds living inside me, and when I flutter my tongue, *mă simt liberă* and trapped *al mismo tiempo*.

For the bulk of the last twenty years, I called the city of Edmonton home, on Treaty 6 Territory, the traditional meeting ground and home for many Indigenous people including Cree, Saulteaux, Blackfoot, Métis, Dene, and Nakota Sioux. In his contribution to the co-authored paper

“Unsettling settler colonialism: The discourse and politics of settlers, and solidarity with Indigenous nations,” Jeff Corntassel explains that the way we enter Indigenous homelands, and the way we situate ourselves brings new responsibilities and accountabilities to the forefront (Snelgrove et al., 2014). As a non-Indigenous immigrant *româncă* who settled on this stolen land, I am only beginning to understand the messy colonial relations in which I am immersed and involved. I use the category “non-Indigenous” to locate myself within the ongoing settler colonialism of a place I inhabited for over two decades, and recognize that I have benefitted from deeply ingrained systems of White privilege, beginning with my fortuitous move from România to Canada. When I refer to myself, I also use the categories “immigrant” and “*româncă*” because my cultural and linguistic identities have also been entangled with White settler colonialism and its assimilatory practices, resulting in involuntary language, culture, and identity loss. Rather than hoping to transcend the messiness of these complex identity categories, I wish to dwell in the discomfort and make sense of them through poetry, art, and research, acknowledging that “within these complexities are structural and everyday violences, complicities, resistances, fluidities, estrangements, and relationalities” (Nxumalo, 2014, p. 13). In this vein, a poetic orientation to pedagogy and research does not aim at reductive explanations. As Fidyk (2017) shares, *Poetic Inquiry* “redirects education toward kinship, interconnectedness, ancestry, empathy, humility, and wonder. By extension we are confronted with the ethical implications that arise from this positioning” (p. 34).

In her contribution to the co-authored paper, Rita Kaur Dhamoon argues that the term settler “can be paralyzing for some non-Indigenous people who are absorbed by guilt, or it can mobilize action” (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 14). *Eu prefer a doua opțiune. Pentru mine*, my responsibilities include helping to reframe the discussion of language *loss* and *shift* in Canada to highlight the deliberate linguicide of Indigenous languages, to constantly question and resist

Anglocentric (English-centred) assimilative ideologies originating from colonial and imperialistic cultural practices, and to simultaneously support both IL and HL revitalization throughout my life and career. While I must acknowledge that Indigenous *linguicide*, *language shift* and *loss* and Heritage Language *shift* and *loss* do not have the same history nor consequences regarding language death (if First Nations, Métis, or Inuit languages disappear from Canada, they disappear from the world, whereas most HLs could be reclaimed by traveling to a place where they are still spoken), there are many ways that these two phenomena intersect: education is one of those places.

Relevance of Topic for Education

When I moved to Canada from Jilava, România in elementary school in 1998, teachers advised my mother to stop speaking Romanian and only speak to me in English. Though their intentions were benevolent (to facilitate my integration into Canadian culture and accelerate my English language acquisition for school success), this transition came at a tragic price: within a few years, I almost completely lost my *limba maternă*. Although my high academic success coupled with my rapid integration into the school culture likely confirmed teachers' beliefs and intentions, I believe that neither my teachers nor my parents fully considered the impact that this language loss might have on me. My mother tongue, with its embedded *identitate culturală*, *înțelepciune*, *povești*, *obiceiuri*, *și valori* (cultural identity, wisdom, stories, customs, and values), seemed to be necessarily sacrificed in the process of assimilating to Canada. In this next poem, I meditate on my junior high experience with linguistic assimilation, policing by teachers, and resisting Anglocentrism.

“Speak English, you’re in Canada!”

a gym teacher once said to me, and I wasn't
quick-on-my-feet, witty, or informed enough

at thirteen to say: *The right to speak*

*my language is protected under the Canadian
Charter of Rights and Freedoms: Section 2,
Section 11, Section 15, and Section 23.*

Furie, amigdale on fire, I choked on vocalele noastre, their thorns scraping my throat. Learned repede that the shape of my new school wouldn't fit liniile organice ale limbii române, nor the rhythmic srpski or español of my friends. The same way my wide-brimmed turquoise hat nu intra prin uşile clasei, my electric blue pantofi cu toc banned from the hallways, my off-the-shoulder pink pulover yanked upwards by Ms. Simpson as she walked by my locker. The same principal who was praised for *celebrating difference*. Măcar in-school suspensions meant I had time to study limbile mele.

*Where do we begin to unpack this,
Mrs. Taylor? Unde incepem?*

*Colonization, planned linguicide,
needles pushed through children's tongues?*

*Under our Canadian mosaic,
un gheţar of hidden curricula.*

A teacher is a teacher until she tries to untwist you. Make you sămânţă again, so she can plant you, in the Canada she has created in her meadow-mind. Fără să-şi dea seama ca eşti o floare sălbatică, cu alte rădăcini. Eşti garofiţa pietrei craiului. Mrs. Taylor. Ms. Simpson. Mr. Thornton phoning my mother. Was there a teacher who didn't phone my mother? Rebel. Attitude. Defiant. În apărarea mea, school was an ostentatious play I was forced to perform in my second language. I became bowerbird, collecting brightness to impress. În fiecare dimineaţă, I would cry backstage, then put on a brilliant zâmbet for math with Ms. Richmond. Prânzul was spent in the bathroom stall. Teatrul absurdului.

“Speak English, you're in Canada!”
will be the title of my first play.

A lesson entirely în limba română
fără explicaţie logică şi fără profesoară.

It will premiere in the cafeteria
of my junior high school.

The deeper I dig into my memories, *suflet*, and psyche, the more I realize that my school experience in Edmonton played a major role in my language loss. There was no space for me to express my language, use it, celebrate it, build upon it, nourish it, and so, it gradually was

suffocated. *Cum vedeți în poezia anterioară*: teachers explicitly or implicitly believed that my first language would somehow hinder my second language development, rather than help. This attitude reflects *subtractive bilingualism*, which often results in immigrant children losing their fluency in the languages they speak at home as they gain a majority/dominant language like English at school and in society (Portes & Hao, 1998; Wong Fillmore, 2000; Valdez, 2005). Subtractive bilingualism has roots in a *deficit* view of language acquisition that Canadian researcher Jim Cummins (1986) has explained as:

the disabling of students...frequently rationalized on the basis of students' 'needs.' For example, minority students need maximum exposure to English in both the school and home; thus parents must be told to not interact with their children in their mother tongue. (p. 190)

Furthermore, as my last poem demonstrates, *când am vrut să vorbesc limba mea la școală*, I felt discouraged, policed, immediately shamed and silenced. My home language had no place in the curriculum. I felt like I had no place in the school.

Consequently, *ani de zile m-am simțit* as if I did not belong in Edmonton, my new home. *Dar poate că* I should not just blame teachers. For decades, even scholars projected a negative view of the effects of bilingualism or multilingualism on cognitive development (Cavallaro, 2005). For example, Darcy's (1953) review of research on the effects of bilingualism on educational and intellectual development led to the conclusion that bilingualism had a negative effect, especially with respect to verbal tests of intelligence. In general, the propagated assumption in the literature until the 1960s was that bilinguals suffered from cognitive deficiencies due to "the psycholinguistic burden of processing two or more languages" (Cavallaro, 2005, p. 573).

Fortunately, since the 1970s, *les avantages du bilinguisme* have been recognized and pioneered by several scholars, many of whom are Canadian. Lambert (1975), for instance, argued

that bilingual students had a more flexible and diverse structure both in intelligence and in thought. He indicated that an approach of *additive bilingualism*, meaning “the learning of the second language without the dropping or the replacement of the other” (p. 67), should be pursued in education. I wholeheartedly agree. *Experiența mea* was subtractive bilingualism, but I wonder whether this experience could have been prevented with a curriculum and a community that were conscious of respecting, valuing, and promoting the use of HLs. I believe that we can move towards curricula and communities that are anti-oppressive, culturally responsive and socially just, where languages are always an asset and never a deficit to be overcome (Nieto, 2013; Frimberger, 2016; Papoi, 2016), and I believe that the arts have the ontological, epistemological, and axiological potential to help us shift this thinking through palpable stories of lived experience.

Reclaiming Limba Maternă Through the Arts



Figure 5: Adriana Oniță, *Gâște / Geese*, [watercolour on paper], 2019

As an adolescent (13–18), I almost completely lost hope for reclaiming my mother tongue. I understood when people spoke to me in *limba română*, but I felt I could not respond: *le parole si congelavano nella golla* (words froze in my throat). But there was a critical incident when things began to shift. When I came across the work of Gloria Anzaldúa in my undergraduate degree, *inima mi s-a oprit*. I devoured her *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987), and relished her bilingual poetry, activism, and intersectional thinking. Although I am not *Chicana* nor *Mestiza*, her hybrid work legitimized many of my linguistic and cultural experiences as a *româncă* in Canada, and her innovative genre of *autohistoria*, which combines personal, historical, and cultural analysis with art and poetry to critique oppressive power structures, informs my creative voice and style, *sobre todo en esta tesis*. For Anzaldúa, borders are not simply geographic lines or boundaries that separate “us” from “them.” Borders can also be drawn along racial, cultural, sexual, class, gender, and linguistic lines. In a chapter titled “How to Tame a Wild Tongue,” Anzaldúa *cuenta* how she was punished at recess for speaking Spanish, chastised for her “accent” in English, and ridiculed for speaking a “deficient” or “mutilated” *Chicano*⁵ Spanglish. She theorizes that *identidad* is deeply intertwined with the way we speak, and when we are shamed for speaking our *lenguas maternas* in schools and society, it can have a deep, long lasting effect on our identities.

My life in Canada has also involved constant accommodation and sacrifice, and sometimes *ruşine* (shame) for being *româncă* and speaking my language. But through the arts (writing poetry, painting, video, photography), I have found a path to reclaim my *limba maternă* and intersectional

⁵ *Por supuesto*, there are many reasons why bilingual or multilingual people code-switch, or engage in the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event (Bokamba, 1989). The reasons vary across societies, and are sometimes linked to individual factors like language proficiency, identity, topics of conversation, or societal factors like language status or showing solidarity with a social group (Holmes, 2000; Kim, 2006). In Gloria Anzaldúa’s case, keeping her tongue “wild” by code-switching is her way of asserting her identity. *Como dice ella*, her “tongue will be illegitimate” (p. 40) as long as she has to accommodate English speakers without any effort from the other.

identity, which has led me to inquire whether the same can be true for other youth at risk of losing their HLs in multilingual, multicultural contexts such as Canada.



Figure 6: Adriana Oniță, *Nădejde*, [collage and acrylic on paper], 2019

Nădejde⁶

noun in Romanian, verb in English

1. To leave Jilava on a mid-November night,
too dark to see bolta de vie, you ground
your body as grape arbor.
2. To stop speaking dor for a decade, lock
limba maternă in lymph nodes.
3. To forget, and search for your language in letters,
albums, notebooks, sertare, buzunare, valize.
4. To describe bujor without saying bujor; to rely
on your translator-mother who loves bujori.
5. To carry poezii in your abdomen you can't yet write.

⁶ This poem was part of a bilingual Romanian-English series of poems I wrote on language reclamation and was shortlisted for the CBC Poetry Prize in November 2021.

6. To get off the train la Sinaia, where you learned to read, reclaim your steps, find fântâna și buturuga.
7. To follow poteca prin Poiana Stânei, witness a procession of wild trandafiri.
8. To kneel under every chestnut tree, bridge your hands la fiecare mănăstire, taste coliva with crushed walnuts.
9. To leaf *Loc Ferit*, devour *Orologiul fără ore*, stop translating your nopți și zile.
10. Încrederea în mămliguța proaspătă făcută, o lumânare pentru morții și vii din tine.

Poetry (both reading and writing) and art (collage, painting, photography) have been instrumental in my language reclamation process. *Din adolescență*, I have used poetry and art not only as meaningful media to reflect on my experience with linguistic assimilation, but also as powerful pedagogical tools to help me reclaim my Romanian. This last poem and accompanying painting show a glimpse into this scaffolded relearning process, where I gradually incorporate more Romanian and end with a stanza entirely in my language. The painting that accompanies the poem acts as a visual translation for the Romanian words in the poem. I chose to depict the steps that I took to relearn *limba maternă* in collage form because it was not a linear process, but rather recursive, organic, fragmented. Visual translations are often more fitting and evocative than traditional text-based translations when dealing with embodied experiences.

In my language teaching, I have also been struck by the power of poetry and arts-based practices to provide my students with ways to communicate beyond solely text-based Anglocentric literacies and to creatively use their languages in a supportive community. In the last decade, I have made it my *raison d'être* to explore how the visual, literary, performing, and digital arts can facilitate the process for youth to learn, practice, maintain, or reclaim their languages together. In a variety of community arts education positions (e.g., bilingual educator and coordinator at the *Art Gallery of Alberta*, education coordinator at the *Edmonton Poetry Festival*,

bilingual educator and curator at *Poetry in Voice/Les Voix de la Poésie*, founder of [The Polyglot](#), I have facilitated art and poetry workshops for multilingual students, and saw positive results every time students had the opportunity to express themselves in their mother tongues or HLs: a growth in *încredere* (confidence), engagement, and motivation, not to mention an improvement of oral/written skills. These positive observations were echoed when I taught English and *español* abroad in Italy, Romania, and Spain through arts-based methodologies that integrated language learning and art-making (theatre, poetry, music, visual art), or in Edmonton when I taught children, teens, and adults Spanish and French through the arts online and offline through a language education company I created called *For the Love of Language*. It was all of these experiments, research endeavours, and personal experiences with language use, shift, and reclamation that inevitably led me to my doctoral research questions to further investigate the possible contributions of arts-based curricula to the maintenance and development of HLs. *Mulțumesc, drag cititor*; for being a witness to this journey that brought me here, and being open to this multimodal, multilingual inquiry.

Definitions of Key Terms

Before delving deeper into the details of this study, I feel that here is the best place to both explore and provide working definitions of the key terms that ground my research questions: Heritage Language, HL Learner, HL development and maintenance, the arts, and arts-based curricula.

What is a Heritage Language?

Also Known As: A Research Poem

ancestral language
community language
ethnic language
family language
foreign language

*și dacă nu-mi cunosc strămoșii?
și dacă nu am o comunitate?
ce înseamnă chiar “etnic”?
și dacă familia mea nu îmi vorbește?
limbă străină în raport cu ce?*

home language	<i>și dacă acasă nu-mi vorbesc limba?</i>
immigrant language	<i>ce se întâmplă dacă nu sunt imigrant?</i>
international language	<i>cod pentru putere colonială?</i>
language other than English	<i>vezi deasupra, nu e la fel?</i>
modern language	<i>cod pentru limbile europene?</i>
mother tongue	<i>și dacă limba maternă nu are statut?</i>
minority language	<i>de ce e întotdeauna minoritara?</i>
non-official language	<i>ce zici de non?</i>

The poem above shows only a handful of the terms Jeff Bale (2010) reports have been used to describe the language used by Heritage Language learners in various international contexts. Upon first glance, they may sound like helpful synonyms that help us better pin down what exactly an HL is. Upon second read, you may realize that the terms are hardly neutral, but imbued with their own sociopolitical connotations that reveal language status, power dynamics, hierarchies, and regional/national interests. Upon third read, you may recognize that definitions are *particularly* important when studying HL learners because they delineate who is included and excluded from the membership of the group (Montrul, 2010, 2015) and they emphasize the sociocultural dimensions or *contexts* of HL identity, use, loss, and shift (He, 2010). Indeed, as Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2008) remind us:

The concepts we use are almost never neutral. In contested arenas such as bilingual education, words and concepts frame and construct the phenomena under discussion, making some persons and groups visible, others invisible; some the unmarked norm, others marked and negative. Choice of language can minoritise or distort some individuals, groups, phenomena, and relations while majoritising and glorifying others. Concepts also can be defined in ways that hide, expose, rationalize, or question power relations. (p. 1)

In the above poem, I began to challenge and expose what these “synonymous” terms to Heritage Language *really* mean, writing out questions in Romanian related to each term. For example:

What if I don’t have a connection to my ancestors? What if my immediate community doesn’t

speak my HL? What exactly does “ethnic” mean and how is it used to *other*? What does “foreign” mean and what does it *do*? Is “international” language code for colonial language? Is “modern language” code for European language? What if my family doesn’t speak my HL at home? What if I have an HL but I’m not an immigrant? What if my HL is not my mother tongue or first language? What do the words “minority” or “non-official” *do*, and how do those terms make us *feel*?

Mi-am dat seama repede că “Heritage Language” has been defined in ways that can be confusing for learners, educators, and researchers. Originally coined in Canada in the 1970s (Cummins, 2005, p. 585), a Heritage Language⁷ has often been defined through a curious process of elimination: that which is not an *Official Language* (English or French) nor an *Indigenous Language* (Cummins, 1991; Duff, 2008; Lowe, 2005).⁸ This conception, while a good starting point, would have one erringly believe that an HL Learner might be *anyone* learning any non-official and non-Indigenous language, from German to Gujarati, from Polish to Punjabi, from Somali to Spanish, regardless of cultural background. Thus, to understand what an HL is, we need to understand who HL learners might be.

What is a Heritage Language Learner?

HL learners are generally classified in terms of the following categories: language proficiency, degree of motivation, and identity or cultural affiliation (Bale, 2010). When it comes to language proficiency, HL learners are often caught in limbo between the opposing positions of “native speakers” and “second language learners” given their wide range of language levels (Montrul, 2015). Because their speaking, listening, and sociolinguistic or pragmatic skills are often quite high, they have been classified as *native speakers*, *quasi-native speakers*, *residual*

⁷ The term used in Quebec is “langue d’origine.”

⁸ It should be noted that Cummins’s original Canadian definition of Heritage Language, “language other than English and French” (Cummins, 1991, pp. 601–2), also implied that Indigenous Languages were part of that group. Later, however, the distinction was made between HLs and ILs.

speakers, bilingual speakers, and home-background speakers (Valdés, 1997). But given that their grammatical and writing skills tend to be on the lower spectrum in comparison to native speakers, they are sometimes compared to and grouped with second language learners (Montrul, 2015). Research in Language Acquisition has shown that HL proficiency is linked to a wide range of individual variables, including age of immigration, socioeconomic status, and self-reported cultural identity (Jia, 2008). However, proficiency-based definitions tend to ignore the broader sociopolitical context of HLs, as well as the affiliation-based cultural identities that HL learners uniquely grapple with, for instance, a particular personal or family relevance (Fishman, 2001), the allegiance to an ethnolinguistic group, or the status of a language in a society.

Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl (2000), a U.S. scholar, offered a sociolinguistically grounded definition of a HL Learner as “a learner who has been exposed to a language other than the dominant language in the home, often a minority language within a nation-state” (p. 5). This definition, while not perfect, is a solid *point de départ* because it advocates for simultaneous, additive bilingualism, where an HL is not sacrificed in order to learn the majority language. Three years later, Van Deusen-Scholl’s (2003) definition evolved to describe HL learners as “a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed, but who may feel culturally connected to a language” (p. 221). She also distinguished *HL learners*, who have achieved some degree of proficiency in the home language and/or have been raised with strong cultural connections, from *language learners with a heritage motivation*, or “those that seek to reconnect with their family’s heritage through language, even though the linguistic evidence of that connection may have been lost for generations” (p. 222). For the purposes of this study, I focus on the former: Spanish *HL learners* who already have some level of proficiency, but are at risk of losing their language in their new nation-state, and may be at risk of becoming the latter category (*language learners with a heritage motivation*).

As the field of HL education evolves and responds to the needs of learners, so do definitions. For example, Montrul's (2010) definition includes motivations, but fails to address the fact that children and adolescents can also be HL learners: "Heritage language learners are speakers of ethnolinguistically minority languages who were exposed to the language in the family since childhood and as adults wish to learn, relearn, or improve their current level of linguistic proficiency in their family language" (p. 3). I would like to broaden this definition by emphasizing that children and adolescents also wish to learn, relearn, or improve their current level of HL proficiency, and should be given the opportunities to do so through both formal and informal educational opportunities in their communities to develop, maintain, or improve their linguistic proficiency.

La sfârșitul zilei, what can we say for certain about the heterogeneous labels of *HL* and *HL learner*? We know that the term HL learner encompasses an immense variety of individual profiles: they come from different language backgrounds and cultures, have different levels of education and socioeconomic contexts, and are exposed to different varieties and registers of their home language. They do, however, share one main characteristic: "the vast majority of HL speakers grow up in a situation of subtractive bilingualism" (Montrul, 2015, p. 41), which means that they have become dominant in the majority language often at the expense of their HL. Their levels of proficiency in the HL vary extensively, from having some receptive ability (being able to comprehend oral and/or written language) to very fluent speech (being able to spontaneously produce oral conversations). One thing is certain: a much deeper awareness of the unique stories, experiences, motivations, aspirations, abilities, and interests of HL learners is needed in Canada. As Montrul (2015) explains, "what makes a given language a 'heritage' language is its local social context" (p. 13). For this reason, Chapter 3 depicts the context of HL languages in Canada, Alberta, and Edmonton specifically, including a look at our country/province/city's language

policies and attitudes over the last few decades, intergenerational transmission of HLs, and current opportunities for HL use in communities (Fishman, 2001; Hornberger, 2005).

What is Heritage Language Development and Maintenance?

Researchers studying the intergenerational transmission of HLs have often opted for the term *Heritage Language Maintenance* (Park & Sarkar, 2007; Pendakur, 1990; Ribeiro, 2011), defined as “honouring and encouraging the learning of the Heritage Language (immigrant, ethnic minority) while learning the majority language (i.e. English)” (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2000, p. 5). *En los últimos años*, Martín Guardado’s (2018) work has highlighted the need to reconceptualize HL *maintenance* as “a multifaceted, contested, and socially situated process whose meaning goes beyond retaining something concrete that is already in one’s possession (i.e., language ability)” (p. 6). He suggested that perhaps a language is not meant to be *maintained* for children in the same way it existed for their parents, but *developed*, fostered, and nurtured for different needs. Guardado argued that even the word *maintenance* itself connotes “something that is already present, and for second-generation linguistic minority children this is often not the case” (p. 5), as they need sufficient exposure, practice, and use in order to acquire their HL. Expanding upon this idea, he asserted:

More than maintaining, to be successful this process entails a more active and deliberate transmission of linguistic ideologies and cultural connections to younger generations. The families may already share these ideologies and connections, but the final “product” of socialization may be a symbiotic blend of the families’ histories, beliefs, and practices in relation to language and culture and those of the milieus in which these children interact, which may be rather different from what their parents experienced in their own primary and subsequent socialization. (p. 6)

Entonces, in this study, I opt for the more inclusive term *Heritage Language development and maintenance* (HLDM) to recognize the need for “active and deliberate transmission,” and the fact that HL youth have different language abilities, experiences and aspirations from their parents. The arts, therefore, may help youth to *maintain* their already-existing Spanish language skills, or *develop* their language, or achieve even higher levels of proficiency (i.e., in multiliteracies projects, across diverse oral, written, digital genres and registers). The *social* and community aspect of ABC (as discussed in the section on *What are the Arts and Arts-Based Curricula?*) is key to HLDM.

Indeed, there is significant evidence that HLDM is impacted by having a strong *HL community* of practice. The eight states of Fishman’s (1991) *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GIDS) can help HL communities locate the range of language use in their community: Stage 8 (only seniors speak the minority language), Stage 7 (the minority language is used by seniors, for rituals and in modest intergenerational visiting; language users are beyond child-bearing age), Stage 6 (the minority language is used in interfamily interaction between generations and between families), Stage 5 (guided literacy development in the home, school and community in the minority language), Stage 4 (the minority language is used as the language of instruction in elementary schools), Stage 3 (the minority language is used in selective workplaces), Stage 2 (the minority language is used in lower governmental services and in the media), Stage 1 (the minority language is used in many occupations, in governmental and media efforts and as the language of instruction at the post-secondary level). The ideal situation for HLDM would be Stage 1: having a language be used vigorously in society, including in schools, work places, media, religious places of worship, post-secondary institutions, cultural organizations, and more. These stages are further exemplified in Chapter 3 in relation to Spanish HLDM and the potential of arts-based curricula to move HLs to a lower level of GIDS and more

robust use. As Bilash (2002) notes, “the issues in minority language communities are similar: English threatens all levels of second language ability. However, able community leaders who are willing to work together can work toward change” (p. 315).

What are the Arts and Arts-Based Curricula?

The arts (and arts-based curricula, practices, and research) are at the very core of this dissertation. Painting with a broad plural brush, *the arts* have often been classified into three general areas: visual arts, performing arts, and literary arts, with the recent addition of a fourth area—the digital arts (Papoi, 2016; Peppler, 2010). The visual arts are not limited to, but can include painting, drawing, collage, sculpture, photography, and film. The performing arts refer to all forms of theatre, music, and dance. The literary arts include prose (both fiction and non-fiction), poetry, and drama. Finally, the digital arts can be any technology-generated media, such as graphic design, digital illustration, video installation art, GIF art, virtual reality, etc.

Historically, *the arts* have often been defined from a Eurocentric, elitist, and hierarchical point of view, seeking to exclude popular culture and other forms of cultural production, such as folk art or street art (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). Perhaps for this reason, when many of us picture “the arts,” we often picture end *products*—the painting hanging in a gallery, the poem in an anthology, the school play put on by the drama class. But in the context of education, particularly learning in and *through* the arts, the creative *process* (rather than final *product*) is what matters most. As Maxine Greene (2001) explains, “aesthetic education is a process, an open-ended process, that can become integral to any educational enterprise” (p. 139). Thus, it is helpful to think of *art* as a verb rather than a noun—to perceive, feel, imagine, inquire, create, practice, understand, challenge, discuss, debate. This shift in thinking opens up new possibilities for imagining the kind of learning that can take place with the arts as a *medium* for self-expression and for social meaning-making, two processes which are integral to HL development and

maintenance. This is not to say that the final art *product* is not important, nor that the process ends once the product is finished. In fact, the product can extend the process to include many fruitful community-based practices, including exhibitions, publications, events, launches, festivals, and more. This social dimension of art-making products and processes is crucial to education, and even more so to HLDM, which requires a community of practice.

Therefore, I understand *arts-based curricula* (ABC) as a pedagogical practice where language is taught through the *social process* of engaging with art (both art-making and art-experiencing) in a community of practice. It should be noted that there are other similar terms used by educational researchers: arts-informed, arts-infused, and arts-integrated curricula. I chose ABC for my study because I feel the arts are the “home base,” for inquiring about HLDM. Informed, infused, and integrated are striking terms that conjure up different images and approaches, but I feel that they do not grasp the primacy that the arts had in this study: they are the base, the underpainting. I align myself with Papoi (2016) in that I believe “the arts are a literacy” in themselves (p. 8), providing culturally and linguistically diverse learners unique opportunities to explore and express what they know and are learning about the world around them. In Chapter 6: Spanish Art Camp Curriculum, I explore the arts-based curriculum that was co-created with nine Spanish HL youth who wished to develop or maintain their HL proficiencies.

Map of Study

Metafóricamente, this dissertation will unfold like a visit to a *galleria d'arte*, with each chapter representing a different exhibit, or room in the gallery of *Arts-based curricula for Heritage Language development and maintenance*. In Chapter 1, I have spoken to the purpose of the study, its relevance and significance, the research questions, and the key concepts that are at the heart of the inquiry including *Heritage Language*, *Heritage Language Learner*, *Heritage Language development and maintenance*, *the arts* and *arts-based curricula*. I have located myself

and the roots of the study through a poetic | artistic autoethnography as an HL speaker who has experienced language loss within a Canadian context, making the conscious, informed decision to include my own poems and paintings as embodied reflections of losing and reclaiming my mother tongue. I have code-switched between Romanian, English, and other tongues as a personal and political statement, to keep my tongue wild (Anzaldúa, 1987) and question the Anglocentric (often monolingual, word-centric) world of academia. In the remaining chapter-exhibits of this dissertation, I describe my *Theoretical Underpainting* (Chapter 2), including *Sociocultural Theory* and *Multiliteracies Theory*, provide a rich *Contextual Underpainting* (Chapter 3) of HLDM in Alberta, explain my *Methodology* (Chapter 4) of arts-based research, introduce you to the nine adolescents who took part in this case study through *Participant Portraits* (Chapter 5), outline our *Spanish Art Camp Curriculum* (Chapter 6), interpret my data (Chapter 7), and provide a summary and considerations for stakeholders and for future research (Chapter 8).

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL UNDERPAINTING

Introduction to Theoretical Underpainting

In Chapter 1, I located myself and this study's research questions. Through a poetic | artistic autoethnography, I revealed how I arrived at these questions and why they were important for me to investigate through my doctoral research project. I also *brevemente* introduced the reader to the context of HLs in Canada and provided definitions of key terms. *Acum intri într-o expoziție nouă* (you are now entering a new exhibit), which showcases the theoretical underpainting of the study. I use the word “underpainting” because the following theories and concepts represent the first layer of paint that an artist applies to a canvas, which serves as a base for all subsequent layers. They act as a foundation, upon which the study can be mapped out slowly, through a purposeful layering and blending process. *Primer*, I use a thick brush to broadly situate language and literacy learning as a social practice of multimodal meaning-making through *Sociocultural Theory*—particularly *Ecological Systems Theory* (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)—and *Multiliteracies Theory* (New London Group, 1996). Then, I use a thinner brush to outline two pedagogical approaches—*Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009) and *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (Hanauer, 2012)—which, together, form a robust framework for exploring ABC for HLDM.

The next layer of this underpainting includes a literature review of studies that have engaged with literacy and language learning through the arts. I present a literature review in this second chapter because, as Papoi (2016) argues, theory and practice in relation to arts-based practices for culturally and linguistically diverse youth are often intertwined; as such, separating the literature review from theoretical foundations feels arbitrary and artificial (p. 14). This section also unfolds in layers: first, I explain the process I undertook to select studies to review for this dissertation, including the keywords I used and the parameters I chose. *Dopo*, I describe the

Arts-Based Literature Review method I created to synthesize each individual study, and the *Visual Synthesis* method I employed to present trends and gaps in all of the studies. *Finalmente*, I present the major insights from the literature review, and reflect on the gaps that I discovered in relation to my research questions and study's purpose.

Sociocultural Theory

Para empezar, Sociocultural Theory maintains that a thorough understanding of a phenomenon such as HLDM must deeply consider social, historical, and cultural contexts throughout time (Warschauer, 1997; Wertsch, 1991). In other words, the actions of individuals (such as a child speaking or not speaking their HL) are never an isolated decision, but influenced by and co-created in the larger context of their community. *Por ejemplo*, the likelihood of a child in Edmonton developing and maintaining their HL skills *en español* is dependent on the beliefs and actions of their parents and immediate family members, who are informed by their *comunidad* (such as schools their children attend, places of worship they frequent, libraries and other cultural institutions they visit, online communities, etc.), which in turn are affected by their access and use of capital (Diamond, 2001), language policies, laws, media, societal attitudes towards their HL, assimilatory pressures, and more. To make sense of the complex ecological factors affecting HLDM, I find myself drawn to the work of sociocultural theorist Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979).

Bronfenbrenner. In 1979, Russian-American developmental psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner published *The Ecology of Human Development: Experiments by Nature and Design*. This book presented his famous conceptual model, the *Ecological Systems Theory*, which he later modified to be the *Bioecological Perspective on Human Development*. For the purposes of this dissertation, I use his original *Ecological Systems Theory* (1979) to think through the multiple sociocultural factors impacting HLDM in Canada. *Esta teoria* visualizes “concentric circles” representing different levels of environmental influences on a child's development, starting with

the people and institutions immediately surrounding the child, to larger nationwide and global forces. Many scholars believe that Bronfenbrenner's work made social and behavioural scientists "realize that interpersonal relationships, even [at] the smallest level of the parent-child relationship, did not exist in a social vacuum but were embedded in the larger social structures of community, society, economics and politics" (Kohn cited in Lang, 2005, para. 12). Indeed, when formulating his *Ecological Systems Theory*, Bronfenbrenner was pushing back against trends in his own field at the time, as he believed that "much of developmental psychology, as it now exists, is *the science of the strange behavior of children in strange situations with strange adults for the briefest possible periods of time*" (1979, pp. 18–19, emphasis in original). He insisted that merely observing children in laboratories and administering tests to them was not adequate to grasp how they learn, grow, and develop; instead, it "requires examination of multiperson systems in interaction...[with] aspects of the environment beyond the immediate situation containing the subject" (p. 21). Thus, he proposed a holistic view of children developing in natural, interacting relationships and contexts which he named the *microsystem*, *mesosystem*, *exosystem*, and *macrosystem* (Figure 8).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) calls the development of a child in close proximity to others the *microsystem*. This first nested layer of analysis includes the immediate relationships between a child and their parents, siblings, extended family members, friends, classmates, caregivers, mentors, teachers, community workers, and others who may be in their primary environment. It is often these intimate bonds in the *microsystem* that highly impact HLDM: if a child has the opportunity to express themselves daily in their HL—to their parents, siblings, or friends—their chances of retaining their language over time are significantly higher (De Capua & Wintergerst, 2009; Guardado, 2002; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Yet, whether children actually communicate with their loved ones in their HL is influenced by

many other environmental factors, as I began to exemplify with my personal story in Chapter 1. When microsystems come into contact with one another (i.e., the interactions between the child's family and school teachers), Bronfenbrenner dubs this second layer of analysis the *mesosystem*. The *mesosystem* is, in essence, a system of *microsystems*. As such, taking a deep look at this layer means examining connections between home and school, peer group and family, and family and community, for instance: a child's parents interacting with daycare workers, friends of their child, parents of their child's classmates, principals, religious mentors, librarians, or other community workers. If parents are actively involved in an HL community, such as a Saturday school or a church, a child's HL language development can be positively affected (Li, 2005).

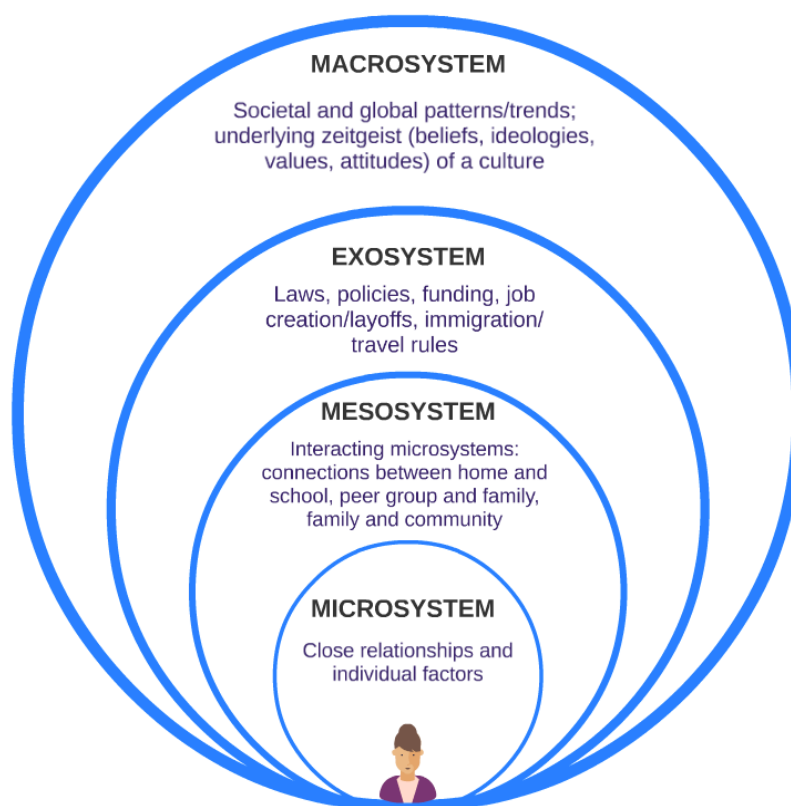


Figure 7: Visual representation of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

However, whether parents get involved or not in an HL community is often a result of circumstances outside of their own agency (Aberdeen, 2016). Relationships and environments in

the *micro-* and *mesosystem* are shaped by societal factors (advantages or limitations) that are beyond an individual's control but still affect them in indirect ways. Some of these may include policies, laws, grants and funding for programs, job creation and layoffs, immigration rules, or travel regulations. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), how a policy at a textual level impacts an individual is the study of the *exosystem*. If a policy or law is advantageous for certain HL groups and not others, it will impact a child's HLDM. Whether an HL group is able to organize and use their *social* or *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1986) to access grants and funding will impact a child's HLDM. Nevertheless, whether these opportunities for HL groups even exist depends on a larger collection of factors, including political and economic systems, global trends and events, and the underlying zeitgeist of a society (beliefs, attitudes, ideologies, values). Bronfenbrenner (1979) called this level of analysis the *macrosystem*, defining it as "the overarching patterns of stability, at the level of the subculture or the culture as a whole, in forms of social organizations and associated belief systems and life styles" (p. 210). These general patterns or forces are often invisibly at work within a culture. They are the unwritten rules, the unquestioned assumptions, the submerged part of the cultural iceberg: things we *do* or *believe*, but often cannot consciously *explain*, such as gender roles, child-rearing practices, attitudes towards death or time, notions of beauty, views of courtesy, relations to authority, perspectives on education, and even values related to language learning.

Systematic interactions between the *macrosystem* and other layers are indubitable, but not always obvious. In the case of HLs, the global hegemony of English as an international and business "lingua franca" in the *macrosystem* can have a cascading influence on the *microsystem*, as some parents promote English for their children at the expense of passing on their mother tongues (Valdez, 2005). The official language status of French in Canada impacts not only its vitality and use, but also the status and use of other tongues (Dagenais & Berron, 2001). As

Indo-Canadian journalist Ishani Nath (2020) reflects, “Why did I view French as an important skill, but Hindi as exotic and weird? Why had I kept Saturday Hindi school a secret from my non-Indian friends? Why didn’t I want to learn?” (para. 26). Children and their parents read overall *feelings and attitudes* from a society regarding HLs. They may ask themselves: is it perceived as “cool” to speak my HL? Or will it result in discrimination, if the dominant group always judges me as *foreign*, or *other*? Nath continues:

So, maybe how I speak isn’t the issue, as much as is overcoming the internalized racism and shame that kept me silent. I also [now] recognize that learning my heritage language is a privilege—one that has historically been denied to Indigenous people and is currently threatened in some regions of India. I no longer take this privilege lightly. (para. 37)

The *macrosystem* is not fixed, immobile, nor stagnant. Over time, attitudes, events, and trends inevitably change. A decade ago, in 2010, the words *Twitter*, *Instagram*, or *WhatsApp* were not in our repertoire. Now, we constantly use these tools to connect with others, often in our *limba maternă* and across continents. Perhaps, as Canadians become more digitally connected and globally mobile, HLDM may become more possible and prioritized among immigrants. Perhaps additive bilingualism (rather than subtractive) will become the norm if *bi-* or *multilingualism* grows in value or status in Canada. To trace changes over time, Bronfenbrenner added a fifth dimension, which he called *chronosystems*. The premise is that the nested layers of systems affect each other throughout time. Change can be experienced from the bottom-up, or from the top-down, and *across* chronosystems, such as from the *mesosystem* to the *macrosystem* (Figure 9).

Change can begin in the *microsystem* of a child’s world (i.e., parents’ get divorced; new intercultural friendships/relationships form), in the *mesosystem* (i.e., move to different neighbourhood; new schools and teachers; sudden lack of contact with HL community), in the

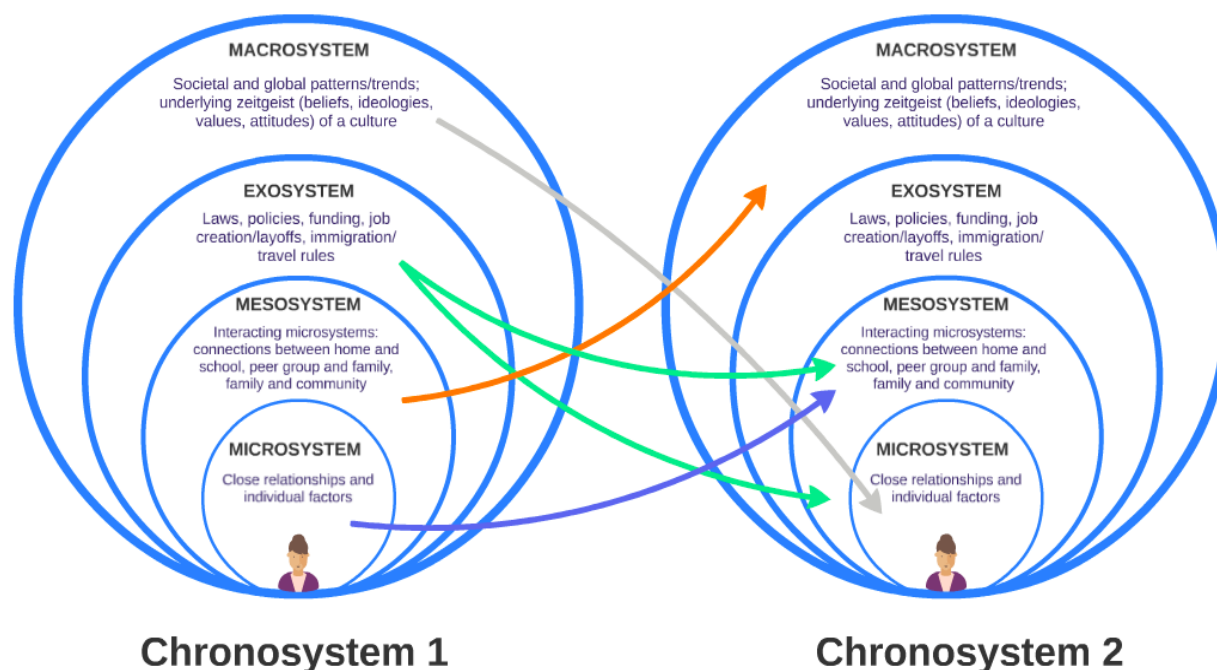


Figure 8: Changes across chronosystems

exosystem (i.e., new language policies or laws; cuts to programs and funding), or in the *macrosystem* (i.e., shifting attitudes towards languages; political leadership changes, digital technologies allowing for global communication, COVID-19 pandemic leads to no global travel to “home” countries). Aberdeen (2016) successfully used Bronfenbrenner’s *Ecological Systems Theory* to investigate HL learners and the systems of obstacles and supports that they experience in Alberta (pp. 60–106). I align myself with the theoretical commitments of her study: rather than study solely fluency or proficiency in an HL learner, I prefer to examine the HL learner in a culturally-situated, holistic way, and explore the contributions of arts-based curricula to their HLDM at each level of development. In Chapter 3: Contextual Underpainting, I use Bronfenbrenner’s *Ecological Systems Theory* (1979), to trace changes throughout three chronosystems in Canada’s history in relation to HLDM: Chronosystem 1 (1963–1982), Chronosystem 2 (1982–2000), and Chronosystem 3 (2000–2020).

The Changing Face of Literacy

The term “literacy” has greatly expanded in the last few decades. Traditionally, literacy has referred to the acquisition of reading and writing skills, and although these abilities are foundational, our understanding of being a *literate* human being in the 21st century has shifted to incorporate so much more. Alberta Education (n.d.) defines literacy as “the ability, confidence and willingness to engage with language to acquire, construct and communicate meaning in all aspects of daily living.” (“What is Literacy?”, para. 1), where language is a “socially and culturally constructed system of communication” (para. 2). Through this socio-constructivist lens, literacy has become an umbrella term involving several competencies that enable individuals to make meaning of the world, “think critically, communicate effectively, deal with change and solve problems in a variety of contexts to achieve personal goals, develop their knowledge and potential, and participate fully in society” (Alberta Education, 2010, p. 1). But do these new catch-all definitions take into account the unique experiences of *bi-* or *multilingual* learners today (Cummins, 2000; Datta, 2007; Hornberger, 2003)? Do they succeed in recognizing, valuing, and promoting *multimodal* ways of knowing and being? Do they value human emotions, relations, and personal meaning in the language and literacy learning process?

The growing significance of the two *multi*-dimensions (multilingual and multimodal) have led to new conceptualizations of literacy (*Multiliteracies; Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy*) that help us better understand culturally and linguistically diverse students’ language learning needs in a rapidly changing, globalized world. In addition, the wish to reorientate language and literacy pedagogy—from a dehumanized, decontextualized, and managerial learning process towards a socioculturally-situated, human, embodied language learning process (Hanauer 2010, 2012; Kramsch, 2009; Pavlenko, 2005)—has led to the conceptualization of *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (Hanauer, 2012). In the next two sections, I expand on these concepts and relate them to the purpose of this dissertation.

Multiliteracies Theory. My arts-based case study takes up literacy as a situated process of meaning-making through *multimodal* and *multilingual* expressions, defined as *multiliteracies* (New London Group, 1996). In their 1996 “programmatic manifesto” (p. 63) called “A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies: Designing Social Futures,” the New London Group presented a new theoretical approach to literacy pedagogy that they coined *multiliteracies*. The ten authors argued that traditional “language-based” literacy pedagogy had been restricted to “formalized, monolingual, monocultural, and rule-governed forms of language” (p. 61) that often ignored cultural and linguistic differences in favour of singular, canonical language learning. Therefore, they attempted to broaden the understanding of literacy by emphasizing two principal aspects of *multiplicity*: first, literacy pedagogy must account for increasingly *multilingual* societies, contexts, and communication patterns, and second, literacy pedagogy includes the burgeoning *multimodal* integration of a variety of text forms and modes of meaning-making, such as the visual, audio, spatial, gestural, digital, and nonverbal (among others). The significance of this theory cannot be understated. Not only did the New London Group recognize multilingualism as a significant individual and societal phenomenon requiring more educational responsiveness (such as in the case of minority languages), but they also pushed for the acceptance of a variety of representational forms in literacy pedagogy. Since 1996, their theory and pedagogy have been used and expanded by a myriad of language education scholars using the arts to support culturally and linguistically diverse learners (Anderson et al., 2018; Charalambous & Yerosimou, 2015; Cornelius, 2011; Papoi, 2016). This study continues in their footsteps to support the multimodal expressions of HL learners in Edmonton. As Jewitt and Kress (2003) defend, “rather than taking talk and writing as the starting point, a multimodal approach to learning starts from a theoretical position that treats all modes as equally significant for meaning and communication” (p. 2). In this study, the visual, spatial, musical, non-verbal, digital, gestural, and poetic modes are treated

equally to the verbal, written, and academic modes. HLDM is not conceived or judged merely in terms of what can be said or written, but what can be expressed through the body, through paint, through song, through video, through sculpture, or through other multimodal, sensory art pieces.

Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy (TMP). Canadian applied linguist Jim Cummins's (2009) TMP takes up and broadens the *Multiliteracies* framework to address societal power relations and identity negotiations for *culturally and linguistically diverse* (CLD) learners, something he claims the New London Group did not explicitly do (p. 47). According to Cummins, CLD learners (a term which encompasses HL learners) have experienced "material and symbolic violence at the hands of the dominant societal groups over generations," including having to "deny their cultural identity and give up their languages as a necessary condition for success in the 'mainstream' society" (p. 45). A narrow colonial view of literacy has led to long-term patterns of educational underachievement among CLD students in North America, especially Indigenous⁹, African-American, Latinx, and other minority students. In Bronfenbrenner's (1979) terms, Cummins conveys that societal power relations in the *macrosystem* greatly influence the structure of education in the *exosystem* (curriculum, funding, assessment, school policies, etc.), informing the ways in which educators define their roles (teacher identity, assumptions, goals, expectations), and ultimately impacting interactions between teachers and students in the *mesosystem* (p. 45).

A pedagogy of *transformative* multiliteracies must challenge the operation of *coercive relations of power*¹⁰ in interactions with minority or "subordinated" student groups, and strive for *collaborative relations of power*.¹¹ The added modifier of "transformative" is key. Cummins notes

⁹ The Cree/Métis scholar Phyllis Steeves (2010) writes poignantly about how literacy, conceived in a Western sense, has been "genocide's silken instrument," part of a systematic attempt to suppress Indigenous cultures and languages.

¹⁰ According to Cummins (2009), "coercive relations of power refer to the exercise of power by a dominant individual, group, or country to the detriment of a subordinated individual, group or country" (p. 45).

¹¹ In contrast, "collaborative relations of power...reflect the sense of the term 'power' that refers to 'being enabled,' or 'empowered' to achieve more. Within collaborative relations of power, 'power' is not a fixed quantity but is generated through interaction with others. The more empowered one individual or group becomes, the more is generated for others to share. Within this context, empowerment can be defined as the *collaborative creation of power*" (p. 45).

that the New London Group's framework and other socio-constructivist approaches to literacy indirectly address some aspects of societal power relations and identity negotiation in education, but do not go far enough in challenging coercive relations of power and creating contexts of empowerment for CLD students (p. 47). *Para que esto suceda* (for this to take place), there must be an explicit instructional focus on social justice and equity, including projects associated with students' cultural and linguistic capital that promote identities of competence, thereby challenging the devaluation of marginalized students' cultures and languages in wider society. The following five principles are listed by Cummins (2009) as a synthesis of the TMP theoretical framework:

1. TMP constructs an image of the student as intelligent, imaginative, and linguistically talented; individual differences in these traits do not diminish the potential of each student to shine in specific ways.
2. TMP acknowledges and builds on the cultural and linguistic capital (prior knowledge) of students and communities.
3. TMP aims explicitly to promote cognitive engagement and identity investment on the part of students.
4. TMP enables students to construct knowledge, create literature and art, and act on social realities through dialogue and critical inquiry.
5. TMP employs a variety of technological tools to support students' construction of knowledge, literature, and art and their presentation of this intellectual work to multiple audiences through the creation of identity texts (pp. 50–51).

The TMP framework has much in common with the commitments of *Critical Pedagogy* (Freire, 1970) and *Critical Literacy* (Cummins, 2000; Janks, 2010; Blackledge & Creese, 2010) in challenging oppressive, hierarchical views about language, asserting the right of bilingual learners to have their languages acknowledged and valued, and resisting the “monolingualising ideology of

mainstream society and schooling” (Anderson et al., 2018, p. 197). Critical theory, pedagogy, and literacy inform *TMP*, which informs the ethos of my work, as I am interested in the deconstruction of systemic linguistic oppression through the arts. This study offers a concrete case study of Cummins’s (2009) *TMP* theory, where youth learners participate meaningfully in their HLs in the context of an arts-based curriculum (*TMP* principle 4, 5) that builds on their cultural and linguistic capital (principle 2), values and affirms their identities (principle 3), and views them as intelligent, imaginative, and linguistically talented (principle 1). This conceptualization of *TMP* for arts-based language learning has been used by Papoi (2016), but only in the context of studying English Language Learners in the United States. This study is the first that has undertaken *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* through arts-based curricula for HLDM in Canada.

Meaningful Literacy Instruction. In the field of second and foreign language pedagogy and research, language learning is often overwhelmingly perceived as a cognitive, linguistic, and structural process, where “the flesh and blood individuals who are doing the learning” (Kramsch, 2006, p. 98) are sometimes ignored or missing altogether. Some scholars argue that language pedagogy has been dehumanized and decontextualized, infused with terms drawn from the world of business management, and perpetuated by standardized tests, textbook requirements, and teacher evaluations and promotions based on test results (Hanauer, 2012; Widdowson, 1998). According to German-American applied linguist and poetic inquirer David Hanauer (2012), “the language learner at the center of this system becomes nothing more than an intellectual entity involved in an assessable cognitive process” (p. 105). However, learning a language often results in multiple unpredictable and transformational changes that learners experience in their subjectivities (Hanauer, 2012; Kramsch, 2009). As Hanauer (2012) conveys,

Put simply, learning a language is a significant, potentially life-changing, event.

Furthermore, it is an event that involves the whole human being, beyond just intellectual

abilities. However, the experiences, emotions and symbolic transformations inherent in the process of learning a language are erased and superseded within SFL [Second and Foreign Language] teaching by the overriding emphasis placed on the communicative and cognitive aims of language usage, to such an extent that it seems natural to avoid any discussion of the human in the classroom and to emphasize the learning and testing of a decontextualized code. (p. 105)

Hanauer contends that the real difficulty of language teaching is to find a way to make language learning a humanized, personally-contextualized, meaningful activity for each learner (2003, 2010, 2012). This may seem obvious or simple to achieve, but in practice, it can be difficult. If it is attained, it can be revolutionary: *significa realmente entender el ser humano* (it means understanding the human being) as a “living, thinking, experiencing and feeling person” (2012, p. 106) in the language and literacy learning process. To support this philosophy, Hanauer has coined the useful concept of *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (MLI), which he has developed in philosophical, empirical, and practical, pedagogical ways (2003, 2010, 2012). Although Hanauer’s MLI research focuses on second and foreign language learners, the findings from this study suggest that HL learners (and educators) would also benefit from a repositioning of their interests, emotions, and aspirations at the centre of the learning process. Pavlenko’s (2005) questions *son muy relevantes aquí*: “What is the nature of the emotional bonds that tie individuals to their languages? How do these ties influence self-expression?” (p. 22). These questions are essential to HL learners with personal and cultural connections to a language. In this study, an arts-based research methodology honours and makes space for HL learners’ stories through projects that encourage exploration of these emotional bonds not just to HLs but to the more-than-human world that HLs connect us to. Creative self-expression may reveal affective

insights into HL learners' language, literacy, and cultural experiences that otherwise may remain dormant (an idea which will be more thoroughly explored in Chapter 4: Methodology).

Similar to Cummins's TMP framework, Hanauer's MLI seeks to widen and deepen our understandings of language learners and the language learning process:

Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, I consider the language learner to be a socially and culturally contextualized individual with a rich, extended history of personal experience. This sense of the richness of the internal world of the individual extensively informs my instructional design and everyday interaction with language learners. Secondly, I see learning a language as part of *a process of widening and deepening the ways an individual can understand, interpret, feel and express her or his personally meaningful understandings to themselves and within social settings*. Finally, I believe that learning a language involves an interaction with everything that makes up the experience and understanding of the learner, including issues of identity and self perception. Together, these underpinning assumptions position the individual learner and her/his personal experience, history and social contextualization at the center of the learning experience. (2012, p. 108, emphasis added)

Hanaeur (2010, 2012) offers poetry writing as a "classroom methodology" that manifests MLI. He claims that writing poetry can humanize the language classroom, and bring students' emotions, embodied experiences, and identities back into the language learning process, showing how poetry can be practiced among language learners even if they possess relatively "low" proficiency. Having embodied being an SL, FL, and HL learner in my life, I wholeheartedly agree with Hanauer that "the whole perception of what learning a language is changes when authentic, meaningful, personal expression is at the center of literacy instruction" (2012, p. 110). With MLI, language stops being a mere utilitarian tool for communication, and starts being a source of joy,

pride, and self-expression. MLI is at the heart of an arts-based language pedagogy that centres human, meaningful, collaborative, creative, anti-oppressive, emergent, and embodied learning processes (Oniță, 2022). Several studies in the subsequent literature review have shown how SL, FL and HL learners benefit from such a pedagogical approach as MLI that *widens* and *deepens* personal and cultural identities and belonging.

Summary of Theoretical Underpainting

The main philosophical commitment of this dissertation is that the purpose of language and literacy learning is to facilitate personally meaningful expression that is co-constructed through social interaction. In other words, it is a process of “widening and deepening the ways an individual can understand, interpret, feel and express her or his personally meaningful understandings to themselves and within social settings” (Hanauer, 2012, p. 108). To support this philosophy an emphasis on the *multilingual* and the *multimodal* are at the core of this study. The pedagogical combination of *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* and *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* serves to frame my thinking about work with HL Learners, and together they also serve as a robust theory of the arts in language and literacy learning. Furthermore, these theories open space for conversations that consider how the arts can positively affect HLs’ educational experiences, both affective and academic. As Kristin Papoi (2016) puts it, “literacy is no longer just the *consumption* of print-based text, but rather the *process of producing* multiple, multimodal texts” (p. 22, emphasis in original).

Respecting these “new literacies” (Lankshear & Knobel, 2003)—which are *de fait*, “old literacies” rebranded as new—means respecting ways of knowing and being that differ from Anglocentric, colonial, cognitive, text-driven standards. It implies a certain *decolonization* of literacy. It demands relational accountability between our research, teaching, and the communities we serve. In this vein, I am grateful for what I have learned from Indigenous scholars who value

multiple, creative ways of knowing and being and foreground the importance of community connections and relationships in doing research (i.e., between researchers, parents, families, schools) (Wilson, 2006). It should be noted that some concepts used in this dissertation (*Multiliteracies, TMP, MLI*) share a lot with Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, axiologies, and methodologies. I expand more on these connections in Chapter 4: Methodology.

Language and Literacy Learning through the Arts: A Literature Review

Methods for selecting studies

In this literature review, I was curious to inquire: *How have scholars been researching the contributions of literary, visual, digital and performing arts to language and literacy education? What are the research gaps when it comes to learning, teaching, and maintaining languages through arts-based curricula?* I began searching for studies using large data-based search engines such as ERIC, Google Scholar, JSTOR, and Taylor & Francis Online. I used the following keywords:

Language learning through/and... (+visual, literary, performing, digital, folk arts) music, poetry, drama, dance, visual arts, visual thinking skills, digital arts, digital storytelling, multimodal, cultural, creative self-expression, projects

Arts-based (or: arts-informed, or arts-integrated) + language learning, teaching, education, pedagogy, curricula, research, methods, projects, lens, approaches, inquiry, tasks, case study, creativity, literacy, multiliteracies

In addition to these large, data-based keyword searches, I crafted a list of possible journals that I thought might contain studies relevant to my work. I reviewed abstracts over a period of twenty years (from 1999 to 2019) for a list of 20 journals I identified, as well as the abstracts of studies from my data-based searches (see Table 1 for a list of journals I reviewed). Although there was

some overlap in the two lists (data-based searches and journal searches), I used this approach because I sought to be thorough in my search for studies.

Table 1: List of journals I reviewed for this literature review

1	<i>Applied Linguistics</i>
2	<i>Art Education</i>
3	<i>Art Education Policy Review</i>
4	<i>Bilingual Research Journal</i>
5	<i>Computer Assisted Language Learning</i>
6	<i>ELT Journal</i>
7	<i>Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching</i>
8	<i>International Journal of Education and the Arts</i>
9	<i>International Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education</i>
10	<i>Journal for Learning through the Arts</i>
11	<i>Journal of Latinos and Education</i>
12	<i>Journal of Literacy Research</i>
13	<i>Journal of Second Language Writing</i>
14	<i>Journal of the Imagination in Language Learning</i>
15	<i>Linguistics and Education</i>
16	<i>Revista española de pedagogía</i>
17	<i>Revue française de pédagogie</i>
18	<i>Studies in Second Language Acquisition</i>
19	<i>The Canadian Modern Language Review</i>
20	<i>The Language Learning Journal</i>

My criteria for selecting studies for this literature review included the following. First, the studies had to have a double focus: *language education* (teaching, learning, maintaining languages in educational contexts, including both schools and community settings) and *arts education* (learning *through* the literary, visual, digital, performing arts). I judiciously omitted certain studies solely related to language and culture integration that did not also relate, in some way, to learning through the arts; that is, learning through *creative input* (reading, viewing, listening to, experiencing, looking at art) and/or *creative output* (producing, creating, or making art). Second, for the purpose of casting an initial wide net and revealing potential research gaps, I kept the literature search open to *Second, Foreign, and Heritage Language Learners* (SLs, FLs, and HLs) of all languages and ages. Finally, I selected studies written in languages that I am proficient in: English, Spanish, French, Italian, and Romanian. The extensive search yielded a collection of 96

studies, including 76 journal articles, six book chapters, six books, five PhD dissertations and three Master's theses. Over the next few sections, I describe the methods for analyzing these works, including an *arts-based literature review* method, and a *visual synthesis* method to present my key findings, and describe the literature gap that this study aims to address.

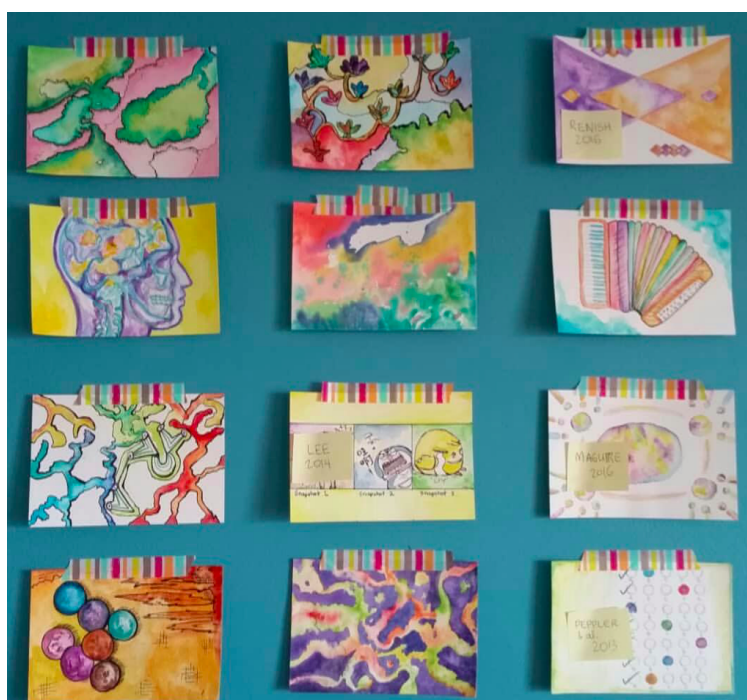


Figure 9: A small sample of the arts-based literature review postcards

Methods for Analyzing Selected Studies

Once I collected the 96 studies that related to my parameters for this literature review, I began my process of exploration. I engaged in a three-step analysis process. First, in keeping with the ethos of this study, I created an *Arts-based Literature Review Method* to visually represent each individual study. My process was the following: after reading and reflecting upon each study, I visually translated it into a postcard. On the front of each postcard, I created a painted visual for the study, and on the back, I wrote my summary, take-aways, and important quotes.

The process of creating each postcard was fun, memorable, and liberating. It opened up ways of understanding that lay dormant in me: symbolic, spontaneous, metaphoric, and embodied.

Sometimes, the visual on the postcard was directly inspired by a metaphor from the study. For example, in her findings, Papoi (2016) mentions the accordion as a metaphor for iterative group work around an artwork, where groups expand and contract much like the instrument (p. 170), so I painted my interpretation (second from the top, right hand side). Other times, I created my own symbol as a mnemonic, to help me remember the main idea of an article. For example, Chi (2017) found that the arts can be a stimulus, refresher, facilitator and guide in the language learning process, so I drew a human brain being stimulated and “refreshed” through different colours and textures (second from the top, left hand side). McGuire (2016) found that second language students’ vocabulary significantly increased through cooperatively structured arts-based tasks, so I drew an oval in the middle to represent an artwork, four circles to represent students interacting, and above them, their vocabulary growing in different directions (second from the bottom, right hand side). And sometimes, the visuals on the postcards were created using an “automatic” painting method, simultaneously or immediately after reading each article. This method, developed by Surrealists, is a means of expressing the subconscious. I let my hand move randomly across the paper, bringing chance and accident into the painting process and relinquishing conscious, rational control. The purpose of this was to express my own reactions and feelings towards the articles. I found great value in this technique, and learned a lot about what activates me, and what my biases and assumptions are. Thus, reading, reflecting, and painting these articles was Step 1 of my analysis and it happened over several months.

Step 2 involved creating a digital chart to collect concise information about each work, including: title, author(s), date, publication information, keywords, type of publication (book, book chapter, journal article, Master’s thesis, PhD dissertation), type of study (qualitative, quantitative, mixed), country, context, purpose, language(s), type of language learner (HL, SL, FL, or a combination), theoretical framework, methodology, length of study, age of participants,

number of participants, art media explored, (visual art, drama, dance, poetry, etc.), learning areas targeted (speaking, listening, reading, writing, pragmatic competence, identity development, etc.), and findings. This chart was instrumental in helping me identify trends and gaps in research combining art and language and literacy education. By asking important questions such as “Where was the study conducted? Who were the participants? What was the target language? Which methodology was used?” I was able to see the bigger picture of this emerging research field of language and literacy learning through the arts, which led me to step 3: To demonstrate the trends and gaps in research about language learning through the arts more clearly and poignantly, I created a *visual synthesis* method involving a series of graphs, which I use in the next section to present the literature review findings.

Trends, Gaps, and Discoveries

Very Few Studies Conducted in Canada. One of my first discoveries was regarding the locations of the studies. In the graph below, you will see that out of the 96 studies, almost half (43) were conducted in the United States, while only 6 were from Canada (Chi, 2017; Lowe, 1995; Ludke, 2018; Paivio & Desrochers, 1979; Rukholm, 2015; Rukholm et al., 2018).

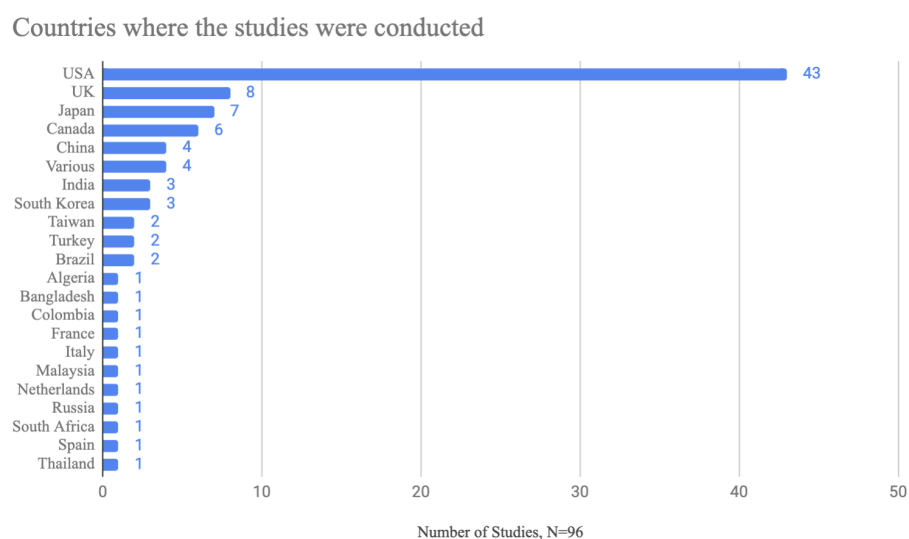


Figure 10: Countries where the studies were conducted

Very Few Studies Focus on HLs. Perhaps unsurprisingly, English was the target language that dominated this literature review. Twenty-eight studies looked at *English as a Foreign Language* (EFL) learners, or people whose main language is not English and who live in a country or context where English is not the official or dominant language. Twenty-seven studies focused on *English Language Learners* (ELL) (also known as ESL, *English as a Second Language* learners), or people who are learning English to successfully integrate into English-dominant schools and societies (such as the United States, United Kingdom, or Canada). These EFL and ELL/ESL studies account for 61% of the inquiries (or 56 studies). This finding shows the hegemony, power, and status of English in both multicultural nations and other nations where learning English increases social capital. There is a major gap in research when it comes to the potential of arts-based practices to preserve the diverse HLs of immigrant children in an additive bilingualism context, which is what my doctoral project aims to investigate. Only six studies focused solely on HL learners (Anderson & Chung, 2011, 2012; Bradley et al., 2018; Cahnmann, 2006; Carger, 2004; Charalambous & Yerosimou, 2015), with an additional eight studies having a combined focus: HL, FL, and ELL (Anderson et al., 2014, 2018; Anderson & Macleroy, 2016), HL and FL (Abdelhadi et al., 2019); HL and ELL (Heath, 1993); HL and EFL (Chamcharatsri, 2013). Out of these fourteen studies, seven were linked to a large literacy project called *Critical Connections: Multilingual Digital Storytelling*, spearheaded by a team of researchers at Goldsmiths, University of London including Dr. Jim Anderson, Dr. Vicky Macleroy, Dr. Yu-Chiao Chung, Dr. Chryso Charalambous, Reem Abdelhadi, and more. These studies that combine ABC for HLDM provide evidence for how the arts can help learners retain their languages by not only boosting their communicative competence and multiliteracy development, but also by empowering them to take pride in their identities and challenge the marginalized status of HLs

(Anderson & Chung, 2011; Cahnmann, 2006). These elements of social justice, linguistic empowerment, and critical literacy are crucial to a sociocultural understanding of HLDM.

Types of Language Learners

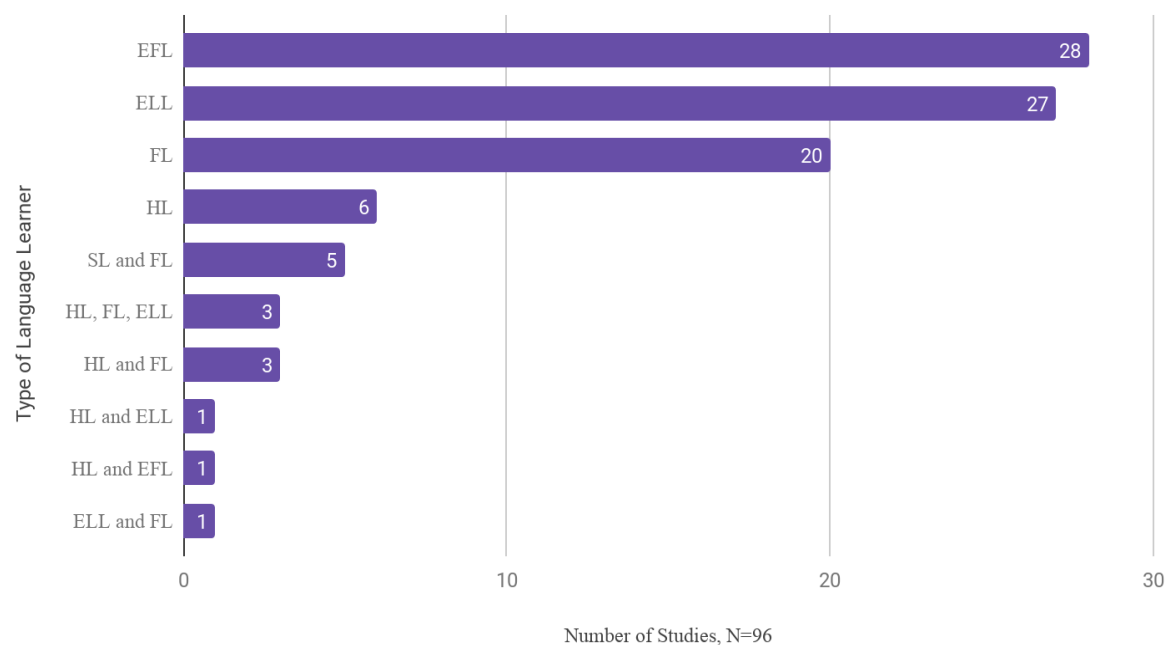


Figure 11: Types of language learners in the studies

Very Few Studies Involve Youth Participants. Another fascinating finding: more than a third (37) of the inquiries did *not* have human participants; instead, the authors offered theoretical explorations into the value of the arts for language learning or pedagogical advice for *how to* incorporate the arts into language teaching. When the studies did include participants, they tended to be post-secondary students, representing 29 studies, or nearly a third of the collection. Only eight of the studies looked at secondary students, sometimes referred to as youth or adolescents (Abdelhadi et al., 2019; Bora, 2018; Cornelius, 2011; Frimberger, 2016; Heath, 1993; Lemper, 2014; Ludke, 2018; Mena & Chapeton, 2014). This is another gap that my study responds to. Through conversations and research, I have realized that researchers sometimes avoid working with youth because of research ethics review obstacles. Thus, it is unfortunate, but no surprise

that youth and adolescents remain under-represented in research on language learning through the arts.

Ages of participants

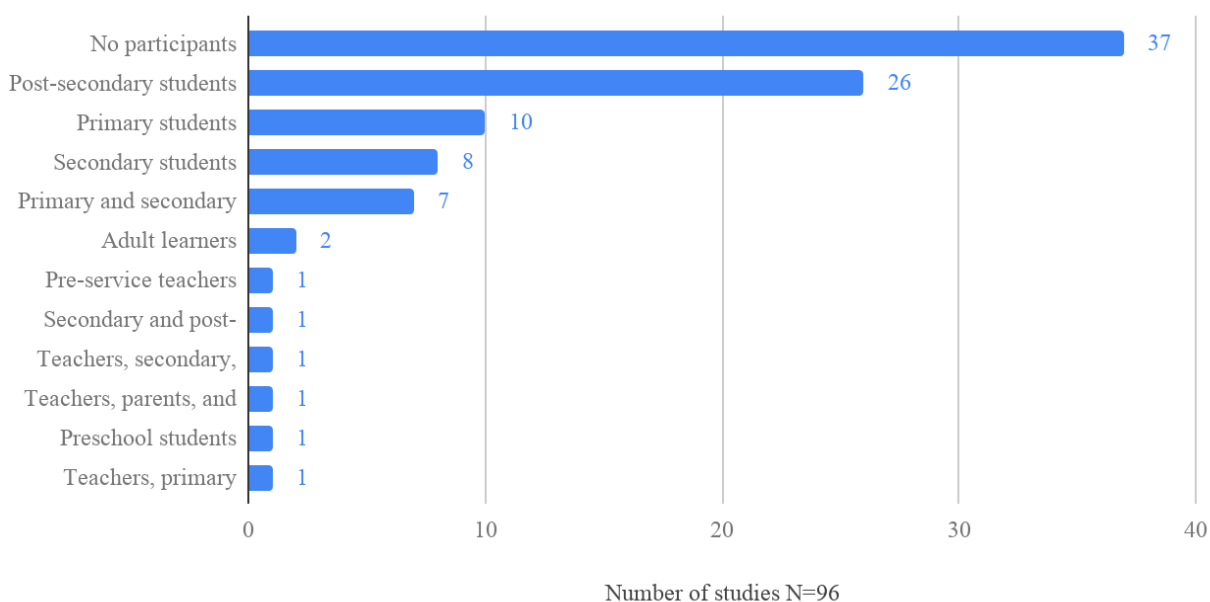


Figure 12: Ages of participants in the studies

Very Few Studies Employ ABR. When it comes to methodology, out of 96 studies pertaining to language and art education, the vast majority (70) were qualitative studies, while 13 were quantitative and 13 were mixed methods studies. This was expected, as many researchers said it is difficult or nearly impossible to quantify language and literacy learning through the arts. The qualitative studies included many genres and methodologies, included essays offering pedagogical advice (29), case studies (10), theoretical explorations (10), ethnographies (5), action research studies (3), exploratory small-scale studies (3), poetic inquiry (3), autoethnography (1), critical performance study (1), literature review (1), phenomenology (1), scholARTistry (1), practice-led research (1), and policy review (1). Six of the qualitative studies could be *arts-based* in nature (Bradley et al., 2018; Cahnmann, 2006; Coffey, 2015; Frimberger, 2016; Garvin, 2013;

Kim & Kim, 2018), while three argue for more arts-based research methods in language education research (Cahnmann-Taylor, 2008; Hanauer 2003, 2010). I expand upon this in Chapter 4: Methodology.

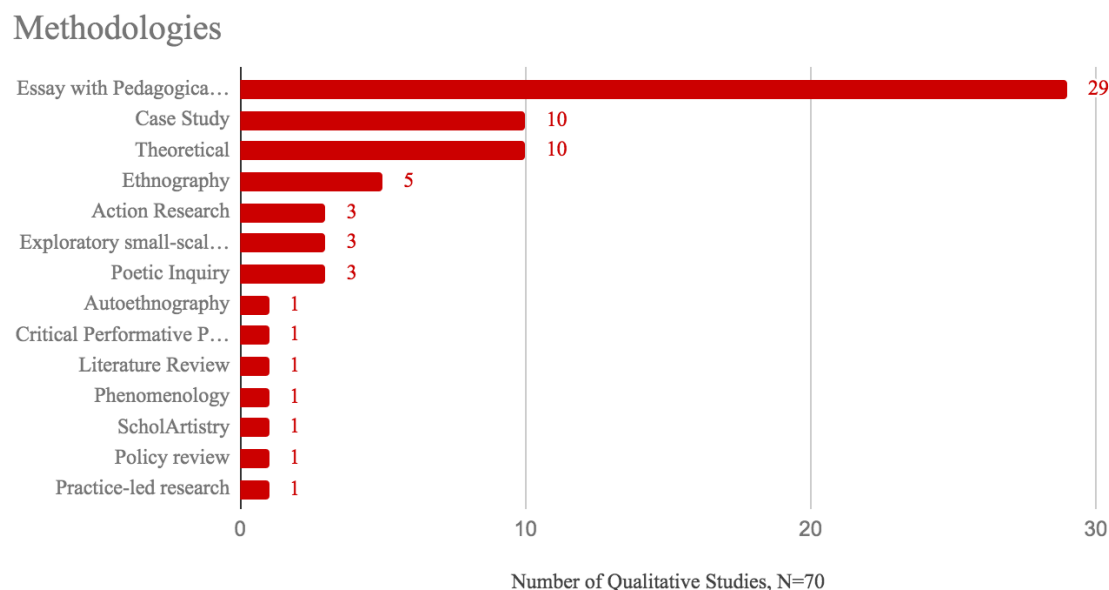


Figure 13: Methodologies used in the literature review

Most Studies Show Benefits of Arts Integration for Language Learning. Whether it is language learning through drama¹², music¹³, poetry¹⁴, creative writing,¹⁵ dance,¹⁶ visual art,¹⁷ digital art,¹⁸ or a combination of artistic media,¹⁹ the main trend throughout these studies is that

¹² Drama studies included: Banerjee, 2014; Bang, 2003; Boudrealt, 2010; Chauhan, 2004; Dodson, 2000; Donnery 2014; Dos Santos, 2014; Even, 2011; Bora, 2018; Galante, 2012; Gaudart, 1990; Greenfader et al., 2015; Heath, 1993; Janudom & Wasanasomsithi, 2009; Kao & O'Neill, 1998; Kao et al., 2011; Liu, 2002; McKeehen Louis, 2002; Medina & Campano, 2006; Miccoli, 2003; Rieg & Paquette, 2009; Schenker, 2017; and Vitz, 1984.

¹³ Music studies included: Akhmadullina et al., 2016; Aliagas Marin, 2017; Coyle & Gracia, 2014; Cunningham, 2014; Erten, 2015; Frimberger, 2016; Garrido & Moore, 2016; Lee & Lin, 2015, Lems, 2016; Li & Brand, 2009; Lowe, 1995; Mena & Chapeton, 2014; Nadera, 2015; Rukholm, 2015; Rukholm et al., 2018; and Tseng & Huang, 2004

¹⁴ Poetry studies included: Cahnmann, 2006; Cranston, 2003; Disney, 2014; Garvin, 2013; Hanauer, 2003, 2010, 2012; Heldenbrand, 2003; Iida, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2015; Kim & Kim, 2018; Liao & Roy, 2017; Maley & Duff, 1989; Maxim, 2005; Melin, 2010, Mittal, 2016; and Newfield & Dabdon, 2015.

¹⁵ Creative writing studies included: Chamcharatsri, 2013 and Hanauer & Liao, 2016.

¹⁶ Dance studies included: Bell, 1997 and Ortiz, 2015.

¹⁷ Visual art studies included: Abdelhadi et al., 2019; Bradley et al., 2018; Brock et al., 2008; Bush, 2007; Carger, 2004; Coffey, 2015; Cornelius, 2011; Hashimoto et al., 2012; Lemper, 2014; Mantei & Kervin, 2014; McGuire, 2016; Ortuño, 1994; Paivio & Desrochers, 1979; Renish, 2016; Scanlan, 1980; Smilan, 2017; and Thomas, 2017

¹⁸ Digital art studies included: Anderson, Chung, & Macleroy, 2014; 2018; and Anderson & Macleroy, 2016

¹⁹ Anderson & Chung, 2011; 2012; Brouillette, 2012; Charalambous & Yerosimou, 2015; Chi, 2017; Lee, 2014; Ludke, 2018; Macintyre & Chan, 2010; Papoi, 2016; Peppler et al., 2014; Shier, 2002; and Spina 2006.

there are significant positive impacts of arts-based curricula not just on developing language learners' *linguistic competence*—speaking, listening, reading, writing skills—(Bang, 2003; Greenfader et al., 2015; Renish, 2016; Rieg & Paquette, 2009)—but also increasing their *enjoyment and engagement* (Abdelhadi et al., 2019; Brouillette et al., 2014), *motivation* (Charalambous & Yerosimou, 2015; Chi, 2017; Bora, 2018; Janudom & Wasanasomsithi, 2009), *self-confidence* (Lee, 2014), *risk-taking* (Liu, 2002), *academic success* (Peppler et al., 2014), *intercultural understanding* (Anderson & Chung, 2012; Ortiz, 2010; Smilan, 2017), *identity development* (Anderson & Chung, 2011; Garvin, 2013), *digital literacy skills* (Anderson et al., 2018), *critical thinking* (Bradley et al., 2018), *cognitive flexibility* (Spina, 2006), *vocabulary development* (Brouillette, 2012; Coyle & Gracia, 2014; McGuire, 2016; Rukholm, 2015), *emotional self-expression* (Hanauer, 2012; Mena & Chapeton, 2014; Chamcharatsri, 2013; Kim & Kim, 2018), *collaboration* (Papoi, 2016; Shier, 2002), and *psychosocial wellbeing* (Frimberger, 2016; Lemper, 2014).

There is something magical that happens when the arts and languages are paired up, something that makes the language learning process more memorable, immersive, and meaningful. Perhaps it is the “the semiotic richness of the arts [that] echoes the semiotic abundance available to speakers of more than 1 language, nurturing an ability to approach symbolization in a creative, nuanced way” (Spina, 2006, pp. 99–100). Through experimentation, arts-based curricula open-up fresh possibilities for self-expression and social interaction. The ninety-six studies that were reviewed showed that Foreign, Second, and Heritage language learners who engage with or make art tend to become more invested in their learning, “grow less self-conscious, yet more aware of what they do, and begin communicating with greater sophistication, confidence, spontaneity, and, ultimately, accuracy” (Shier, 2002, p. 198). The creative process allows learners to tap into the depths of their lived emotional experiences, and

communicative authentically (Carger, 2004), bringing meaning and value to their language learning process. Moreover, the authentic cultural context that art facilitates means that learners can feel and think through the complexities of culture(s) in more open and dynamic ways (Anderson & Chung, 2011). And although the research thus far on HLDM through ABC includes only a handful of studies, there is some evidence that the arts can disrupt monolingual, essentialized views of language and culture, providing a medium for youth to explore intersecting worldviews and actively challenge hegemonic discourses that tend to “devalue minority languages and cultures” (Anderson & Chung, 2011, p. 554).

Recap of the Trends and Gaps Found in the Literature Review. My literature review of 96 academic texts pertaining to language and literacy learning through the arts revealed that the arts afford numerous linguistic, cognitive, affective, and sociocultural benefits for language learners. However, research has mostly been conducted in the United States, has largely focused on English language learning in various contexts, and has either avoided using human participants or has relied on post-secondary participants. Studies on HL learners learning or maintaining their languages through the arts are understudied overall, and have never been studied in Canada. Arts-based research methods are surprisingly underrepresented in inquiries on language learning through the arts. This study is the first arts-based case study of Spanish youth HL learners in Canada, and I hope many more studies will follow.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUAL UNDERPAINTING

Introduction to Contextual Underpainting

Chapter 2 provided a theoretical underpainting of this study. Layers included *Ecological Systems Theory* (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and *Multiliteracies Theory* (New London Group, 1996); pedagogical approaches such as *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* and *Meaningful Literacy Instruction*; and an arts-based literature review of language and literacy learning through the arts. *Ensemble*, these first layers blend into a vivid foundation to study the contributions of ABC to HLDM in Edmonton (RQ1), and what arts-based practices might reveal about youth Spanish HL learners' language and literacy experiences and aspirations (RQ2). *Ahora voy a concentrarme en* developing a rich contextual underpainting that will explore the second part of RQ1, namely “our understanding of HL development and maintenance in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.”

Many sociocultural, political, and historical factors have contributed to our current understanding of HLs in Canada. To make sense of these factors, I use Bronfenbrenner's *Ecological Systems Theory* (1979), to trace three chronosystems in Canada's history in relation to HLDM: Chronosystem 1 (1963–1982), Chronosystem 2 (1982–2000), and Chronosystem 3 (2000–2020). To briefly review, each concentric circle within a chronosystem represents interacting agents of influence in a child's development: the *macrosystem* (sociocultural, political, and economic trends; beliefs and attitudes towards HLs); the *exosystem* (laws, policies, funding for HLs, deliberate government planning—or lackthereof—in *status planning* and *acquisition planning*) (Hornberger, 2005), the *mesosystem* (access to HLs in communities, schools); and the *microsystem* (close family relationships and individual factors for HLDM). *En este capítulo*, I trace the history of how trends, policies, practices, and attitudes at the macro-, exo-, meso-, and microsystem levels have impacted our current understanding of HLDM. First and foremost, any

researcher studying HLDM in Canada over the last few decades must contend with the stories we tell ourselves as an imagined community (Anderson, 1983) at the macrosystem level. Thus, before delving into Chronosystem 1, I would like to preface my contextual underpainting with a brief *autohistoria* (Anzaldúa, 1987), combining cultural analysis with personal creative writing.

Autohistoria: Mozaicul Canadian.

Upon moving to Edmonton, Alberta from Jilava, Romania, I was informed *immediat* that my parents made the very best choice for my future. My teachers, textbooks, and TV shows all told me that Canada was a beautiful *mozaic de culturi*, a land of equal opportunities and respect for all cultures. In contrast to *Statele Unite*, I learned that Canada's metaphor of integrating immigrants was not a melting pot, but rather a mosaic of tiny, brightly-coloured bits of cultures, races, languages, religions—all glittering, side by side, in harmony. I fell in love with this idea of Canada: this gorgeous, colourful *operă de artă* I became desperate to be a part of.

As I've matured, the mosaic metaphor still rings true, but for *diferentes razones*. I have learned that a mosaic is made up of *tesserae*: small, repetitive, square pieces of stone that are flattened and made to fit in, despite differences in thickness, size, or texture. Mosaic artists cement the tesserae to a backing panel in one quick, smooth operation, which helps ensure that the mosaic pieces are flat and in the same plane on the front. Similarly, immigrants to Canada must become flattened, smooth, and same, so that we fit in to the large, beautiful mosaic that spans from coast to coast to coast.

At the *macrosystem* level, this mosaic metaphor for Canadian identity has endured for decades. It dates back to John Murray Gibbon, a Scottish-Canadian writer and founding president of the Canadian Authors Association, who wrote *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Modern Nation* (1938), a work that not only had a major impact on the government's creation of multicultural policies, but also on the stories that we continue to tell ourselves today, as an

imagined community (Anderson, 1983), chronosystems later. *In orice caz*, narratives of Canadian multiculturalism as a mosaic must contend with what Roman and Stanley (1997) identify as the discourse of "Canada the Redeemer," or the national mythology that Canada has always been a fair, welcoming, tolerant, generous country, an image which some scholars have argued is necessary, in order to conceal and forget that these lands and resources were taken by coercive means through a process that depended on inferiorizing and racializing Indigenous people (Battiste, 2000; Cardinal, 1969; Schick & St. Denis, 2005). *De exemplu*, it was only until I began to work at the Art Gallery of Alberta in 2010 at the age of twenty, that I learned, *pour la première fois*, about *Canadian Indian Residential Schools* (1876–1996) and other laws, policies, and practices through which the Canadian government perpetrated Indigenous cultural genocide and deliberate linguicide. My public schooling (1998–2008) not only ignored or minimized the presence of Indigenous peoples in Canada (speaking of them mostly in past tense), but it also excluded the assimilationist experiences of other minorities in Canada who experienced cultural, linguistic, and racial erasure. Those narratives simply did not fit into the beautiful mosaic: these were rough, bumpy, uneven *tesserae* that stuck out like a sore thumb from the flat norm (read: Anglo-Saxon or Francophone “founding” colonizing Canadians).

As Trinidadian-Canadian poet Dionne Brand poignantly said about Canada, "unlike the United States, where there is at least an admission of the fact that racism exists and has a history, in this country one is faced with a stupefying innocence" (Brand, 1994, cited in Backhouse, 1999, p. 14). Our pride as a country seems to depend on this stupefying innocence (and ignorance), and on “the construction of an egalitarian, not racist, national self-image. There is a great deal at stake in keeping this mythology in tact [sic]” (Schick & St. Denis, 2005, p. 308). Indeed, as this third chapter will reveal, there have been laws, policies, curricula, discourses, and practices at all levels—from the *macrosystem* to the *microsystem*—that work to uphold this narrative of an

exceptional Canada. *Mozaicul perfect*. A country that hides the mosaic-making process, and continues to pat itself on the back for being exemplary, multicultural, respectful, generous, fair, and tolerant of others.

Chronosystem 1: 1963–1982

I chose to begin my sociocultural analysis of factors that influence HLDM in Canada with the chronosystem of 1963–1982. These bookend years were chosen *a propósito*: 1963 was when Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson created the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism* (hereafter the *B&B Commission*), and 1982 was when the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was passed by the government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. However, it almost goes without saying that hundreds of years of British and French *settler colonialism* led to what we witness in this chronosystem (a form of colonialism which seeks to replace the original population of a colonized territory with a new society of settlers).

The Macrosystem

Indigenous Cultural Genocide and Linguicide. The 1960s and 70s were *sans doute* a grim time in Canadian history. By the 1960s, Indigenous people in Canada had suffered almost a century of living under “draconian and devastating federal policies” (Sinclair & Dainard, 2016, para. 3), such as the *Indian Act*, the *Canadian Indian Residential School System* (1876 to 1996), and the *Sixties Scoop*.²⁰ The Canadian government’s deliberate cultural genocide and linguicide of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples meant that their cultures and languages were denigrated, suppressed, and outrightly prohibited both in policy and practice (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report, 2015, pp. 80–84). As the Report explained, children were often severely physically and emotionally punished for “speaking Indian” (p. 81) and school principals regularly

²⁰ The *Sixties Scoop* refers to the large-scale removal or “scooping” of Indigenous children from their homes, communities and families of birth through the 1960s, and their subsequent adoption into predominantly non-Indigenous, middle-class families across Canada (Sinclair & Dainard, 2016).

reported on their success in eliminating Aboriginal languages (p. 80). As residential school survivor Rose Dorothy Charlie said, “They took my language. They took it right out of my mouth. I never spoke it again” (p. 84). Raymond Hill, another survivor, shared, “I lost my language. They threatened us with a strapping if we spoke it, and within a year I lost all of it. They said they thought we were talking about them” (p. 82).

These Indigenous language loss and assimilation stories are crucial to understanding the story of HLs in Canada. As Philip (1993) argues “there is as yet no word in English – Canadian English – for what has happened to First Nations people” (p. 81). He underlines that the treatment of Indigenous peoples by the “white supremacist” society of Canada is the “bench-mark for the treatment of all other peoples of colour coming to this land [as seen in] the attempted genocide of Native peoples by Europeans” (p. 128). Although the history and consequences regarding language loss for Indigenous and Heritage Languages are simply incomparable, English and French settler colonialism and white supremacy (of which linguistic imperialism and linguicism are a part), have affected all minority groups in Canada. It would not be an understatement to say that Indigenous language and culture loss signified an eerie and tragic foreshadowing of Heritage language and culture loss at the hands of the dominant colonizers: Anglo-Saxon and French Canadians.

Discriminatory and Eugenic Immigration Ideologies and Policies. During and before this chronosystem, Canada’s immigration ideologies and policies (*Immigration Acts* 1869, 1919, 1952, 1976) evidenced deplorable treatment of minority immigrant groups. *Para empezar*, immigration authorities listed “ideal settlers” in a descending preference, beginning with British and American agriculturalists, followed by Western and Northern Europeans (French, Belgians, Dutch, Scandinavians, Swiss, Germans, Finns) (Troper, 2013). Close to the bottom of the list came those who were seen by both the public and the government as less “assimilable” and less

“desirable,” including Eastern Europeans (Ukrainians, Poles), Southern Europeans (Italians, South Slavs, Greeks), Jews, Roma, Black persons, and Asians, with policies including the Chinese head tax (1885–1923) and post-WWII immigration ban (until 1947), and Japanese immigration restriction (until 1967).

Eugenic ideologies influenced immigration restriction in the 20th century, as “many native-born Canadians believed that Anglo-Saxons were being overwhelmed by unfit social and national groups and might someday commit race suicide” (Dowbiggin, 1995, p. 607). The assumption was that Canadian society could be improved by encouraging immigration and reproduction among certain groups (i.e., Anglo-Saxon Protestants), and limiting and discouraging immigration and reproduction among other “feeble-minded” immigrants, such as Eastern Europeans (i.e., Ukrainians, Polish, Russians), who were deemed to have “undesirable” characteristics such as intellectual disability, mental illness, criminality, alcoholism, poverty, vice, and immoral behaviours (Dowbiggin, 1995; McLaren, 1990). As Grekul, Krahn, and Odynak (2004) rightfully pointed out, “while several other Canadian provinces flirted with eugenics legislation and programs, Alberta went all the way” (p. 378). In Alberta, Eastern European immigrants were one of the groups most affected by eugenics laws such as the *Sexual Sterilization Act* (1928–1972), as they fared worst in assessments of “intelligence” and public health surveys, with many being psychiatrically institutionalized and sterilized (Grekul et al., 2004; Malacrida, 2015). By the early 1970s, Alberta was one of the two places in North America (besides North Carolina) still involuntarily sterilizing people. Scholars believe this long-lasting eugenics legislation was partly due to the 36-year stronghold of the populist *Alberta Social Credit* party, “a highly authoritarian political system that received little public criticism, including from the media” (Grekul et al., 2004, p. 378). Immigrants to Alberta learned and internalized the *habitus*

(Bourdieu, 1991) of their social world around them, and HLDM was likely the furthest thing from the mind of many immigrants in this chronosystem who were simply trying to survive.

According to Troper (2013), it was not until 1971, that for the first time in Canadian history, the majority of those immigrating into Canada were of non-European ancestry. Canada started opening its doors to people who would previously have been rejected as undesirable, including refugees from countries under dictatorships or facing political upheaval (such as Chile, Uganda, etc.). But while restrictions of race and national origin may have been eliminated in the late 1960s, it was also then that Canada introduced a *point system* for determining the desirability of individuals applying to immigrate to Canada, where each applicant was awarded points for age, education, demand for the applicant's job skills, and of course, the ability to speak one of Canada's two colonial and colonizing languages, a practice which continues today in 2021.

Multicultural Movement and Third Force. The term multiculturalism came into vogue during the 1960s. Between 1960–1971, immigrant groups spearheaded by Ukrainian-Canadians fought the dominant discourse of the time that Canada was “bicultural” with “two founding races” (as the *B&B Commission* initially proclaimed), and advocated for the nation to be recognized as “multicultural” (Kallen, 1982). Sometimes these immigrant groups are referred to as the *multicultural movement* or *third force* (or *third group*, *third element*), terms used to mean that all the non-English and non-French ethnic minorities formed at least a demographic “third” of Canadian society, and at most, a social movement of activists advocating for ethnic minority rights (Blanding, 2013). Paul Yuzyk, a Ukrainian-Canadian professor and Senator at this time (1963–1986), made a famous speech to the upper house in 1964 where he advocated for minority culture and language rights:

The third element ethnic or cultural groups should receive the status of co-partners, who would be guaranteed the right to perpetuate their mother tongues and cultures, which

should be offered as optional subjects in the public and high school systems and the separate schools of the provinces, and the universities wherever there would be a sufficient number of students to warrant the maintenance of such classes. (Yuzyk, 1964, p. 56)

Indeed, it was Ukrainian-Canadian scholar-activists and politicians (such as Paul Yuzyk, Manoly Lupul, Bohdan Bociurkiw, and Jaroslav Rudnycky) who strongly pressed the case that multiculturalism should be central to Canadian identity. They drafted many responses to the *B&B Commission*, which ultimately led to Prime Minister Trudeau proclaiming the federal policy of "Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" on October 8, 1971 (Lalande, 2006; Temelini, 2007). This policy, brewing behind the scenes for more than a decade, "forever changed the way that Canadians *publicly* understand ethnicity" (Blanding, 2013, p. 23, emphasis in the original). But the relationship of multiculturalism to multilingualism was unclear from the start: Should languages be promoted alongside cultures? Should ethnic minority children be allowed education in their HLs? Should multilingualism be accepted as part of the fabric of Canada the way that multiculturalism was accepted? Canadians were divided on these issues.

Media's Tower of Babel Views of Multilingualism. The media magnified these divisive issues and planted further doubt about HLs (Blanding, 2013). *The Gazette* of Montreal (1963), the *Winnipeg Free Press* (1964), *Le Devoir* (1963), and the *Toronto Daily Star* (1968) published passionate pieces against multilingualism and HL education throughout the 1960s, warning that Canada must not become a Biblical "Tower of Babel" with no common tongue. As one article from *The Gazette* of Montreal mentions, "Multilingualism, if pressed forward, could make Canada like the land of Babel, where the languages were so confounded that they could 'not understand each other's speech.' And the result is that the people of Babel were not united but scattered." (1963, para. 7). Multilingualism was painted at odds with national unity: "Multilingualism would undo what bilingualism seeks to do, namely, form a country more united than it has ever been"

(para. 8). Several minority community members responded to these articles, making the case that languages and cultures enrich Canadian life, that there are only advantages to knowing other languages, and that promoting the idea of a melting-pot was unwise (Jaenen, 1964). But, as the following section paints, commissioned studies regarding societal attitudes towards bi- and multilingualism in Canada revealed both negative and positive views towards HLs, depending on the respondents' cultural affiliations.

Opposing Majority and Minority Societal Attitudes Towards HLs. The *Majority Attitudes Study* (Berry et al., 1977) commissioned by the federal government found some lukewarm support for multiculturalism among dominant Anglo-Saxon and Francophone Canadians but significant opposition from these groups regarding the use of public money to create opportunities and incentives to teach, learn, and maintain HLs. Canadians of French and English settler backgrounds showed mildly positive views towards "surface" cultural diversity like festivals, but rejected public funds for HL schooling or broadcasting in HLs. Perhaps Breton, Reitz, and Valentine (1980) said it best: "The majority of Canadians tend to support multiculturalism as an ideal, so long as it does not affect their own lives, the sociocultural institutions in which they participate, or their pocketbook" (p. 384). In addition, Berry et al.'s (1977) study showed opposition from Québec to the notion of multiculturalism. Notably, Québec had preoccupations with its own cultural survival during this chronosystem (1960s and 70s), as the province experienced the Quiet Revolution, the rise of Québec Nationalism and Separatist sentiment, Bill 101 (the Charter of the French Language), and the Québec referendum of 1980.

In contrast, another commissioned study by the federal government, the *Non-official Languages Study* (O'Bryan et al., 1976), found substantial support among ethnocultural (minority) communities across the country for HLDM, namely HL instruction in public school systems. This contrast in attitudes and views between majority and minority groups is perhaps at the heart of

HLDM in the *macrosystem*. In some parts of Canada, there was vehement opposition to HL school programs in the 1970s and 1980s (especially the Toronto Board of Education), citing “balkanization of school communities, loss of time for core curriculum subjects, undue pressure of children, disruption of school programming and staffing, inadequate preparation for eventual employment, and indeed a dramatic shift of direction in Canadian society” (Hausman cited in Cummins & Danesi, 1990, p. 3). Certainly, many argued that HLs had the power to *change* Canadian societal identity, which dominant groups have feared. As Cummins (1992) noted:

At issue are very different perspectives on the nature of Canadian society and how it should respond to demographic changes that are radically increasing the extent of linguistic and cultural diversity. While the dominant anglophone and francophone groups generally are strongly in favour of learning the other official languages, they see few benefits to promoting heritage languages for themselves, for Canadian society as a whole, or for children from ethnocultural backgrounds. The educational focus for such children should be on acquiring English and becoming Canadian rather than erecting linguistic and cultural barriers between them and their Canadian peers. In short, whereas advocates of heritage language teaching stress the value of bilingual and multilingual skills for the individual and society as a whole, opponents see HLs as socially divisive, excessively costly, and educationally retrograde in view of minority children’s need to succeed academically in the school language. (p. 256)

Although Cummins and Danesi (1990) report that generally, support for public education in HLs grew throughout the 1970s and 80s (p. 26), many challenges continued to persist—challenges that perhaps arose from the “failure to provide multiculturalism with a linguistic base” (Lupul, 1981, cited in Cummins & Danesi, 1990, p. 24), a repercussion which would be felt in subsequent chronosystems.

The Exosystem

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963-69). As previously mentioned, the *B&B Commission* (1963–69) was established in this chronosystem, bringing about big changes to federal and provincial language policies. The creation of this commission was in direct response to the Quiet Revolution, a period of growing sociocultural and political unrest in Quebec, whose citizens and government called for the protection of their heritage, language, and culture (Jedwab, 2003). Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson was convinced that federal policies with respect to Quebec and the French language in Canada were needed in order to avoid a national crisis (Laing & Cooper, 2019). Thus, the focus of the *B&B Commission* related *only* to the languages and cultures of English and French-speaking colonizing peoples of Canada at first.

However, as described in the *macrosystem*, activists of the *multicultural movement* who disagreed with this premise of an officially bilingual and bicultural nation, prompted an expansion of the commission's focus after its preliminary report (1965). The commissioners were asked to drop the proposal of official biculturalism and report on the cultural contribution of the “other ethnic groups” in Canada. Thus, the *B&B Commission*'s final 6 book-length reports and responses from HL communities led to expected federal legislation such as the *Official Languages Act* (1969) and increased educational opportunities for Francophone minorities outside of Quebec, and unexpected legislation such as *Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework* (1971) and the creation of a federal department of multiculturalism. In the sections that follow, the impact of the *B&B Commission* will be unpacked.

Official Languages Act (1969). The Official Languages Act, passed by the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau on the recommendation of the *B&B Commission*, made English and French official languages, requiring all Canadian federal institutions to provide services in these two languages upon request. It also created the *Office of the Commissioner of*

Official Languages, which oversaw its implementation. This significant status planning (Hornberger, 2005) from the federal government exalted Canada's two colonizing languages, but regrettably—and intentionally—ignored the Indigenous and Heritage Languages that also constitute our nation, thereby lowering their status.

Two decades later, the *Official Languages Act* of 1969 was repealed and replaced with a new *Official Languages Act* (1988), mainly to promote the rights of linguistic minorities—but not the minorities one would expect. The changes that were made to the Act (especially sections 41 to 45) specifically describe the process of enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada (such as Anglophones in Quebec, or Francophones in Alberta). The focus remained on supporting, assisting, and fostering the full recognition and development of the two official colonial languages in Canadian society. Where did this leave HLs and HL speakers? Perhaps the most evocative way to describe it is *o stare de ambivalență, restrângere, confuzie* (in a state of ambivalence, belittlement, and confusion). To many Ukrainian activists, such as Bohdan Bociurkiw, the only way to ensure the long-term viability of minority ethnic groups' cultures was to ensure that their language was protected (as cited in Blanding, 2013, p. 175). Many ethnic groups were left unsatisfied with the reports of the *B&B Commission*.

Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. To recap, the assumptions upon which the *B&B Commission* were formed were colonial and discriminatory from the start, as only the two dominant languages and cultures were taken into account, and Indigenous and Heritage Languages and cultures ostensibly disappeared/were made invisible. It was the relentless advocacy and energy of ethnocultural groups (especially Ukrainian activists, professors, politicians) organizing in their *mesosystems* and demanding that Canadian identity be seen from a wider angle, that caused the *B&B Commission* to expand its scope and mission and produce a book-length report called *Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic*

Groups (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1970). As Blanding (2013) discovered through archival research on the reaction of immigrant communities to this report, many (but not all) groups felt “strong dissatisfaction,” saying that *Book IV* was inadequate because it still “ultimately assumed that all minority ethnic groups would be assimilated into one of the two societal cultures” and did not guarantee protection nor recommend federal financial support for non-official language teaching in Canada (p. 271). *Book IV* of the *B&B Commission* report (1970) did put forward an “enrichment rationale” for HLs: according to the report, “linguistic variety is unquestionably an advantage and its beneficial effects on the country are priceless” (p. 14). However, it recommended that HLs should not be promoted at the expense of *Official Languages*—which, of course, still privileged the “two founding peoples” or colonizers.

Policy of Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework (1971). Two years after the *B&B Commission* reports, the federal government responded officially to the “question of cultural and ethnic pluralism in this country and the status of our various cultures and languages” (Trudeau, 1971, p. 8545). In October of 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau introduced “a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.” This policy claimed to accept all recommendations of *Book IV* and “the contention of other cultural communities that they, too, are essential elements in Canada and deserve government assistance in order to contribute to regional and national life in ways that derive from their heritages” (pp. 8545–8546). This assistance was to be provided in four ways: (1) assistance to cultural groups in their development and growth within available funds; (2) assistance to members of cultural groups to overcome barriers to full participation in society; (3) promotion of creative exchanges among all cultural groups in the interest of national unity; (4) and assistance to immigrants in learning French or English to become full participants in Canadian society (p. 8546).

As scholars have noted (G. Aberdeen, O. Bilash, R. Petryshyn, M. Pyzyk, personal correspondence, Nov. 18, 2019; Wayland, 1997), this adoption of multiculturalism was mostly symbolic and motivated by political concerns at the time. Trudeau's government was seeking to accomplish several things at once, such as appease the opposition to official bilingualism to gain Liberal votes from ethnocultural communities in the West (Wayland, 1997, p. 47) and accommodate Quebec by retaining and promoting French as an official language. With regards to HLs, there were no promises. Multilingualism was not to be promoted alongside multiculturalism. Language was further divorced from culture for all "other" ethnic groups except French Canadians. In Trudeau's (1971) own words:

The royal commission was guided by the belief that to adhere to one's ethnic group is influenced not so much by one's origin or mother tongue as by one's sense of belonging to the group, and by what the commission calls the group's "collective will to exist." The government shares this belief. (p. 8545)

In other words, *multicultural Canada* was established on contradictory beliefs, such as the belief that an ethnic group's "collective will to exist" or belong does not necessarily include place of origin or mother tongue. Or P. E. Trudeau's conviction that "although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other" (Trudeau, 1971, p. 8545), reinforcing a linguistic hierarchy that privileges language rights for only two groups (Haque, 2012) while simultaneously claiming to value all cultural groups. There was also the incongruous issue of Indigenous linguistic and cultural rights within this new policy. Immediately after Trudeau proclaimed the policy for *multiculturalism within a bilingual framework*, Robert Stanfield, the Leader of the Opposition noted:

I must say that if the effectiveness of the government's action in encouraging the cultural self-fulfillment of the native peoples of Canada can be taken as any kind of an indication

of what the practice will be in this broader field, apart from the statement of principles, then there is not a great deal of hope for the various non-French and non-British ethnic groups within Canada. (pp. 8546–8547)

In other words, the subordinate treatment of Indigenous languages and cultures was seen as an indication of how the protection of HLs and cultures would play out in Canada. Stanfield insisted that the Prime Minister and his colleagues work to give these principles “life and meaning” (p. 8547) in their implementation, not just in words. Perhaps the significance of this policy lies in its implementation in provinces, and the impact it had in the *mesosystem*.

Alberta Legalizes HLs as Language of Instruction in Schools (1971). The province of Alberta amended the *School Act* several times in the 1960s and 70s, following the national tidal waves of official bilingualism and multiculturalism (Aunger, 2004). Amendments in 1964 and 1968 permitted the use of French as a language of instruction. But most significantly for HLs, in 1971, Alberta became the first province in Canada to allow languages other than English or French as mediums of instruction in the public school system. This important amendment allowed a school board to authorize “any other language be used as a language of instruction in addition to the English language, in all or any of its schools,” (School Amendment Act, 1971) and led to compelling changes in the *mesosystem* (i.e., the creation of bilingual Ukrainian public school programs), which would in turn impact HL education for chronosystems to come.

The Mesosystem

The *mesosystem* examines the impact of changes happening at the *macro-* and *exosystem* levels on actual HL communities: How were federal or provincial changes laws and policies impacting actual HL language use and vitality in communities? How were HLs being supported in schools and other community spaces in the 1960s and 70s?

First Bilingual HL School Program Established in Edmonton in 1974. Shortly after the province of Alberta legalized languages other than English and French as mediums for instruction in the public school system, the first *Ukrainian Bilingual Program* was created in Edmonton in 1974. This momentous HL achievement was due to the foresight and gargantuan efforts of many individuals and groups including the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the Ukrainian Professional and Business Club, the two school boards in Edmonton, and the Government of Alberta. The bilingual program started as a three-year pilot project with an initial enrolment of 101 at the kindergarten level; the success of the pilot program led to its permanent approval and extension by the government to Grade 6 in 1976, Grade 9 in 1980, and Grade 12 in 1983 (Edmonton Journal, 1989). This was a partial immersion program, where, on average, Ukrainian was used as the language of instruction to a maximum of 50 percent of the time at the elementary level, about 30 percent of the time at the junior high level, and about 20 percent of the time at the senior high school level. Ukrainian was used for language arts, social studies, music, art, physical education, religion (where offered), drama, and other options. The core subjects (mathematics, sciences, and English language arts) were taught in English. In all of the schools, a French language component was introduced at the Grade 4 level, and thus, for the first time ever in Alberta history, children had the opportunity to learn three languages at school. Research and periodic evaluations of the bilingual program were conducted, and the results were positive. Studies showed that HL students acquired proficiency in HL at “no cost” to their development of English (Cummins & Danesi, 1990, p. 11). This foundational bilingual program paved the way for the addition of bilingual programs in Hebrew, German, Arabic, Mandarin, and Polish in this and Chronosystem 2 (Language Education Policy for Alberta, 1988).

Community HL Schools in Alberta. Community HL schools are defined in the Canadian context as:

Schools which teach primarily language/culture to learners who identify personally with this language/culture (as opposed to second language learning), which are organized and supported by the heritage language community, which are supported financially through fundraising, and which operate independently from the school boards, and which take place outside of regular school hours. (Aberdeen, 2016, p. 54)

These community HL schools (also termed Saturday schools or ethnic schools) have existed in Alberta since the late 1800s, operating in church basements, homes, or rented classrooms for a few hours on evenings and weekends (Aberdeen, 2016). As Aberdeen explains, early community HL schools were established by some of the first immigrant groups from Europe, such as Ukrainians (1891) and Germans (1873), followed by Italians (1899), Armenians (1910), Poles (1913), and Bulgarians (1915) who were mentored by the first immigrant groups (p. 1). By 1977, 65 known ethnic language schools were operating in Alberta, serving over 4000 students in thirteen languages: Arabic, Chinese, Croatian, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hungarian, Hindi, Italian, Polish, Portuguese and Ukrainian (Pelech, 1979).

Aberdeen (2016), who used Bronfenbrenner's *Ecological Systems Theory* (1979) and Hornberger's *Language Policy and Planning* (2005) framework to understand community HL schools in relation to societal attitudes, government policies, curriculum development, day-to-day operations, HL communities, and individuals, demonstrated in her pioneering research how community HL schools have faced continuous struggles for recognition and funding, as well as marginalization and lack of respect. Their place has often been confounded, as they have been bounced around government jurisdictions, from the Ministries of Culture in the 1970s to Community Development in the late 80s, to Education, in the past decade. The federal government did provide some funding support to community HL schools (i.e., not public schools) through the *Cultural Enrichment Program* (roughly 1977–1990), until the funding was eliminated.

Alberta Ethnic Language Teachers Association established (1977). Another important occurrence of this chronosystem was the creation of the *Alberta Ethnic Language Teachers Association* (AELTA) in 1977. This organization would later split into the *Northern Alberta Heritage Languages Association* (NAHLA) and *Southern Alberta Heritage Language Association* (SAHLA) in 1985, with NAHLA morphing into the *International and Heritage Languages Association* (IHLA) in 2003—still operating in 2020. This umbrella organization began to provide support for community HL schools and teachers in the 1970s, hosting events, festivals, and a variety of professional activities, workshops, presentations, training sessions, and conferences for HL teachers. Teachers of the various HLs in Alberta finally had an organization that supported their endeavours and helped them liaise between themselves, schools, communities, and the government. AELTA undoubtedly helped make HL education “legitimate” in Alberta and helped communities learn about the importance of maintaining their HLs, thus raising the status of these languages.

The Microsystem

This level of analysis includes the most intimate relationships to a person (i.e., parents, grandparents, extended family, peers) and individual differences in maintaining HLs. As the *B&B Commission* report (1969) stated, “the survival of a language is generally a product of how well it is passed down by the children of a particular language group” (p. 120). Similarly, Prokop (2000), who studied German-speaking communities in Alberta, said “the extent to which a language is used in the home is most likely the best indicator of its vitality” (para. 2). Thus, raising a child with an HL in the *microsystem* is a strong gauge for how likely they are to maintain that tongue and pass it on.

Intergenerational HL Loss First Documented in Families. It was during this chronosystem that intergenerational HL loss was first reported in Canada. In their

federally-commissioned survey of non-official languages, O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska, (1976) showed rapid language loss among ten ethnic groups surveyed. Despite this trend, the large majority of individuals in their study remained committed to HLDM, and cited language loss as the major problem facing their ethnic group (more than job discrimination, educational opportunities, etc.). In the same vein, Lachapelle and Henripin (1982) provocatively stated that language mobility (shift) for HLs was so high that they had no “real” linguistic existence in Canada—in most cases, the languages had not outlasted the generation that brought them (p. 122). Although this is quite an exaggeration (bordering on erasure of HLs in Canada), other scholars have noted rapid intergenerational HL loss (Prokop, 1989, 2000). Manfred Prokop, an expert in German HLDM in Alberta, revealed that the number of Albertans who reported German as their mother tongue reached almost 100,000 between 1961 and 1971, a number which dropped to 78,000 in 2001 (2000, para. 1). He offered some possible sociocultural explanations for German intergenerational language loss in Alberta, including a “readiness to become Canadian,” or a willingness to adjust to what they perceived to be expected of them (sometimes switching to English as a home language in as little as six months of moving to Canada) as they suffered “frequent malignment in public life” (para. 69). In addition to sociocultural explanations, Prokop (1989) reviewed other individual factors in HLDM: recency of immigration, rural vs. urban residence, level of education, type of occupation, gender, age, the rate of endogamy and the extent to which German is spoken in the home environment. *Sin duda*, HLDM is a very complex phenomenon which must be constantly viewed from different, kaleidoscopic angles.

Parents Committed to HLDM but Need Institutional Support. Nevertheless, O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976) showed that parents were committed to linguistic and cultural maintenance for their children to combat HL loss and felt that HLDM was mostly their responsibility as parents. The authors, however, insisted that “the job of preserving language is

quite possibly beyond them” (p. 176), implying they needed public institutional support to combat rapid intergenerational loss of language (at the *mesosystem* and *exosystem* levels). Indeed, there were indications in their study that HLs were relegated for use in the *microsystem*. For example, self-reports of language use showed that Portuguese HL speakers *preferred* to use their language in the home with parents and relatives, and use English for school- and work-related activities outside of the home. English began to be viewed as the language of economic and social advancement by HL speakers. This may be an early example of how the disparity between the use of HLs in the *microsystem* vs. in *mesosystems* could have been exacerbated by *macrosystem* attitudes regarding the use of dominant colonial/colonizing languages for social advancement and “fitting in.” As Prokop (2000) relays:

The immigrants' children, for psychological reasons (being "German" made them different, and adolescents do not want to be different from their peers), often resisted their parents' attempts to get them to learn German (later on often regretting not having learned German at home), steadily undermining their parents' determination and perseverance until they finally gave up. Of course, some parents never had the steely resolve to teach their children German in the home, insist on their speaking German at home or have the time and energy to drive them to "German school"; it certainly was a great deal easier to become assimilated into the anglophone mainstream. (Prokop, 2000, para. 73)

There was no doubt that during the 1960s and 70s, HL parents and their children were facing discrimination and some may have wanted to assimilate to curb those problems. To close the circle of this chronosystem, even Paul Yuzyk, the “father” of multiculturalism in Canada who was Saskatchewan-born, faced a lack of acceptance in society. As his children recalled, Yuzyk applied for teaching jobs seventy-seven times, and seventy-seven times he was rejected, as people did not want a “foreigner” teaching their children (Smith, 2017).

Visual Summary of Chronosystem 1

Chronosystem 1 began with a positioning of Canada as a country of contradictions: A mosaic that flattens tesserae in order to make them fit in; a country that perpetuated Indigenous cultural genocide and linguicide while pushing official “bilingualism” and “biculturalism”; a country that restricted entry to immigrants based on eugenic and white supremacist ideals; a country that established a paradoxical policy of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework”; a country with opposing views on HL education and multilingualism. And yet, despite these imperfect policies and criticisms which spilled into the next chronosystem, many positive things happened in Chronosystem 1. A strong multicultural movement led by Ukrainian-Canadians pressed for minority language and culture rights for immigrant groups. A report was written recognizing the cultural contributions of ethnocultural communities in Canada. A world-first multicultural policy was articulated. A Canada-first HL Ukrainian bilingual program set the stage for public schooling in other HLs in Alberta. An association was established to support community HL schools. And several researchers started to become interested in HLDM and intergenerational language loss. For a visual summary of Chronosystem 1, see Figure 14 below.

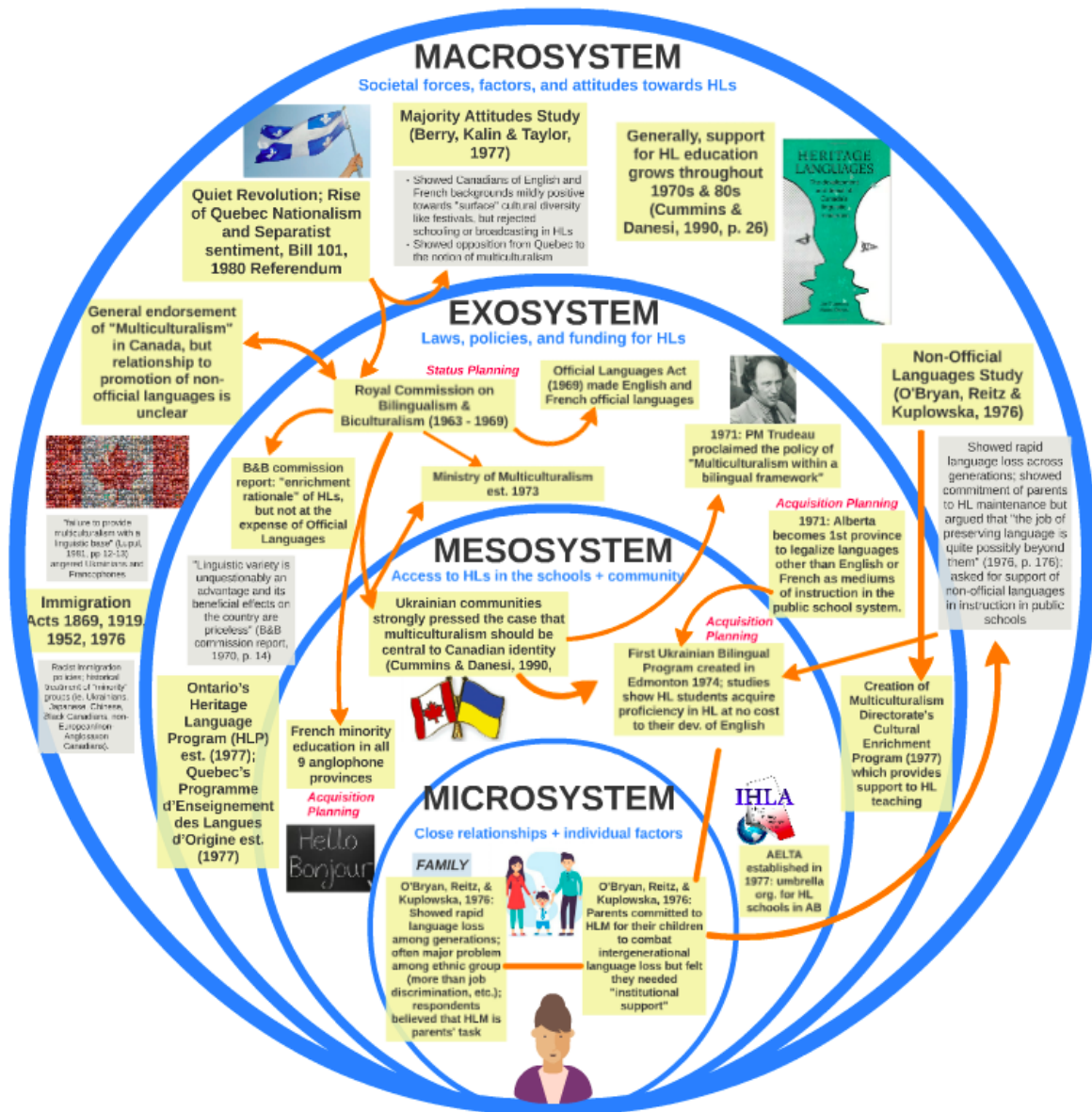


Figure 14: Visual depiction of Chronosystem 1

Chronosystem 2: 1982–2000

The Macrosystem

The Changing Reality of Canada's Racial and Ethnic Diversity. In the 1980s and 1990s, Canada's demographics were rapidly changing. In 1981, at the beginning of this chronosystem, the combination of a lower birth rate and increasing immigration saw the British and French populations decline to 40% and 27%, respectively, and by the end of the

chronosystem, the number of people with British, French, and/or “Canadian” ethnic origins dropped to a combined 46%, with the term Canadian first introduced in the 1996 census (Brosseau & Dewing, 2009, pp. 1–2). According to Brosseau and Dewing (2009), the 1980s were a “difficult period for race relations in Canada” (p. 4), as immigration had markedly changed the composition of the population in large cities over a short period of time (enter the term “visible minority immigrants”), and at the same time Canada also began to see the emergence of individuals and groups promoting racist ideologies. As revealed in *Equality Now!* the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities report (Canada, 1984), new immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America voiced new concerns and priorities such as obtaining employment, housing, and education, and fighting racism and discrimination. The unique concerns of these immigrant groups would reshape conceptions of what equality and multiculturalism meant in Canada, with the role of HLDM ever more debated and confounded.

New Conceptions of Equality and Multiculturalism in Terms of Race. The *Equality Now!* report recommended that “multicultural policy must now be strengthened and greater emphasis placed on the race relations element, in order to accommodate the new realities of Canada’s multiracial society” (Canada, 1984, p. 55). According to Gagnon et al. (2019), “the original policy of multiculturalism focused on cultural preservation, primarily reflecting the interests of European-born immigrants” and was no longer reflective of the demographics and needs of the changing Canadian society (para. 2). Therefore, “equality through the removal of racially discriminatory barriers became the main focus of multicultural programs, and race relations policies and programs were put in place to uncover, isolate and combat racial discrimination at person and institutional levels” (Brosseau & Dewing, 2009, pp. 3–4). Regrettably, a focus on eliminating racism did not necessarily mean a focus on promoting linguistic justice. The belief among numerous politicians, journalists, and sociologists from both

majority and minority groups was that newcomers should make every effort to integrate to Canada, even if it meant losing their HLs. Even for minority academics and thinkers, language seemed to be a necessary sacrifice on the altar of equality, citizenship, and national unity. Even Bengali-Canadian sociologist Himani Bannerji (2000) claimed, immigrant groups themselves “often forgot” that the right to publicly funded heritage language classes were “much less important” than “full citizenship rights” and a “generally non-racist society” (p. 46). Thus, HLs were further divorced from culture (and race, ethnicity, identity). When HLs *were* endorsed, it was in the spirit of promoting languages as an economic resource for the nation. As Liberal MP Dennis Mills touted in 1994, “we have people in our country who can go home and trade on behalf of Canada because they preserve that language of origin” and “multiculturalism is not about dancing, it is not about books. It is about turning Canadians into assets for Canada’s balance sheet” (Mills, 1994, cited in Ryan, 2010, p. 78). This neoliberalist business/trade orientation to cultures and languages led to HLs being reframed as “international languages” in Alberta and other provinces (Tavares, 2000), a re-conceptualization that was meant to help Canadians let go of past identities, and instead look towards a profitable future.

Multicultiphobia: Divided Attitudes Towards Multiculturalism and HLs. By the 1980s, Canada was the only country in the world with an official multiculturalism policy (1971) and legislation (1988), but not everyone was happy about it. Quebec continued to oppose official multiculturalism on the premise that other cultures were a threat to the survival of their language and culture (Jedwab, 2003). Also, as Ryan (2010) recounts, influential Anglophone critics of multiculturalism as a demographic, ideological, and/or political phenomenon (Bissoondath, 1994; Bibby 1990, 1994; Granatstein, 1998; Gwyn, 1995) claimed that multiculturalism encourages division and an “obsessively backwards gaze” of preserving a “frozen” culture (Bissoondath, 1994, p. 110); “diminishes all sense of Canadian values and what is a Canadian” (Bissoondath,

1994, p. 71); “funds newcomers to preserve their old ways”; promotes “separateness” (Granatstein, 1998, p. 86); constructs “cultural walls” between Canadians; and breeds fear for the future of English-speaking Canadians (Gwyn, 1995). The following three quotes represent some of these assumptions and reveal “deficit” views of multiculturalism as a threat to a strong and unified Canada in this chronosystem.

The absurdity here is that almost no one from Italy, say, or Somalia, comes to Canada to be an Italian or a Somali. They come here to be Canadians. As soon as landed, though, their new state in effect tells them that rather than becoming Canadians they *must* remain Italian-Canadians, Somali-Canadians, and so on. (Gwyn, 1995, p. 232)

Remain a Somali, a Taiwanese, a Ukrainian, or a Bolivian, the message goes, and you will be just as good a Canadian as everyone else. In effect, the message is that Canada (or English Canada at least) has no culture. Moreover, the federal, provincial, and municipal governments will give any group money to preserve its original culture, heritage, and language. (Granatstein, 1998, p. 86)

People, regardless of their origin, do not emigrate to preserve their culture and nurture their ethnic distinctiveness. If they wished to do that, they would stay where they were because the environment is more conducive to the perpetuation of one’s culture and ethnicity. Immigrants come here to become Canadians. (Khan cited in Manning, 1992, p. 316)

To preserve, to retain, to remain, to reclaim? To acculturate, to assimilate, to adapt, to accommodate? And to what degree? These were the questions that made up the zeitgeist of the

time and inevitably influenced societal attitudes, perceptions, and practices of HLDM. As seen above, “becoming Canadian” was still strongly rooted in Anglo-conformity (or Franco-conformity in Quebec). The “multicultiphobia” (Ryan, 2010) seen in the above excerpts reveals anxieties and assumptions about minority cultures and languages as *barriers* to Canadian unity. These concerns were echoed in “the vehemence of the negative reaction to heritage language instruction” especially in Ontario in the 1980s and 90s that Cummins and Danesi (1990) reported (p. 15). According to them, “racist institutional structures [were] very much in evidence behind the multicultural facade” (p. 9) and often led to the “denial” of HLs as Canada’s linguistic resources in schools and communities. For example, they note, “commentators typically have no objection to communities teaching heritage languages quietly in their own homes or community schools, but they object strenuously to heritage language teaching being institutionalized within the public school system and supported by public monies” (p. 21).

This relates to Li’s (2003) astute critique of Canada’s discourse of immigrant integration, where “individual multiculturalism in private life” is encouraged (p. 2), but conformity, compliance, homogeneity, and uniformity are still the desirable outcomes and benchmarks by which immigrants are judged. As Li asserts, “Socially, immigrants who are quick to abandon their non-official languages and speak the official languages, move away from distinct ethnic neighbourhoods, and adopt a way of life similar to majority Canadians are considered well integrated” (p. 8). Despite the rhetorical commitment to diversity and multiculturalism, there was a strong expectation for immigrants to “outperform or match the performance of native-born Canadians” (p. 8), which had the underlying expectation of linguistic and cultural conformity. This had major repercussions for the microsystem, as parents and children negotiated HLs in the home but were hampered by assimilatory pressures.

The Exosystem

Canadian Charter of Rights & Freedoms (1982). With the adoption of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (the Charter) in 1982, the multicultural heritage of Canadians was officially accepted in the Constitution. Section 27 of the Charter states: “This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians” (Canadian Charter, 1982, section 27). With regards to HLs, Section 22 guarantees that the rights in respect to the use of English and French in the Charter do not remove or reduce any right to use other languages:

“22. Nothing in sections 16 to 20 abrogates or derogates from any legal or customary right or privilege acquired or enjoyed either before or after the coming into force of this Charter with respect to any language that is not English or French.” (section 22)

Neither “abrogates nor derogates” smacks of naive neutrality towards HLs (*i.e., I’m not saying you shouldn’t, but I’m also not saying you should*), but it was an important first opening for the legislation that was to follow.

Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988). Won with the continued advocacy, research, and pressures from a variety of immigrant groups, the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* of 1988 finally provided a legislative framework for the official policy of multiculturalism adopted by the federal government in 1971. This world-first legislation not only “acknowledge[d] the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage” (1988, section 3.1.a, p. 837), but also aimed to reduce cultural and racial discrimination through policies, practices, and programs at the federal level (3.2.a–f, pp. 838–839). Verbs such as *recognize, acknowledge, promote, ensure, encourage, assist, foster, preserve, enhance, protect, share, and advance* were used to affirm Canada’s multicultural heritage and identity as a “fundamental characteristic” and an “invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada’s future” (section 3.1.b, p.

837). Most relevant to HLDM, the act proclaimed to: “preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada” (section 3.1.i, p. 838); “make use, as appropriate, of the language skills and cultural understanding of individuals of all origins” (section 3.2.e, p. 839); and “facilitate the acquisition, retention and use of all languages that contribute to the multicultural heritage of Canada” (section 5.1.f, p. 840).

For the first time in Canadian history, HLs had some concrete legislation backing their use, preservation, enhancement, and retention. This legislation was used in the mesosystem to argue for more initiatives, such as school, community, and cultural programs for HLDM. There was even a connection to creative and cultural expressions, as the Act sought to “promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins” (section g, p. 838) and “promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures” (section h, p. 838), both of which are at the heart of this study on HLDM through the arts. Furthermore, this *Multiculturalism Act* opened the door to other supporting acts, such as the *Department of Canadian Heritage Act* (1995), which created a Department and Minister of *Canadian Heritage* in charge of, among many other things, promoting “multiculturalism” (1995, section b), “the arts” (section c), “cultural heritage and industries, including performing arts, visual and audio-visual arts, publishing, sound recording, film, video and literature” (section d), and “the advancement of the equality of status and use of English and French and the enhancement of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada” (1995, section g).

3.3.2.3: *Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act* (1991). The momentum of new federal multiculturalism legislation brought about another Act in the early nineties aimed at HLs specifically: the *Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act* (1991). This Act pledged to

create a national institute based in Edmonton, Alberta to facilitate, throughout Canada, the acquisition, retention and use of heritage languages by:

- (a) promoting, through public education and discussion, the learning of heritage languages and their benefit to Canada;
- (b) providing the public with information about heritage language resources;
- (c) developing programs to improve the quality of heritage language instruction;
- (d) assisting in the production and dissemination of Canadian-oriented materials related to the study of heritage languages;
- (e) assisting in the development of standards for the learning of heritage languages;
- (f) conducting research into all aspects of heritage languages;
- (g) establishing scholarly and professional links between the Institute and universities, colleges and other organizations and persons interested in the Institute's work;
- (h) encouraging consultation in matters relating to heritage languages among governments, institutions, organizations and individuals interested in heritage languages; and
- (i) undertaking any other activities in furtherance of its purpose. (1991, section 4)

The Act was passed by both chambers and received royal assent on February 1, 1991, but then... *jno pasó nada!* (nothing happened!). Some scholars report that the 1992 federal budget deferred the establishment of this institute until further notice (Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014), and some claim that Francophone pressure led to its disheartening disappearance, as HLs were seen as a threat to the development and sustainability of French as a minority language (G. Aberdeen, O. Bilash, R. Petryshyn, M. Pyzyk, personal correspondence, Nov. 18, 2019). Either way, as Fawcett (2011), explains, “years went by and the Act disappeared from the public eye” (p. 71). Losing patience, in 2000, Fiona Pelech (former president of AELTA, educator, and activist for HLs in

Alberta) wrote a letter to her MP regarding the Act. She received a response from Senator Tommy Banks, who investigated and discovered that the Act had never been *proclaimed*, a fate that over sixty other bills faced. The *Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act* later got repealed in 2008, under the *Statuses Repeal Act (2008)*, an act to repeal legislation that has not come into force within ten years of receiving royal assent. Unfortunately, for the millions of Canadians who may have benefited from federal support with acquiring, using, retaining, training, or researching their HLs, that promise disappeared into thin air.

Multiculturalism Policies in Alberta. Alberta first adopted legislation regarding multiculturalism in 1984 with the passage of the *Alberta Cultural Heritage Act*, which recognized multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Albertan society, with economic, social, and cultural benefits for all citizens. It was replaced in 1990 by the *Alberta Multiculturalism Act*, of which the main objectives were to encourage respect for and promote an awareness of the multicultural heritage of the province, and to foster an environment in which all Albertans can participate and contribute to its cultural, social, economic and political life. The Act established a *Multiculturalism Commission* to advise the government on policy and programs respecting multiculturalism, a *Multiculturalism Advisory Council* to make policy recommendations to the Commission, and a *Multicultural Fund* to finance programs and services related to its objectives and to provide grants to eligible persons and organizations.

In 1996, in a very controversial move, Premier Ralph Klein's government merged the human rights and multiculturalism programs and revoked the *Alberta Multiculturalism Act* with Bill 24. Essentially, this Bill amended the *Individual Rights Protection Act* to create a new *Alberta Human Rights and Citizenship Commission* by combining the old *Human Rights Commission*, the *Multicultural Commission*, and the *Women's Secretariat* into one. Bill 24 faced a storm of criticism outside the Legislature, especially for repealing the *Multiculturalism Act*, which angered

many cultural groups (Jansen, 1996). A coalition of over eighty groups opposed to Bill 24 (led by Con. Senator Ron Ghitter, human rights commissioner Fil Fraser and University of Calgary law professor Kathleen Mahoney) evidently pressured the government, and Premier Klein made changes to Bill 24 to better endorse multiculturalism (Jansen, 1996, p. 221).

Language Education Policy for Alberta (1988). Meanwhile, the provincial government released, in 1988, the *Language Education Policy for Alberta*, with three purposes: (1) to ensure that all Alberta students achieve a high proficiency in the English language, (2) to develop programs to fulfill the rights of francophone Albertans who qualify under section 23 of the Charter to have their children educated in French, and (3) to provide opportunities for students to learn a variety of languages other than English or French (p. 1). In relation to the third commitment related to HLs, the official policy of Alberta became:

Alberta Education supports the provision of opportunities for students who wish to acquire or maintain languages other than English or French so that they may have access to a partial immersion (bilingual) program or second language courses in languages other than English or French. (p. 16)

Yes, officially, Alberta supported the provision of HL education opportunities, which led scholars such as Cummins and Danesi (1990) to report that Alberta and the prairie provinces were most supportive of HLs in the 1980s. But despite this commitment to non-official language education, the majority of the policy document favoured a strong commitment to English acquisition:

every year Alberta receives a considerable number of students who either do not know the English language *and culture* or who require special assistance in order to be able to participate fully in our education system and in Canadian society...Additionally, there are some Alberta students who were born in Canada, but because their first language learned and spoken at home is not English, may not be fluent enough in English to allow them to

succeed when they enter the school system. (Language Education Policy for Alberta, 1988, p. 3–4, emphasis added)

Not only was learning the English language considered essential, but also learning English *culture* (read: White Anglo-Saxon colonizing culture) was deemed essential. Reading *between* the lines of this document, one realizes the implicit (and explicit) biases against students born outside of Alberta and inside of Alberta, but who had a mother tongue other than English, and biases in favour of strengthening English as *the* language of Alberta. As the policy repeatedly states, “in an Alberta context, it is essential for all students to be able to communicate effectively in the English language. The goals of Alberta's education system emphasize the development of English language competency” (p. 6). The colonial linguistic hierarchy was maintained, with English at the top, followed by French, then “other languages,” including Indigenous languages and immigrant languages at the bottom. A reminder to the reader that the last “Indian Residential School” closed in Edmonton in 1996, so Indigenous linguicide and immigrant assimilation were happening simultaneously to this policy for almost a decade.

In the *mesosystem*, HL parents took notice of the subtext of this new *Language Education Policy for Alberta*. A newspaper report from the time stated that the *Alberta Parents for Ukrainian Education* (APUE) were “gravely concerned that the policy may in fact imply reduced commitment by the current government to the teaching of Ukrainian and other languages” (Edmonton Journal, 1989, para. 5). The concerns of the Ukrainian community and other ethno-cultural groups were brought to the attention of the Minister of Education at a conference held in May 1989, entitled, *Language Education Policy and the Ukrainian Perspective*. APUE had a series of meetings with the Minister of Education to clarify the status of Ukrainian language education in the province, its future, and the level of commitment of the government. Despite

these lackluster efforts in increasing HL acquisition and use, HL education happened primarily due to the effort and responsibility of community members in the mesosystem.

The Mesosystem

Bilingual programs expand in Edmonton. In the 1980s and 90s, HL learners in Alberta had access to instruction in their HL either through community HL schools, bilingual school programs, language and culture programs (courses) in schools, or University courses. By 1989, the Ukrainian Bilingual program in Edmonton was already celebrating its 15th anniversary. An article in the *Edmonton Journal* reported that during the 1988/89 school year 1,395 students were enrolled in the Ukrainian Bilingual Program in the following school districts: Edmonton Public, Edmonton Catholic, Lamont, Minburn (Vegreville) and Sherwood Park Catholic, and requests were made for the program in Calgary, Fort McMurray, Calmar, Lethbridge, Red Deer, Bonnyville and the west end of Edmonton (*Edmonton Journal*, 1989). The success of the program was reported due to many factors, including support from the Ukrainian community as a whole, parents recognizing the value of the program and forming parental advisory societies in each school district to recruit and strengthen the program, teachers, principals and curriculum developers committed to the program, and Ukrainian churches, organizations and individuals supporting the program financially and through volunteering their time and effort.

This initial Ukrainian Bilingual program paved the way for other cultural groups to advocate for public bilingual school programs in their HLs. In the 1987–1988 school year, there were 1,413 students enrolled in locally developed bilingual or partial immersion programs including 265 in Arabic (K–5), 234 in Mandarin Chinese (K–5), 339 in German (K–9), 458 in Hebrew/Yiddish (K–9), and 117 in Polish (K–5) (*Language Education Policy for Alberta*, 1988). HL education remained primarily a community concern at the mesosystem level, with no single

authority at either the provincial or federal levels to oversee them, and with little (but growing) academic recognition (Trifonas & Aravossitas, 2014).

Pelech (1983) reported challenges for bilingual programs, including the lack of awareness among parents that Heritage Languages were being taught, the scattered nature of HL speaking children which made transportation a problem, the lack of qualified teachers, the lack of books, workbooks, and audio-visual materials, most of which were assembled from scratch by HL teachers (pp. 268–269.) Another concern she mentioned was the general public placing a “very low” priority on language study compared with other subjects (p. 272) with Canada claiming “2 official languages with only tokenism for other languages,” (p. 273) echoing attitudes in the macrosystem that had persisted since Lester B. Pearson’s *Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism*. Conversely, Pelech iterated: “Languages do not constitute a barrier or a threat, but are an asset, a source of cultural enrichment and a bridge to better business and cultural relations within our country and abroad” (p. 272). In her 21 recommendations to boost HLDM, she recommended that the entire community, including governments, public schools, community schools, colleges, universities, and the media, all work together to promote plurilingualism in Canada and support HLs at all levels and put forward more concrete initiatives—from increasing the public’s awareness of language learning, to training HL teachers, to more HL TV programs, to organizing immersive opportunities for children in their HLs. Indeed, change was needed at all levels, and especially support was needed at the macrosystem and exosystem levels to be able to maintain HLs in the mesosystem and microsystem.

Community HL Programs Grow. In September 1989, when Multicultural Minister Gerry Weiner announced the establishment of the Heritage Languages Institute (which, of course, never came to fruition), he noted that there were 129,000 Canadian students studying 60 languages in supplementary or community HL schools across the country (Weiner cited in Cummins & Danesi,

1990, p. 26). The Multiculturalism Directorate's Cultural Enrichment Program (1977–1990) provided some support to community HL schools until funding was cut and schools had to fend for themselves. In 1988, there were 143 community HL schools in Alberta, serving 11,552 students in 41 different languages, including Amharic, Arabic, Bengali, Cantonese, Cree (Indigenous), Chipewyan (Indigenous), Croatian, Czech, Farsi, French, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Malayalam, Mandarin, Norwegian, Oromo, Pashto, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Russian, Saulteaux (Indigenous), Sinhalese, Spanish, Swedish, Tagalog, Tamil, Tigray, Tigrinya, Turkish, Ukrainian, Urdu, and Vietnamese. For the purposes of this dissertation, I only delve into one school: the Gabriela Mistral Latin American School.

Gabriela Mistral Latin American School Founded (1987). According to their website (n. d.), “The Gabriela Mistral Latin American School was founded on October 9, 1987 by a group of parents and teachers who sought to maintain and promote the Spanish language and culture among their children” (“Who are we?”, para. 1). Demonstrating that HLDM initiatives often begin and flourish with strong, active communities in the mesosystem, the website reveals: “since 1994, the school has not benefited from the financial support of any level of government. Instead, we have had to rely solely on the efforts and generosity of each one of our members” (para. 4). The school still relies on parents to commit volunteer shifts twice a year at the school and for special events. Over the last thirty years, the school has grown and changed, retaining its initial focus on HLDM while also championing that “the ability to communicate in other languages is essential in today’s society...[for] intercultural exchanges... [to] build bridges of mutual understanding...[and for] activities such as travel and business” (para. 2). Today, in 2020, anyone can learn Spanish at this school, from HL learners to FL learners. Its vibrant community, of which I had the pleasure to partake while teaching there in 2013, includes children, families, and adults wishing to learn or

maintain their Spanish. Their website says, “Nowadays, almost half of the children enrolled do not have a Latin background, which further enriches the environment and adds diversity to our lively school” (para. 5).

The Microsystem

More Immigration Does Not Equal More HLDM. Part of the microsystem includes analyzing available reports of *individual* language use, shift, and maintenance, and questioning what factors (in the macrosystem, exosystem, mesosystem) might impact these trends. By 2001, about one in six individuals (almost 5,335,000 people or 17.5% of Canada’s population), reported having a mother tongue other than English or French, a sum which grew 12.5% from 1996 (Statistics Canada, 2002). With so many individuals having non-official mother tongues (which they presumably also used in the home), one might suppose that multilingualism and HLDM in Canada would be sustainable; however, most research in this chronosystem suggests otherwise. Though HLDM was not a very studied phenomena in the 1980s and 90s, in part because of an assumption that these languages were a “temporary anomaly driven by recent immigration” (Pendakur, 1990, p. 1), there was a small body of literature in this chronosystem that continued to provide evidence for a rapid loss of HLDM among generations of immigrants (Grenier, 1982; Pendakur, 1990; Jedwab, 2000). Second and third generation Canadians were typically found not to have communicative competence in their parents’ mother tongues (Lowe, 2005). And in some cases, even first generation immigrants lost their HL skills, as “those who immigrate as children are more likely to shift to the dominant language” (Grenier, 1982, p. 22). Such was my case, before I began my language reclamation process as an adolescent and adult.

Nevertheless, some useful data on HLDM and shift for this chronosystem comes from Ravi Pendakur (1990), who investigated the use of HLs in Canada, as well as the shift in use towards an official language by HL speakers using data from the 1986 census for Montreal,

Toronto, and Vancouver. Pendakur focused on the relationship between the three census language variables (home language, mother tongue, and knowledge of official language), and conducted a language transfer analysis for seven linguistic regions, including five contact regions (areas in which both official languages are spoken). He found that generally, language maintenance and shift in Canada was related to the relative “age” of the linguistic group: the older the group and the lower the proportion of immigrants in the group, the lower the rate of HL usage. However, Pendakur noted an interesting finding:

at the same time, those individuals born in Canada who do speak a HL as mother tongue have roughly the same rate of language maintenance as those born outside Canada. The majority of language “loss” by a linguistic community is therefore concluded to take place “between generations.” (p. iii)

Pendakur did not, unfortunately, offer potential reasons for why HL speakers did not pass on their tongues. There was still a major research gap in examining the affective, assimilatory pressures that may hinder HLDM in the home.

Assimilatory Pressures Hinder HLDM in the Home. Why does language loss happen between generations, between family members in the microsystem? Why are most immigrants unsuccessful in passing their languages to their family members? Lowe (2005) reminds us that “the pressure to assimilate is an extremely powerful social force in North America, particularly for minority children” (p. 59). In Canada, the dominant language of English (or French in Quebec) permeates the classroom, the playground, and other community spaces (mesosystems), which bleeds into the microsystem (the home, family, close relationships). As Lowe beautifully synthesizes:

Aware that English is positively received by their teachers and peers, minority students generally bring the same attitudes into their homes even though they realize that their

parents prefer the use of their HL. Children also intuitively recognize that their teachers and peers disapprove of the use of a “heritage” language; this realization causes children to distance themselves from ethnicity through rejecting the most salient feature of their ethnicity, their language. (p. 59)

Through researching more than 250 autobiographies of Asian-American students in the United States, Hinton (2001) reveals one of the most prominent reasons for “involuntary language loss”: children “buy into [a] system of belief” that they must entirely reject their language in order to be part of American society (p. 203). Assimilatory pressures are also experienced by parents. Pacin-Ketchabaw, Bernhard and Freire (2001), observed Latin American Spanish-speaking mothers’ interactions with teachers in the Toronto school system and found that even when mothers were not told explicitly that speaking Spanish to their children would hamper their children’s academic progress, implicit devaluations of bilingualism were omnipresent, as language and speech problems and school difficulties were often attributed to the use of Spanish in the home and HLDM was never encouraged. This led to fear, and even guilt among mothers that promoting Spanish in the microsystem was harmful for their children in their acquisition of the dominant language and school culture. Parents also often do not realize HL loss is happening until it is too late (Wong Fillmore, 1991). In sum, in order for a language to flourish in the microsystem, extensive and explicit support and encouragement needs to be *felt* in the mesosystem. Schools and other community spaces need to question their own assimilatory practices to ensure that involuntary language loss is not *promoted* for the sake of fitting in and getting “ahead.” This study examines this mesosystem-microsystem relationship both implicitly and explicitly, through the lens of a Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy (Cummins, 2009) that empowers students to take pride in their languages and cultures.

3.3.5: Visual summary of Chronosystem 2.

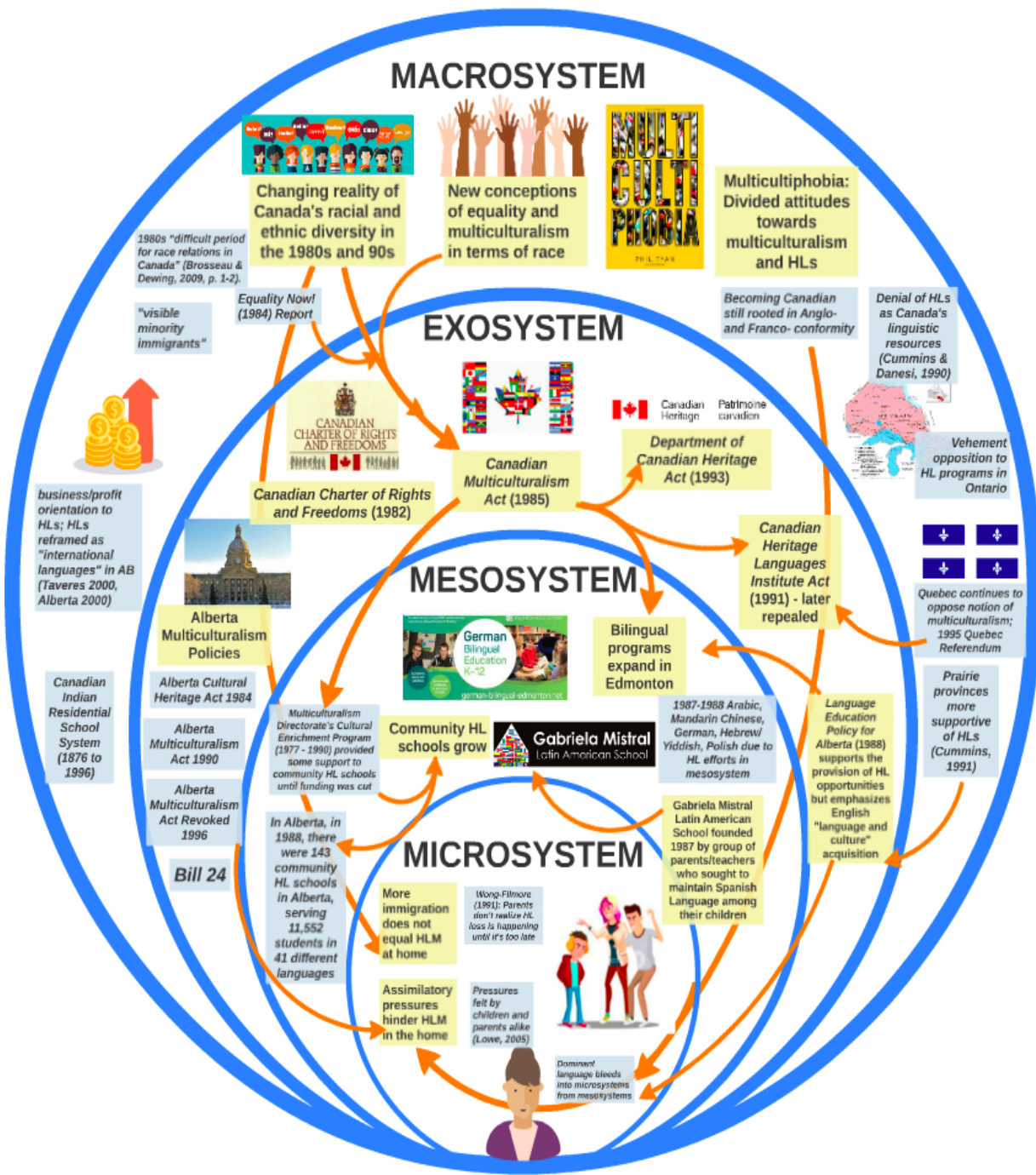


Figure 15: Visual depiction of Chronosystem 2

Chronosystem 3: 2000–2020

The Macrosystem

Globalization and Language Maintenance. Chronosystem 3, representing the first two decades of the 21st century, is marked by colossal changes in the ways languages, identities, and cultures are learned, taught, and shared on a global scale. Unprecedented global migration and travel, the onset of the Digital Age, the rise of the Internet, the explosion of social media, the proliferation of computers and smartphones: *totul s-a întâmplat atât de repede* (everything happened so fast). Whereas in the late 1990s, I would wait weeks to receive letters from family in Romania, by the year 2000 we could instantly chat on MSN Messenger; by 2003, we could video call on Skype; by 2006, we were constantly connected on Facebook; by 2009, we WhatsApp'd daily; and between 2010–2020, we shared copious photos and videos on Instagram. In the span of one chronosystem, everything seemingly changed. People, goods, services, capital, technology, and information began to flow across borders in alarming volumes and at alarming speeds. How do languages fare in a “world without borders”? How does globalization change our understanding of HLDM in Canada and abroad?

Many linguists report that globalization processes have been overall detrimental to world languages (Brenzinger, 2007; Krauss, 1992; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Wilford, 2007). According to the United Nations (n. d.),

[while] at least 43% of the estimated 6000 languages spoken in the world are endangered, only a few hundred languages have genuinely been given a place in education systems and the public domain, and less than a hundred are used in the digital world. (para. 2)

An estimated 2.3 billion, or 40% of the world's population does not have access to an education in a mother tongue or a home language that they can speak or understand (para. 6). Every two weeks, a language is said to disappear (para. 5). With it vanishes an entire cultural and intellectual heritage, including unique ways of thinking, being, remembering, learning, teaching, and expressing.

Nevertheless, there have been international efforts in this chronosystem to try to stop and reverse language loss, shift, and death. Most notably, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) emphasizes the priority of revitalizing and maintaining Indigenous languages. UNDRIP was adopted on September 13, 2007 by a majority of 144 votes in favour and 4 votes against: Australia, New Zealand, the United States, and Canada (which argued that UNDRIP went against the Canadian constitution). Canada removed its objector status only in 2016, after the release of the *Truth and Reconciliation Report* and Calls to Action (2015) and the transition from Stephen Harper's Conservative to Justin Trudeau's Liberal federal government. Furthermore, the UN declared 2019 as the *International Year of Indigenous Languages* in hopes to promote awareness of their importance and counteract their alarming rates of disappearance. Canada has responded to these global calls to action with new language legislation for ILs, as we will see in the discussion of this exosystem.

In addition, several organizations worldwide are working to revitalize the languages of Indigenous, minority, immigrant, and refugee communities. Some examples include *Linguapax International* (Barcelona), *Mother Tongues* (Ireland), *Modurmal Iceland*, *Community Languages Australia*, the *National Heritage Language Resource Center* (California), and UNESCO. Since 2000, UNESCO's *International Mother Language Day* has been observed every year on February 21st to raise awareness about linguistic diversity and mother-tongue based multilingual education (the date was chosen in remembrance of February 21, 1952 when Bangla-speaking students were shot and killed by police in Dhaka for hosting a demonstration in recognition of their language). UNESCO's *Initiative B@bel* works to promote linguistic diversity on the Internet, where 90% of content exists in only 12 languages (UNESCO, 2017, para. 3); UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* raises awareness about global language endangerment; and UNESCO has published continuous research on the benefits of mother-tongue-based multilingual education as

an approach that improves equity and inclusion in education for minority language communities (Bühmann & Trudell, 2007; UNESCO Bangkok, 2007; UNESCO, 2003; Wisbey, 2013). The UN officially advocates for the use of the mother tongue as the immersive language of instruction especially in primary education, as a prelude to or complement to learning other national or international languages. This approach has roots in Canadian research.

Canada Seen as World Leader in Bilingual Education and Multiculturalism. By Chronosystem 3, Canada was recognized as a global leader in both language education research and multicultural policies/practices. Canadian immersion and bilingual education scholars (such as Jim Cummins, Fred Genesee, Wallace Lambert, Sharon Lapkin, Nina Spada, Merrill Swain, Olenka Bilash) have been prominent on the world stage since the 1960s. The importance of their research and concepts cannot be understated. Lambert, considered one of the founders of psycho- and sociolinguistics, also helped conceptualize content-based language learning. Cummins' (1979) *Interdependence Hypothesis* and concepts of *Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills* (BICS) and *Cognitive Academic Language Performance* (CALP) helped us better understand bilingual students' language abilities and needs; Cummins' (2009) TMP framework is used in this study. Swain's (1985) *pushed output hypothesis* emphasized the importance of speaking in language learning; her work with Canale (1980) on *communicative competence* underlies *Communicative Language Teaching* today. Bilash's (2002, 2011, 2012) research in bilingual, Indigenous, and HL education has impacted communities of practice across Canada and internationally; *Bilash's Success-guided Language Instruction Model* (B-SLIM) and language education resources have been used to train thousands of language teachers. Further, these scholars have participated in many international projects, conferences, and educational initiatives at home and abroad. As a result, "adaptations of Canadian immersion programs have taken place in Finland, the Basque Country, Singapore, Hong Kong, Israel, United States, New Zealand,

Ireland, and Wales”—often to help language minority children develop or maintain their home languages (Wright & Baker, 2017, p. 68).

Multiculturalism research, policies, and practice have also set Canada apart in the world. In the last two chronosystems, we witnessed how Canada became the first country to adopt an official multiculturalism policy (1971) and legislation (1985); as a result, Canada “has played an important role in shaping international conceptions of what multiculturalism is” (Kymlicka, 2007, p. 107). For instance, the way multiculturalism is tied to human rights in the *Multiculturalism Act* is nearly replicated in the UN’s 1992 *Declaration on the Rights of Minorities*—in both documents, minority rights to maintain language and culture are seen as simply an extension of human rights obligations. Internationally, Canadian multiculturalism continues to be widely viewed as “prototypical” and “a success story” in contesting ethnic and racial hierarchies, creating more democratic relations of citizenship, and encouraging political integration (Bloemraad, 2006; Kymlicka 2010, 2012). In an analysis of twenty-two Western liberal democracies, Will Kymlicka (2007) revealed that only Canada and Australia have “strongly” adopted multicultural policies for immigrants. While New Zealand, the United States, Belgium, The Netherlands, Sweden, and the United Kingdom have “modestly” adopted multiculturalist approaches, the majority (thirteen) of Western liberal democracies “largely reject” the idea of multiculturalism policies for immigrant minority communities, including Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland (p. 75), rejections which stem from ideological reasons, varying conceptions of multiculturalism, and unique sets of circumstances for each country. But while other countries have experienced “the rise and fall of multiculturalism,” Kymlicka (2010) writes that public support for immigrant multiculturalism in Canada remains at an all-time high, and that “Canada may be the only Western country where strength of national identity is positively correlated with support for immigration, a finding that is difficult to explain

except by reference to multiculturalism” (2012, p. 12). In other words, by Chronosystem 3, Canadian national identity and multiculturalism are inextricably linked. The stories we tell ourselves as an imagined community (Anderson, 1983) almost always reference multiculturalism.

Linguistic Diversity Grows in Canada Due to Increased Immigration. Between 2006 and 2011, 1,162,900 immigrants were welcomed into Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013). Between 2011 and 2016, another 1,212,075 newcomers arrived (Statistics Canada, 2017b). By 2016, 7.5 million people, representing 21.9% of the population or 1 in 5 people, were foreign-born immigrants from over 200 places of birth and speaking over 200 languages (Statistics Canada, 2017c). This is the highest proportion of foreign-born immigrants in the G8. In 2015, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s Liberal government established 300,000 immigrants per year as the “new normal” to respond to the global migration and refugee crises (in the previous chronosystem, annual immigration numbers had been between 250,000 to 270,000). Contrary to the United States, where President Donald Trump instituted a series of executive actions in January 2020 to ban immigration and travel from several countries including Iran, Libya, North Korea, Somalia, Syria, Venezuela and Yemen (expanded in the same month to include Eritrea, Kyrgyzstan, Myanmar, Nigeria, Sudan, and Tanzania), Canada continues to promote its reputation for being a country that is welcoming of immigrants and refugees. As Prime Minister Justin Trudeau tweeted, “To those fleeing persecution, terror & war, Canadians will welcome you, regardless of your faith. Diversity is our strength #WelcomeToCanada” (2017). Currently, Canada is in the process of carrying out a “managed, staged increase in its immigration levels that will see more than one million newcomers welcomed over three years in 2019, 2020 and 2021” (Singer, 2019, para. 1). Public opinion on immigration and refugees has remained remarkably stable and positive through the years, with most Canadians believing that their country is a welcoming place and that immigrants are overall good for the economy; however, a concern among many

Canadians is that some immigrants are not “adopting the right values,” sufficiently integrating or fitting into society once they arrive (Environics Institute, 2019, p. 1).

All of these immigrants and refugees bring with them a wealth of cultural knowledge and worldviews embedded in their languages. How do these newcomers view the value of their own languages and cultures, the official languages, or Indigenous languages in Canada? Do they feel as if they have rights to use, maintain, learn, and teach their language to their children? Newcomers may read headlines by Grenier (2017) such as “Canadians becoming more bilingual, linguistically diverse, census data shows” and Wakefield’s (2017) “Edmonton leads Canada in immigrant-language growth”—and as a result they may deduce that this *growing* linguistic diversity is due to languages being protected, cherished, valued, and passed on from generation to generation (and not from increased immigration). It may take years for them to realize that, in the process of moving and *becoming* Canadian, they have gradually lost their language, and their children do not even speak their mother tongue. Statistics Canada (2017a) reported that seven in ten people with a mother tongue other than English or French spoke one of these (official) languages at home. Additionally, Houle and Maheux (2017) reported that more than one-third of children with an immigrant background spoke *only* an official language at home, compared with less than 10% of their parents, evidence that first language loss is happening at an alarming rate (within one generation). At the macrosystem level, Canada may be sending mixed messages to newcomers: come as you are and we will welcome you, but once you are here, you must adopt the “right” values and become fluent in our official languages at the expense of your own. You must become flattened and the same to fit into our mosaic. As we will see, these often-invisible subtextual forces in the habitus (macrosystem) continue to have ripple effects in the home (microsystem).

Further Rhetorical Retreat from Multiculturalism. Meanwhile, at the public and academic discourse level, multiculturalism continues to transform, expand, and shape-shift into capacious catch-all terms such as *diversity*, *inclusion*, and *plurality*. *Por un lado*, organizations, educational institutions, government, media, and communities have benefited from having challenging and uncomfortable conversations around injustice and inclusion. In fact, “much of multiculturalism’s ‘long march through the institutions’ consists precisely in identifying and attacking those deeply rooted traditions, customs, and symbols that have excluded or stigmatized minorities” (Kymlicka, 2012, p. 9). On the other hand, language is often completely left out of talks on *diversity*, *inclusion*, and *plurality*. And when it is included, it is listed among other identity markers of “difference” (i.e., race, class, gender, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, language). Language is assumed to be a separate category within identity, and not the fundamental vehicle for creating and transmitting cultural knowledge and practices. We know from previous chronosystems that divorcing language from culture and race is how assimilationist practices work. We know that thinking of language and culture as separate entities (i.e., multiculturalism within a bilingual framework) can leave us with a society that runs the risk of celebrating surface big-C culture like food, fashion, and festivals (or what Alibhai-Brown (2000) calls the 3S model of multiculturalism in Britain: samosas, steel drums, and saris), while ignoring HLDM or insisting, both implicitly or explicitly, that linguistic assimilation is expected. So, for the sake of HLDM, I question: what do terms like diversity, inclusion, and plurality *do*? I worry that they work to erase the original human-rights intent of Canadian multiculturalism policies and legislation fought for by ethnocultural groups. Though Kymlicka (2012) contends that the “retreat” of multiculturalist rhetoric in Western democracies (and adoption of other terms like diversity, plurality, cohesion, integration) does not mean a comparable retreat from multiculturalist policies (such as the inclusion of multiculturalism in school curricula, the funding of bilingual

education or mother-tongue instruction, or the funding of ethnocultural group organizations to support cultural activities) (p. 15), I am not so easily convinced. Nor is Bilash (2012) who states, “it is time to place languages on the social justice agenda” (p. 62). As we will see in the exosystem, HLs still have not fully benefitted from federal legislation or funding; multiculturalism has all but disappeared from the Social Studies curriculum in Alberta, and in the microsystem, HLs are still not being intergenerationally transmitted. A “post-multiculturalist turn” across Western democracies may indicate an even lower level of commitment to HLDM. As we will sadly witness, if HLs are regarded as languages of “the past,” they are of low societal priority, but if they are lucky to be reframed as languages of the “future” (for international trade, global communication), their status increases and their chances of being transmitted and supported are much higher.

The Exosystem

Bill C-91 Indigenous Languages Act (2019). The analysis of the exosystem has included Official, Indigenous, and Heritage Languages, to witness their simultaneous development and/or denial in policy and practice. Indigenous languages in Canada have undoubtedly suffered the most in Canada’s history (Fontaine, 2017; Griffith, 2017; Nicholas, 2011). The number of people in Canada who spoke an Aboriginal mother tongue dropped from almost 26% in 1996 to 14.5% in 2011 (Morin, 2017). But in Chronosystem 3, things began to look up, as the Government of Canada finally committed, in December 2016, to developing legislation on First Nations, Inuit and Métis languages for meaningful implementation of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s* (2015) Calls to Action 13, 14, and 15 and *UNDRIP* (2016). This long-awaited legislation was developed over several years in cooperation with three national Indigenous organizations and engagement sessions with more than 1200 individuals across the country. After much anticipation, on June 21, 2019 (the UN Year of Indigenous Languages), the *Indigenous Languages Act* received

Royal Assent. Its purpose was to support the “reclamation, revitalization, maintaining, and strengthening” of Indigenous languages in Canada (Indigenous Languages Act, 2019, para. 14). It was a much-needed concrete response to the urgent need of preventing language death of some of Canada’s 90 living Indigenous languages, seventy-five per cent of which are considered “endangered” by UNESCO. With this act, came a 333.7 million-dollar investment over 5 years in Budget 2019, and \$115.7 million annually thereafter (Budget, 2019, p. 138). This significant step in status planning (Hornberger, 2005) will hopefully mean that Indigenous languages receive the respect and maintenance they deserve: as mentioned before, unlike HLs, if Indigenous languages disappear from Canada, they vanish from the globe.

Still No Legislation Nor Federal Funding for HLs. In the year 1969, Canada became an officially bilingual country with English and French recognized at the federal level. Fifty years later, in 2019, Indigenous languages received long-overdue federal legislation and funding for their revitalization and maintenance. Meanwhile, immigrant languages or HLs, despite being spoken by more than one-fifth of Canadians as mother tongues, still have no official legislation, nor funding commitments in this chronosystem. Besides sections 3.1.i, 3.2.e, and 5.1.f of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988), which, again, proclaimed to “facilitate the acquisition, retention and use of all languages that contribute to the multicultural heritage of Canada” (section 5.1.f, p. 840), no funding has been allocated for this to actually happen in the meso- and microsystem. On the contrary, in 2020 the “Languages” section of the Canadian government website highlighted the tools and programs in place “to help protect, celebrate and strengthen *linguistic duality* in Canada” (Canada, 2020, para. 1, emphasis added). The message could not be more clear: HLs have no place within the “linguistic duality” of Canada. Lamentably, the one major hope, the *Canadian Heritage Language Institute Act* (1991), was repealed in 2008, and large-scale funding that was expected for HLs did not happen. In 2011, the *Canadian Languages*

Association/L'Association canadienne des langues (CLA/ACL) reported, “At present, there is no dedicated support mechanism from the federal government for the CLA and community-based language and cultural programs across Canada” (CLA, 2011, p. 3). The CLA²¹ urged the Canadian government to practice what it preaches in relation to multiculturalism:

Canada is admired around the world for its approach to multiculturalism. The CLA believes it is time for the Government of Canada to invest in this policy. Our goal is to continue to urge the federal government to return to sustainable and predictable funding for the development and promotion of linguistic and cultural learning in order to enable organizations like the Canadian Languages Association, provincial and regional language umbrella associations and community-based language schools. Sustainable financial support will help these organizations address important linguistic and cultural community needs on a planned and ongoing basis. (p. 4)

Receiving “sustainable and predictable” funding for HLs in Canada would mean that HLDM could be better promoted in the mesosystem and microsystem, especially for community HL schools, cultural associations, government departments and ministries, businesses, and other community spaces. “Return to” reminds Canadians that at some point, the funding existed and then it ceased. As we know from Chronosystem 1 and 2, up until 1990, the Government of Canada provided direct support for community-based language and cultural programs through per-capita grants, which greatly assisted community-based schools to subsidize the cost of classroom rental, teaching and instructional resource expenses. Once the federal government halted national funding

²¹ Lack of funding also means organizations like the CLA, an association whose main goal is “to promote the value of international/heritage languages education for all Canadians” (2011, p. 2) cannot survive. As their website reports, in the mid-1990’s, the newly created Department of Canadian Heritage provided the CLA with one-time seed money to establish themselves as a national organization to provide support to provincial and local initiatives across Canada. In 1995, Canadian Heritage established one-time support for the Canadian Languages Network (CLN), an innovative project that introduced computer-based language resources and internet support for linguistic and cultural communities across Canada to share language and cultural teaching resources and information. This project, administered by the Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages with some support from CLA, ran successfully until it ended in 1997. The last activity of the CLA online was in 2013. Probably due to lack of funding, the organization disintegrated.

to individual community-based language programs, various provincial governments recognized the need to take responsibility and initiate some form of financial support, but this provincial support varied widely across the country and continues to be uneven today, with most community HL schools left to fend for themselves (Aberdeen, 2016). A “pay your own way” ideology was promoted by the Reform Party and many prominent politicians. Jason Kenney (Multiculturalism Minister from 2008 to 2015 and currently Premier of Alberta) encapsulated the lack of priority of HLs perfectly when he said: “I think it’s really neat that a fifth-generation Ukrainian-Canadian can speak Ukrainian—but pay for it yourself” (Lakritz, 2009, para. 5). This lamentable attitude is the result of chronosystems of colonial assimilationist rhetoric, constant delegitimization of HLs by separating immigrant languages from cultures, and promoting a surface 3S multiculturalism where funding for HL education is simply not necessary.

Bill S-218 Latin American Heritage Month Act (2018). Although Canada is not yet committed to supporting HLs through direct legislation or funding, there are other heritage initiatives worth mentioning: the creation of Black History Month (1995), Asian Heritage Month (2002), Islamic Heritage Month (2007), and, most relevant to this research project, Latin American Heritage Month (2018). BILL S-218 (2018), the *Latin American Heritage Month Act*, was brought forward by the late Filipino-Canadian Senator Tobias Enverga. The purpose of this Act was to recognize that “members of the Latin American²² community in Canada have made significant contributions to the social, economic and political fabric of the nation” and to designate the month of October as *Latin American Heritage Month* as a “meaningful way to remember, celebrate and educate the public about these contributions” (Rayes, 2018, p. 9).

²² Latin America was defined broadly as a group of nations that includes Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, as well as Puerto Rico, and, surprisingly, the French-colonized islands of Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, St. Martin, and Saint-Barthélemy.

What prompted the Government of Canada to recognize Latin Americans this way? From a community that had less than 3,000 members before the 1970s, over the next chronosystems, it saw rapid expansion. At the start of the 21st century there were close to 250,000 Latin Americans in Canada. By 2016, 674,640 people in Canada reported Latin, Central or South American origins (Statistics Canada, 2017d, p. 4). The majority were first generation immigrants (arriving to Canada within their lifetime), primarily from Mexico and Colombia (p. 4). By 2016, Spanish was the sixth most spoken immigrant language in Canadian homes, with 255,815 speakers (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

In the six-hour House Debate of the Bill, MPs spoke about “the many great contributions Latin America has made to Canada” (Jeneroux, 2018, p. 9). Predictably, most MPs spoke of surface cultural elements such as dance, food, festivals, and music, or the importance of tourism and trade with Latin America. Several MPs highlighted the significance of Spanish in Canada: “We live in a bilingual country, where we speak English and French, but Spanish is often the third language children learn. It is a good tool for their future” (Reyes, 2018, p. 9). Language was mentioned 73 times in the discussion of the Bill, yet only three MPs (Elizabeth May, Pablo Rodriguez, and Linda Duncan) thoughtfully discussed the diversity of Indigenous cultures and languages in Latin America beyond the colonial Spanish and Portuguese languages. Only one reference was made to language maintenance in Canada: MP John Brassard from Barrie-Innisfil mentioned grassroots efforts regarding “how to keep Spanish in our homes” (2018, p. 9).

Two MPs from Edmonton, Matt Jeneroux (Edmonton Riverbend) and Linda Duncan (Edmonton Strathcona), listed a plethora of language and cultural initiatives started by the 25,000 Latinos in Edmonton (such as Spanish bilingual programs, La Prensa, CreArt Edmonton, Multicultural Media and Art Foundation, Gabriela Mistral Latin American School, Edmonton Hispanic Bilingual Association, and more). I expand upon these initiatives in the mesosystem, as

they are grassroots community-based programs. Duncan also paid tribute to many prominent Latino Edmontonians and Albertans: Alberta culture minister Ricardo Miranda, MLA Rod Loyola, MLA Estefania Cortes-Vargas, community activist Sandra Azocar, executive director Parkland Institute Ricardo Acuña, and more.

The proclamation of a Latin American Heritage Month is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it recognizes important contributions to Canada by the Latin Americans who have made a home here in the last fifty years. It can even permit cultural groups to use this month as legitimate “evidence” for their contributions and help them receive some funding for their initiatives. On the other hand, the surface-level multiculturalism evident in the discussion of the Bill by MPs is cringeworthy and condescending. The debate is replete with a *dos-cervezas-por-favor* attitude, with MPs telling stories of Latin America as their tourism playground. Latin American cultures are not about tango, tequila, and taco restaurants—notice the word “cultures” in plural, not singular, as an alarming number of MPs spoke of one homogenizing Latin American *culture*. Yes, “diversity is our strength,” and multiculturalism is enshrined in the Canadian constitution and identity, but as MP Jenny Kwan warned, “If we are to celebrate Latin American heritage in Canada and designate October to be Latin American heritage month, we need to match these words with actions” (2018, p. 1). Actions are needed, such as justice for seasonal agricultural workers and other temporary foreign workers from Latin America, funding for Latin American immigrants to pass on their HLs to their children, and opportunities to celebrate and showcase more than pupusas and salsa dancing. In short, we will have to wait and witness future chronosystems to see the impact of this heritage month on Latin Americans in Canada, and see whether this leads to more Spanish use and maintenance.

Second Languages Promoted in Alberta Schools for Economic Reasons. Entering the 21st century, the Government of Alberta began to respond to macrosystem pressures by

recognizing the importance of language education in preparing Albertans for participation in the global economy. One target of the government's new economic strategy was to "increase the proportion of students taking a second language from 25 percent to 33 percent" by 2005 (Government of Alberta, 2000). To help achieve this goal, in May 2000, the *Enhancing Second Language Learning Project* was approved to (1) develop strategies to raise awareness of the benefits and opportunities of second language learning, (2) review the capacity of the provincial learning systems (basic and adult) to provide enhanced second language programming, and (3) develop partnerships to enhance second language learning. In December 2003, Alberta Learning (now called Alberta Education) released the *Enhancing Second Language Learning in Alberta* report, which included research, input, and recommendations of many agents or "language stakeholders" in the mesosystem, including parents, teachers, administrators, academics, business leaders, and other community²³ leaders.

Although there was much agreement among the project's stakeholders that "in today's information-based, multilingual world, an individual who is proficient in two or more languages has greater employment opportunities" (Alberta Learning, 2003, p. 2) and "given the importance of languages in the twenty-first century global society, too few senior high school students in Alberta enroll in and complete second language programs" (p. 2), there was debate over determining which second languages "should receive priority," in the provincial curriculum, in schools, in the creation of learner and teacher resources, and in learner supports such as exchanges and work placements (p. 64). In this report, "second languages" was an all-encompassing term including French, First Nations languages, International Languages of Trade, and Heritage

²³ Organizations that gave input to the project and report included Alberta Home and School Councils' Association, Association of Independent Schools and Colleges in Alberta, Alberta School Boards Association, Alberta Teachers' Association, Association of School Business Officials of Alberta, College of Alberta School Superintendents, Universities Coordinating Council, Council of Presidents of Colleges and Technical Institutes, Council of Senior Academic Officials, Council of Vice-Presidents Academic, Faculties of Education at the University of Alberta and University of Calgary and University of Lethbridge, Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, Canadian Parents for French, Northern Alberta Heritage Language Association, and Southern Alberta Heritage Language Association.

Languages. Since global trade drove the report, a hierarchy quickly became evident: languages of trade were clearly of top priority, especially Spanish, Mandarin, German, Japanese, Italian, and Portuguese (p. 14) as well as French, followed by languages with heritage motivation such as HLs and First Nations languages which were seemingly of low priority. As expected, this angered the *Canadian Parents for French*, who said that the report “strives to appear neutral towards other second languages,” adding:

We believe that this has the effect of according French the same status as other languages...The report must recognize the special status of French within Canada...The Report fails to recognize the importance of French as a truly global language and fails to underscore its importance for international trade, thereby minimizing its usefulness as a language worth studying. (2003, p. 43)

Indeed, reports such as these have the power to legitimize or delegitimize languages, increase or decrease their status, maximize or minimize their funding, promotion, and acquisition, influence public opinion on which languages matter, and lead parents to choose certain languages over others for their children’s schooling. As Baquedano-Lopez and Kattan (2008) astutely note, schools are “one of the primary sites in which the legitimacy of one language or another is contested” (p. 169). Even when stakeholders such as the *Alberta Teachers’ Association* (ATA) recognize that “the preparation of students for citizenship in a global society goes beyond the use of language as an economic tool for international trade, but speaks also to the value of the many mother tongue languages spoken in this province” (p. 43)—in practice, they are not as committed. For instance, the ATA later expressed concern at SAHLA and NAHLA’s recommendation of creating new language programs for “other” target languages, saying, “although the goal of developing a number of programs to meet heritage language as well as trading needs is laudable, it may be necessary to focus resources on fewer programs to ensure their effective implementation”

(p. 46). In a similar vein, SAHLA and NAHLA requested “commitment and funding” from Alberta Learning for community HL curriculum development, teacher training, increasing community HL school awareness, school management, recognition of students who study languages at the community level, and more (p. 58). Although SAHLA and IHLA (as NAHLA is now called) do receive some money for funding professional development opportunities for HL school teachers through two departments of Alberta Education called Edmonton Regional Learning Consortium (ERLC) and the Calgary Regional Consortium (CRC), no community HL schools receive funding from Alberta Education (Aberdeen, 2016, p. 248). Moreover, as Aberdeen (2016) notes, the goal of Alberta Education may not represent the concerns or aspirations of the individual teachers in HL schools:

While “entrepreneurial spirit” (the goal of the government) and personal identity development (the goal of many involved in heritage language schools) are not necessarily at odds with one another, they are also not synonymous goals either. It seems that while the province is interested in funding programs that will eventually make money for their province or lead students towards careers, parents who enroll their students in classes are hoping to have students learn language so that they can stay connected with their families.
(p. 248)

Indeed, learning a language is not always for profit, trade, or economic reasons. It can be for personal, intellectual, emotional, spiritual, familial, or cultural reasons. The *Enhancing Language Learning in Alberta* report completely failed to address these other motivations that often stem from the microsystem and not the macrosystem. Perhaps most disappointingly, the report did provide a sense of mother language loss in the microsystem, but did not comment on the opportunities or responsibilities that schools have to counter this trend:

When Albertans declared their mother tongue, 16.4% indicated a language other than English or French; only half of these (8.2%) declared such languages to be the means of communication in their home... English is the predominant language in Alberta homes, even in those where it is not the mother tongue. (p. 5)

What roles do schools have in addressing the pervasive dominance of English? Considering that “advanced skill levels in another language are attributed to only a small proportion of the North American population” and “English is the dominant language” (Alberta Learning, 2003, p. 5), how can educational spaces promote the use of HLs in the mesosystem and microsystem? In addition, how does the focus on learning languages for trade and economic reasons *impact* HLDM? What does it *do* in the meso and microsystem?

The Mesosystem

Growing Enrolments in Some Languages in Edmonton. The *Enhancing Second Language Learning* (2003) report offered a snapshot of language education in Alberta at the turn of the century: in the 2000/2001 academic year, 38,309 students in grades 10–12 completed second language courses in twenty languages; 14,651 students in colleges, universities, and technical institutes completed courses in more than twenty languages²⁴; and 14,000 students in community HL schools were studying forty languages (reported by IHLA and SAHLA). These may seem like strong, robust numbers, but the truth is that second language enrolment was experiencing a rapid downhill trend, as the percentage of high school students who completed second language courses dropped from 27.8% in 1994–1995 to 21.7% in 1998–1999, and enrolments dropped from 42,575 in 1995–1996 to 38,309 in 2000–2001. This decline in enrolment

²⁴ These languages included Arabic, Blackfoot, Chinese (Mandarin), Cree, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Greek (classical), Hebrew (classical), Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Latin, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Sanskrit, Spanish, Swedish, Literary Tibetan and Ukrainian.

and completion was the impetus for community consultation and research on how to enhance language learning in Alberta.

Did the *Enhancing Second Language Learning* report work to increase enrolment? It appears so—at least for some languages (those with more power, status, or capital). Speck (2008) reports that from 2003 to 2008, enrolment in second languages in Edmonton public schools increased by about 65% (para. 6). Bill 211 (2013), the *Education Amendment Act for International Language Programs*, was passed in Alberta five years later, recognizing that “competency in a language other than English or French is a valuable asset that will prepare students for post-secondary studies, future careers and international global opportunities” (p. 1). By the 2019/2020 school year, Edmonton Public School Board (EPSB) reported that 55,753 K–12 students were learning languages at 31 bilingual program sites and 64 language and culture program sites (IISLE, 2019a). French accounted for 78% of those enrolments and other languages for 22%. The other languages included Spanish (39%), Chinese (25%), Arabic (14%), German (8%), Japanese (8%), Cree (4%), Punjabi (3%), American Sign Language (2%), and Hebrew (1%). EPSB is now one of the few jurisdictions in Alberta to mandate instruction in a second language from grade 4 to 9 (IISLE, n. d., “About our languages”; Speck, 2008). The *Institute for Innovation in Second Language Education* (IISLE) in Alberta, the first comprehensive institute of its kind in North America, was created in 2007 and serves students, staff, parents and community stakeholders, as well as provincial, national and international partners. It supports “a range of Official, International, Heritage, Signed and Aboriginal languages and specializes in supporting American Sign Language (ASL), Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin), Cree, English as a Second Language, French, German, Hebrew, Japanese, Latin, Punjabi and Spanish language in many areas” (IISLE, 2019b, para. 1). I would consider these *limbile norocoase* (the lucky languages) that have gained institutional support, capital, and thus, higher student enrolment. Some languages

have not been sufficiently supported or sustained due to forces in the macrosystem, exosystem and mesosystem. For example, EPSB sadly no longer offers the pioneering Ukrainian bilingual program, as of 2013–2014, due to “low enrolment²⁵”.

Meanwhile, Edmonton Catholic School District (ECSD) reported 5,340 students in their bilingual or immersion programs (out of 44,330), up 7.6% from 2013. Languages included French (65%), Spanish (18.6%), Cree (13.9%), Ukrainian (11.6%), and Polish (4.8%). They did not report enrolments in their language and culture programs. In their Annual Report, ECSD also reported 5 “Multi-Cultural Animators” (MCAs), representing Spanish, Arabic, Cantonese, Vietnamese, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Malayalam, Urdu, Marathi, Tamil, and French, supported 56 schools with activities such as “interpreting for families and students, building first language literacy and culture, supporting SLP assessments and screening, helping parents access and use early literacy resources” (2020, p. 34).

Spanish: From Heritage Language to International Language. *Indudablemente*, some HLs, which are seen as “international” (colonial and colonizing) languages of power such as Spanish, have benefited tremendously from a business/trade conception of language learning (meanwhile other HLs that hold less power or have less members with social/cultural capital lose opportunities, even if they have a larger number of HL speakers overall, like Tagalog). The *Enhancing Second Language Learning* report for example mentions a “significant increase” of Spanish enrolments in both public schools and higher education. The increase in popularity of Spanish among learners was attributed to several macro- and exosystem reasons: “greater student awareness of internationalization, in particular the North American Trade Agreement; student

²⁵ That same year, “low enrolment” was also used as a reason to dismantle thirteen University of Alberta majors in languages. Ukrainian Language and Literature, Ukrainian Folklore, Russian Language and Literature, Scandinavian Language and Literature, and many combined language majors were on the chopping block. The Dean of Arts, Lesley Cormack, said that these cuts “will help ensure the faculty’s limited resources are allocated to programs with higher enrollment, better meeting students’ needs” (cited in CBC News, 2013).

discovery of the enjoyment of Latin culture; potential job opportunities with Spanish; and perceived ease of learning Spanish” (Alberta Learning, 2008, p. 9). It is clear from this list of reasons that the report was not referring to HL learners, who may have their own intrinsic aspirations (heritage, family, identity, etc.), but Anglo-dominant learners who may enjoy the benefits of another language and accessing the benefits of a “Latin culture” (again, perceived to be homogenous).

Fast forward to 2019/2020, and Spanish is the most studied second language after French in Edmonton, chosen by 4,783 students in EPSB (IISLE, 2019c) and 994 students in ECSD (ECSD, 2019). In addition to the dozens of schools offering Spanish language and culture programs, there are twelve public schools offering Spanish bilingual programs (partial-immersion up to 50% of school day). A child has the option of attending one of six elementary schools, four junior high schools, and two high schools either through EPSB or ECSD, both of which are publicly funded. The Spanish bilingual program of EPSB is even called the *International Spanish Academy*, recognized by the Ministry of Education in Spain. At *Escuela Mill Creek* in Edmonton, the first Spanish bilingual school in Alberta, 60% of students are second language (i.e., non-HL) learners (Lamb & Bremness, 2019). IISLE opened an official *Spanish Resource Centre* in 2009, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education of Spain and the University of Alberta, providing specialized resources and services to support the teaching, learning and research for Spanish. There is also a yearly conference organized for Spanish teachers in Alberta. Thus, learners of Spanish have benefitted from the conception of their language as an international language of trade.

Burgeoning Grassroots Cultural Initiatives by Latinx Edmontonians. At the mesosystem level, Edmonton has a long tradition of cultural leaders and groups who have advocated and made space for HLDM through resource and program creation since the 1970s

(Lupul, 1985; Bilash, 2002; Nedashkivska & Bilash, 2015). For example, Bilash developed a full stream of access points for Ukrainian language and literacy learning, maintenance, and use in Alberta, especially for youth, including Ukrainian language daycare and playschool, summer camps (Camp Osvita), day camps, resource centres, and summer immersion programs for high school students. AELTA/IHLA has consistently created programs, PD opportunities, and newsletters for HL teachers in and outside of Edmonton.

Latin American communities have also been active in creating linguistic, educational, and cultural initiatives in Edmonton. As Guardado (2009) mentions, grassroots groups and projects started by parents in the mesosystem to transmit Spanish language and cultures to their children can be instrumental for HLs to be “preserved and maintained across generations in the face of powerful forces of language shift/assimilation to Anglo-Canadian language/culture” (p. 106). Chronosystem 2 saw the creation of *Gabriela Mistral Latin American School* in Edmonton in 1987. Chronosystem 3 sees dozens of other cultural, linguistic, and educational projects and associations created by Edmontonians of Latin American heritage. Some examples include language schools (*Edmonton Hispanic Bilingual Association*), art schools (*CreArt Edmonton*), dance schools (*Etown Salsa, Cultural Association Folklorical Ballet Mexico Lindo of Alberta*), newspapers (*La Prensa, Soy Hispano, Sin Fronteras*), radio shows (*Corazon Latino*), festivals (*Edmonton Carnaval, AfroLatinFestYeg*), cultural associations and societies (*Aculpeca Peruvian Canadian Cultural Association, Chilean Canadian Cultural Society, Latin American Students' Association, Primavera Grupo, Memoria Viva Society of Edmonton, Asociación de Venezolanos en Edmonton, La Connexion Afro-Latina*), business initiatives (*Latino-Canadian Chamber of Commerce*), senior associations (*Latin American Senior Citizen Association of Edmonton, Primavera Grupo Tercera Edad*), social settlement and integration services (*Latin American Community Engagement Network*), housing cooperatives (*Estrella del Sur*), religious places of

worship (*Sacred Heart Church of the First Peoples, Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Parish, St. Pius X Church*), and a myriad of Facebook groups (*Latinos en Edmonton, Peruanos en Edmonton, Latin Events Edmonton*). In addition, numerous authentic *tiendas* (stores) and *restaurantes* offer the opportunity to be immersed in Latin American cultures through food and socialization: *Paraiso Tropical, Mi Casa Market, Panaderia Latina, Argyll Tienda Latina, Azucar Picante Restaurant and Cantina, Calle Mexico, Huma Mexican Comfort Restaurant, Acajutla, El Fogon Latino, Avila Arepa, Jasmine Cafe con Sabor a Colombia, Empanadas del Flaco, Mexico Lindo*, and more. For the 15,215 of Edmontonians who reported Spanish as their mother tongue in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011), these community spaces and events are incredibly useful to socialize, form friendships, negotiate identities, and maintain mother tongues. It is also important to document these places and spaces. I am currently participating in an *Edmonton Heritage Council* (EHC) and *Edmonton City as Museums* project called *Edmonton Maps Heritage*, which seeks to document places of memory and significance in Edmonton through community participation. In 2013, the EHC worked with *Memoria Viva Society of Edmonton* to begin mapping locations important to Edmonton's Latin American communities (Edmonton Maps Heritage, Latin American section). The original map includes *Escuela Gabriela Mistral, Estrella Del Sur Housing Co-Operative, Panaderia Latina, Paraiso Tropical*, and a bench commemorating former Chilean President, Salvador Allende Gossens. In 2019 and 2020, the community brainstorming sessions were restarted as *Mapping Places of Memory & Significance for Edmonton's Latin American Communities* at the University of Alberta, with Dr. Russell Cobb's Latin American Studies students and several community members. By documenting spaces and places of significance, both immigrant and dominant communities can understand the history of Latin Americans in Edmonton, which may impact HLDM among Spanish-speaking youth.

Many Gaps and Opportunities for HLDM in Dominant Community Spaces. In order to counteract what Hornberger (2003) described as “the erosion of community languages by dominant languages of wider communication such as English and French” (p. 300), strong efforts need to be made towards HLDM not just by minority cultural groups, but by the entire community. In particular, HLs need to be fully recognized and prioritized by dominant groups who may not perceive to “benefit” directly by an immigrant child maintaining their tongue, but who may act as allies in their HLDM. Edmonton declared *International Mother Tongue Day* in 2015 which was a positive symbolic step in the right direction (Theobald, 2015). But as of 2020, the Art Gallery of Alberta is the only dominant major cultural institution that has offered HL (Spanish) programming for K–12 students, such as two-hour guided gallery visits, two-hour studio sessions/art workshops, and guided/interpretive tours upon request. Other non-profit organizations, institutions, and festivals organized by both Latin Americans and allies must thoughtfully integrate language programming alongside culture. For instance, the *Edmonton Heritage Festival Association* is a non-profit organization that “manages and oversees the world’s largest multicultural festival” (2019, About Us/Contact section, para. 1) and seeks to become “the primary resource to educate the community on diverse cultures” (para. 2) with the festival and other “year-round activities.” But Edmonton needs more than a three-day display of surface 3S multiculturalism attended by 350,000 people (Romero, 2017) where “pavilions offer dance, arts and foods from the land of their ancestors” (“About,” 2019). The city requires consistent activities, events, and programs that support HLDM. Chronopoulos (2008), in her study on *Investigating Language Practices in an Albertan Greek Community* under Dr. Olenka Bilash’s supervision, also shared findings related to a shortage of events and more support needed from the community:

Other than the holiday presentations that the students put on in the school four times a year, Heritage Days, and Greekfest, there are not many other informal social gatherings for children and adults of all ages. Dances, movie nights, game nights, and community dinners, could be organized with the explicit purpose of using more Greek and engaging in cultural practices. (2008, p. 64)

De Capua and Wintergerst (2009) agree: having access to a variety of events and activities in HL are crucial. That is why this doctoral project seeks to bring attention to this gap of creative HL programming in the mesosystem in the city of Edmonton, and hopefully contribute to a proliferation of even more innovative HLDM initiatives in the mesosystem.

The Microsystem

Low Transmission of HLs as Mother Tongues or Home Languages. With growing awareness of globalization, increasing diversity, inclusion, anti-racism, and social justice, are HLs being used and maintained more in Canadian homes? Chronosystem 3 presents even more evidence for low intergenerational transmission of HLs in homes and among family members. In a 2006 report for Statistics Canada, Martin Turcotte²⁶ showed how even though many immigrants felt that teaching their own mother tongue to their Canadian born children was “of paramount importance” (p. 20), in most cases, the HL “will not be transmitted to the next generation” (p. 26). In his study of 4,500 children of allophone immigrants (Canadian-born individuals over the age of 15 whose parents were born in another country and who had a non-official HL as a mother tongue), Turcotte discovered that although 64% learned their parents’ mother tongue in childhood and 74% spoke it well enough to converse, only 32% of respondents used it regularly in their own

²⁶ Turcotte used data from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Study (EDS), which surveyed about 42,500 “children of immigrants” across the ten provinces. Out of the total sample, almost 6,800 were descendants of immigrants, and among this group, 4,500 reported that neither of their parents had English or French as a mother tongue – this was to be the sample size for Turcotte’s study. He used ancestral language to refer to heritage language.

home, a number which dropped to 20% when examining only those who had children aged 3 to 17. In this last group, just 11% of respondents reported that their youngest child could carry on a conversation in their grandparents' mother tongue, indicating that parents likely spoke the HL with each other, but used English or French with their children. Outside of the home, in the mesosystem, only 16% of respondents spoke the ancestral language regularly with their friends, and 12% of those in the labour market used it regularly in the workplace. According to Turcotte, those who had the highest probability of using an HL at home were: those who acquired the HL as their mother tongue and who, up to the age of 15, spoke it with their parents most of the time; those with a lower income; those with a lower level of education; those born in Quebec; those married to or living with someone who also knows the HL; those living with their parents; and those with a strong sense of ethnic or cultural belonging. Turcotte also reported that some cultural groups were more likely to pass on their languages than others. For example, respondents whose parents' mother tongue was Punjabi, Spanish, Cantonese, Korean or Greek were most likely to learn these HLs as their mother tongues, meanwhile individuals with Dutch, Scandinavian, German, Tagalog, Semitic, Niger-Congo and Creole ancestral languages were least likely to do so. Turcotte did offer some potential reasons for this variation, such as the "interest" that specific language communities have in maintaining HLs, the varying levels of parental fluency in the official languages among different linguistic groups, or the varying length of time language groups have spent in Canada. As Turcotte's study was a multivariate statistical analysis, he did not touch upon powerful assimilatory pressures that minority cultural groups experience, language ideologies, attitudes towards HLs, community efforts to counteract HL loss, etc. Interestingly, research in HLDM over the past 20 years has shifted from sociolinguistics of HLs to the study of HLs as an individual phenomenon in the minds of speakers (Montrul, 2015, p. 5), which, however, does not provide a holistic view of ecological HL learning.

Studies in Canada Show Varying Motivations for Spanish HLDM. Prior to Chronosystem 3, there was no research done in the area of Spanish HLDM in Canada. Martin Guardado (2002, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2009) was the first to study Spanish HL use, loss, shift, development, and maintenance in Canadian homes. His early qualitative case studies of Spanish-speaking families in Metro Vancouver (2002, 2006) provided rich insights into HLDM at the microsystem level, especially parental perspectives and feelings regarding their children's Spanish language loss and maintenance. One important insight was that for successful HLDM families, Spanish maintenance meant more than the language; it also represented the “songs, laughter, stories, affect, family, history, and the source of meaning-making in life” (2002, p. 360). These families promoted a strong affective L1 identity and L1 culture alongside language, promoted a positive attitude and encouragement in their children with regards to HL use, valued popular culture (music, children's literature), as well as reading and writing in Spanish. On the other hand, “HL loss families” used more authoritarian discourses (for example demanding that their children speak Spanish at home rather than encouraging) and did not link language maintenance with cultural or identity development. In addition, all families acknowledged the lack of a Hispanic linguistic community in Vancouver was a barrier to HLDM, but HL loss families cited this as a major cause for their children's first language loss. Other studies by Guardado (2008, 2009) showed how Vancouver-area families organized grassroots projects together in the mesosystem to transmit Spanish language and cultures to their children

Digital and Social Media Technologies Both Help and Hinder Individual HLDM. The advancement and availability of digital technologies in Chronosystem 3 has totally transformed the way we live, learn, and communicate in our meso- and microsystems. Several studies have found benefits of these media for individual HL development, especially social networking apps that carry new opportunities to connect people to their HL in ways we never could have imagined

before (Cho, 2008; Jany, 2017; Scannell 2012; Szecsi & Szilagyi, 2012). As a result, the microsystem (home) has capaciously expanded to include daily interactions with relatives and friends in heritage countries through chats, video calls, internet sites, and media sharing (Şenyürekli & Detzner, 2009). But researchers are still split on whether these new technologies are the driving forces of language loss (helping to encourage and spread dominant languages) or powerful tools to help reverse language shift (expanding the domains of use of an HL and empowering a new generation of language users and learners). Jany (2017) examined a change in attitude whereby new technologies and social media went from being previously perceived as a threat to the vitality of endangered and minority languages, and now are seen as rich and important tools for language maintenance and revitalization. Scannell (2012) showed how many Indigenous and minority language groups, especially younger speakers, are turning to Facebook as a way for small and scattered speaker populations to connect with each other online. On the other hand, we are aware of the drastic global language loss statistics from the macrosystem, and the digital dominance of only a handful of languages online.

Most relevant to this research project, Szecsi and Szilagyi (2012) researched Hungarian-American families' perceptions of the role of new media technology in their bilingual/bicultural children's development and maintenance of HL skills, relationships with relatives in the heritage country, and cultural identity, and found benefits in all three areas explored. The families used numerous media technologies to maintain frequent contact with family and friends in the heritage country, such as Skype, email, chat rooms, computer games, and social networking websites such as Facebook. Cho (2008) investigated Korean immigrants' social practices of heritage language acquisition and maintenance through technology in Vancouver, discovering that various online activities such as synchronous and asynchronous online communication, including access to Korean websites and playing games in Korean, were highly

beneficial. Anderson, Chung, and MacLeroy (2018) drew on affordances of *digital storytelling* for HL youth to experiment with multimodal, collaborative and dialogic ways of working and sharing across boundaries of home, school and community. All of these recent innovative projects show the positive potentials of digital and social tools for HLDM among youth, and must be explored in the following chronosystems. If HL communication is to be a priority in an individual's repertoire, there must be a conscious effort to expand language use to the digital realm.

Visual Summary of Chronosystem 3

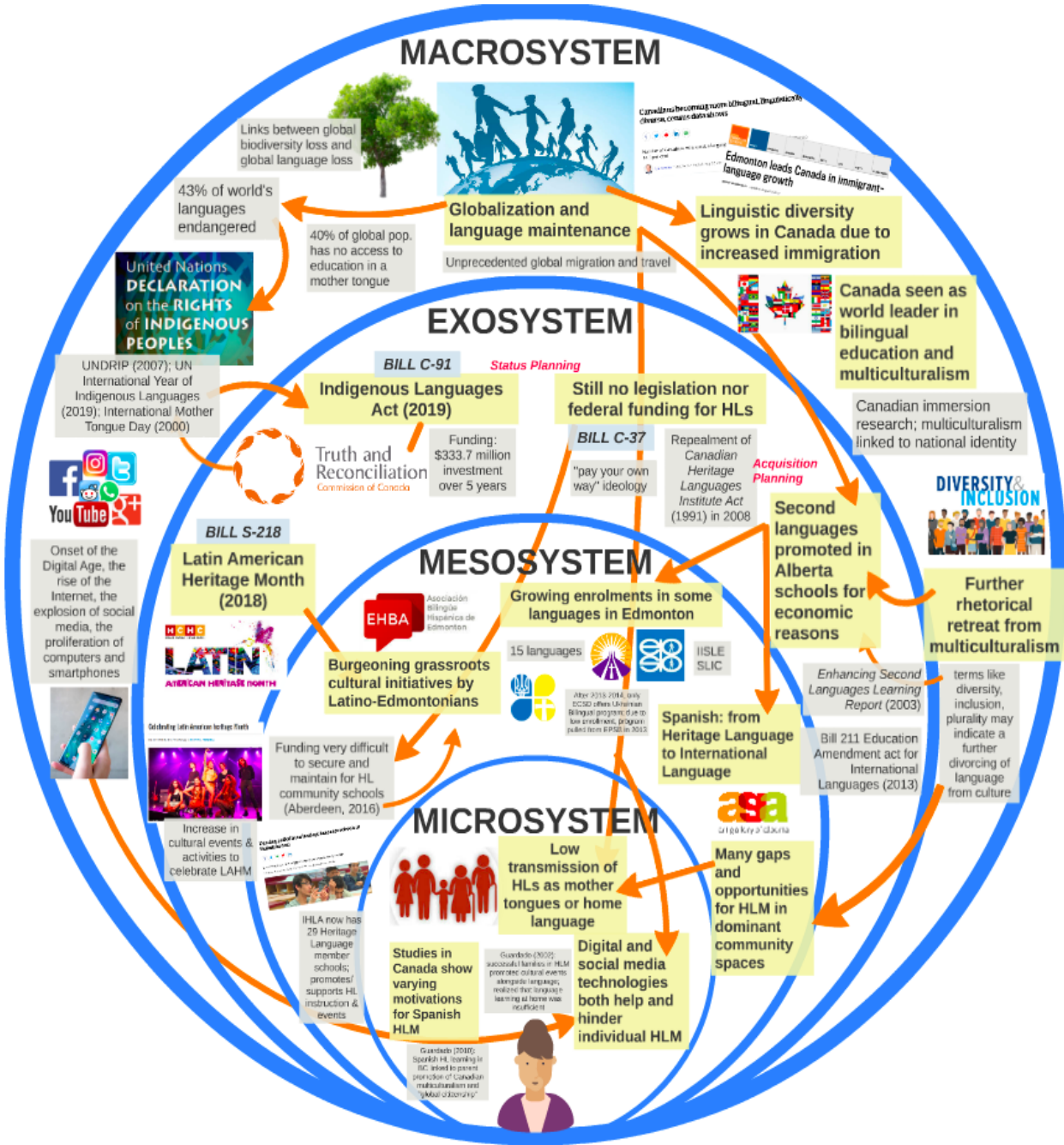
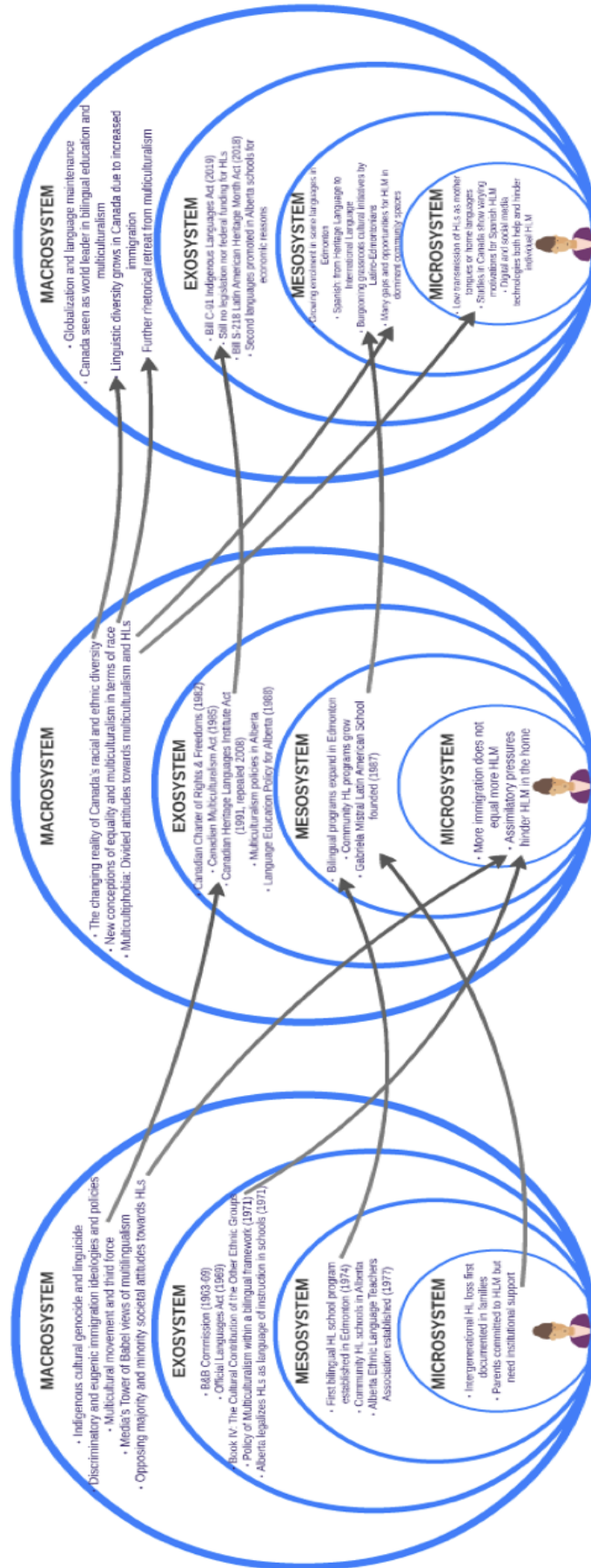


Figure 16: Visual depiction of Chronosystem 3

Visual Depiction of Change Across the Three Chronosystems

Figure 17: Visual depiction of change across the three chronosystems



Chronosystem 3
2000-2020

Chronosystem 2
1982 - 2000

Chronosystem 1
1963-1982

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Drag cititor, in the previous three chapters, I have introduced you to this study’s research questions, located myself as a researcher, provided a theoretical underpainting, presented a literature review of language learning through the arts, and painted a rich context of HLDM in Canada through Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory*. The purpose of this fourth chapter is to outline my *arts-based research* (ABR) paradigm, methodology, and methods. In the preface of this dissertation, I situated my research in a creative scholarship tradition that includes arts-based researchers, research-creation practitioners, poetic inquirers, and intersectional scholar activists. In this chapter *voi clarifica* what ABR is and what it does as a paradigm and methodology. I offer a detailed description of this study including a rationale for an *arts-based case study* in relation to my research questions, how COVID-19 impacted the study, participant selection methods, ethical considerations, data collection, data analysis, and data presentation methods, and strategies for trustworthiness and quality. Although it evokes a positivist epistemology for some, I use the word “data,” because I think of it in its Latin translation, “*the gifts that have been given*” (van Kessel, 2020, p. 43). This conception breathes life into a term that may be perceived as cold and hard. I view the data that I received, including pre-camp and post-camp interviews with participants, their art products, processes, and interactions throughout the camp, and my own emerging insights in an arts-based research journal, as dear gifts to be accepted and honoured. I also turn to the work of artists Lupi and Posavec (2016), whose book *Dear Data* has informed my creative way of synthesizing information, including my arts-based literature review method through postcards.

Arts-Based Case Study: A Rationale

Because I was interested in closely investigating the contributions of arts-based curricula (ABC) to HLDM, as well as how these curricula help meet the language and literacy aspirations

of Spanish HL learners, an *arts-based case study* was most well-suited to gain an in-depth understanding. Case studies help us to interpret the *hows* and *whys* of phenomena in context (Barone, 2000; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Yin, 2009). They are intensive examinations of the *unique* qualities present within a unit or environment of study, bound by time and activity (Creswell, 2003). Merriam (1998) affirms that a case study is useful in constructing a holistic description of an environment, rich with experiences, events, interactions, and characteristics, but bound by a finite time for observations and limited number of interviewees. My investigation is established as a case study bound by the *Spanish Art Camp* alone, where all data were collected over the span of six weeks. By exploring the intricacies that construct the particular case of the *Spanish Art Camp*, I gathered evidence for how ABC can contribute to HLDM within the context of one of the only online arts-based language education initiatives in Alberta. An *arts-based case study* matches my research questions best because case studies are particularly suited for “situations in which it is impossible to separate the phenomenon’s variables from their context” (Merriam, 1998, p. 29). The dual-focused art and HL learning *Spanish Art Camp* was essential to the research questions. Given the artistic scope and ethos of this study, I believe that the best methodological pairing to this case study was arts-based research.

Definition of Arts-Based Research

Arts-based research (ABR) can be defined as a “systematic use of the artistic process, the actual making of artistic expressions...as a primary way of understanding and examining experience by both researchers and the people that they involve in their studies” (McNiff, 2008, p. 29). In other words, ABR is not solely the use of art in data collection or representation within traditional methodologies; it involves a paradigmatic shift in which art practices, processes, and products form the *basis* of inquiry and directly generate meaning-making and knowledge production (Conrad & Beck, 2015; Leavy, 2018; Rolling, 2010). As such, ABR often involves

non-hierarchical co-creation of knowledge with research participants and creative ways of disseminating findings to the community that the research impacts (Barndt, 2008). These characteristics are foundational to my research, where art permeates every stage of research, from how I arrived at my research questions, to how I synthesized the literature, to how I collected, interpreted, and presented my data and findings. The study includes both research-creation (through poetic inquiry and inclusion of my own poems and paintings) and participatory ABR (through inclusion of my participants' art products and processes). In the next few sections *voy a presentar* a multilayered rationale for ABR as the best approach for this study, including a description of the research paradigm, a history of ABR in education and language education research, critiques of ABR, and considerations of other ways to explore my research questions.

Research Paradigm

As Conrad and Beck (2015) noted, “ABR does not fit neatly into other identified research paradigms: the positivist, post-positivist, constructivist, interpretivist, critical, participatory, or pragmatic” (p. 4). Although it may share some similarities with these paradigms, an *arts-based research paradigm* is unique because the arts are central to the process of inquiry or meaning-making. This paradigm is grounded ontologically in the belief that all humans are fundamentally creative and aesthetic beings; epistemologically in the acknowledgement of multiple ways of coming to know through creating, embodiment, sensations, affects, intuition, and spirit; axiologically in the ethics of honouring relations (both human and more-than-human), collective meaning-making, and anti-oppression; and methodologically in the primacy that is given to interacting with and making art (Conrad & Beck, 2015). Thus, an arts-based research paradigm has much in common with participatory (Heron & Reason, 1997), Indigenous (Wilson, 2008), and animated research paradigms that value imaginal, intuitive, and embodied ways of

knowing and being that have the power to inform, transform, and reform our curricular and pedagogical practices (Fidyk, 2015).

An ABR approach to inquiry recognizes that languages are *alive* in the world; that languages are human and beyond-human; that languages are not just made up of words but worldviews that encompass wisdom and relations to our more-than-human world (e.g., the land, the plants, the animals, the cosmos); that HLDM involves much more than retaining the vocabulary (the words) or grammar (the rules) of a language; and that literacy learning includes much more than proving proficiency in the four skills (speaking, listening, reading, writing). In an arts-based research paradigm, research on HLDM and HL literacy must consider the actual “flesh and blood” of learners, including their feelings, identities, fears, and aspirations (similar to Hanauer’s *Meaningful Literacy Instruction*, 2012), as well as their relations to other humans and the more-than-human world. Art-making processes have the special power to awaken us to these diverse ways of being, knowing, becoming in relation to our HLMs, communities, homelands, and planet. As Eisner (1993) expressed, “images created by literature, poetry, the visual arts, dance and music give us insights that inform us in the special ways that only artistically rendered forms make possible” (pp. 7–8). This is my grounding philosophical assumption: that ABR offers insights into HLDM that would not be possible otherwise. Interviews, surveys, and field notes alone would not be enough to uncover the *affective* experiences of losing and reclaiming a language. In the process of creating art, we turn our own stories inside out and become *wide awake* to connections that we “wouldn’t come to by another route” (Stewart, 2012, p. 51). Maxine Greene’s (1987) “wide awakesness” alludes to *putere specială a artelor*:

arts in their multiplicity and mystery hold such potentials; but they can be realized only if we find ways of tapping the range of human capacities too often left dormant when persons are conceived mainly as human resources for the building of a technological

society, or if they are thought of as passive spectators, members of an audience or crowd.

(p. 12)

As discussed in Chapter 2, too often, the *affective* experiences of HL learners have been left dormant in classrooms, and academia is no exception. Qualitative researchers in HLDM often choose to investigate student, teacher, and parent *perceptions* and *beliefs*, but tend to ignore the *experiences* or *emotions* behind language loss or the *aspirations* behind reclamation. This study aims to bridge this gap in HLDM research through an ABR paradigm that values and supports sensory, emotional, aesthetic, perceptual, kinesthetic, embodied, and imaginal ways of maintaining HLs through art-making. These underlying values and assumptions inform my methods used for data collection (visual, digital, literary, performing, digital art experiments in Spanish), data interpretation, and data expression (arts-infused dissertation; community art exhibition). Thus, ABR stretches the theoretical commitments (*Sociocultural Theory*, *Multiliteracies Theory*) and pedagogical commitments (*Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy*; *Meaningful Literacy Instruction*) of this dissertation to imagine HLDM *beyond* critical and socio-constructivist paradigms and open up more diverse, inclusive, experiential, relational ways of being, knowing, relating, and becoming in relation to HLs. Both critical and socio-constructivist theories, which often focus on how the individual constructs their entire world, fall short in terms of the epistemological and axiological commitments of ABR. As Heron and Reason (1997) note, “in terms of the nature of knowledge...neither critical theory nor constructivism acknowledge practical knowing, whereas the participatory paradigm regards it as primary” (p. 288). Within a more experiential, relational, participatory paradigm like ABR, axiological commitments demand “reflective action, a praxis, grounded in our being in the world” (p. 288) and are often “embedded in communities of practice” (p. 290).

Din aceste motive, ABR offers an alternative to positivism in academia, the dominant paradigm that has historically governed the way research is defined, conducted, controlled, and communicated, consciously and unconsciously defining “Knowledge” as propositional and generalizable (Cole & Knowles, 2008, p. 59). Although universities are slowly opening up to different ways of knowing, including ABR and research-creation, “the continued use of primarily rationalist discourse in the academy is a source of imbalance, not only epistemologically, but culturally and linguistically” (Neilsen, 2008, p. 101). Research requires a *reenchantment* (Gablik, 1991). This reenchantment echoes the necessary paradigm shift that Conrad and Beck (2015) allude to, and it involves “stepping beyond the modern traditions of mechanism, positivism, empiricism, rationalism, materialism, secularism and scientism—the whole objectifying consciousness of the Enlightenment—in a way that allows for a return of soul” (Gablik, 1991, p. 11). ABR allows for a return of the soul in language education research. It makes space for poetic embodied writing that allows us to “stray from the strictures of abstract, conventional, academic and scholarly prose and instead tap, touch, caress, hug, pat, cuddle its flesh” (Davis Halifax, 2012, p. 122). And sometimes, “poke, prod, push, punch, and palm its flesh” to challenge coercive relations of power (Lafferty & Oniță, 2020, p. 52).

ABR in Education Research

Ever since renowned art educator Elliot Eisner started imagining a place for the arts within the fields of educational research (which later became known as ABER or Arts-Based Educational Research), the field has proliferated and expanded, with Canada at the forefront of important developments (Conrad & Sinner, 2015). Movements such as *Poetic Inquiry* and *a/r/tography* (artist/researcher/teacher) emerged from communities of practice at the University of British Columbia (see Leggo 2005, 2016b; Irwin & de Cosson, 2004; Springgay et al., 2005; Prendergast et al., 2008); *arts-informed research* at the University of Toronto (Cole & Knowles, 2008); and

narrative inquiry at the University of Alberta (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). These approaches have inspired a new wave of scholars in Canada and internationally to bridge the arts, teaching, and research in an effort to better capture Aoki's *curriculum-as-lived-experience* (Barone & Eisner, 2006, 2012; Cahnmann-Taylor & Siegesmund, 2008; Conrad & Beck, 2015; Eisner, 1997; Knowles & Cole, 2008; Leavy, 2009; McDermott, 2010). As Barone and Eisner (2006) stated, "ABER at its best is capable of persuading the percipient to see educational phenomena in new ways, and to entertain questions about them that might have otherwise been left unasked" (p. 96) – such as inquiring into the potential of HLDM through ABC, which so far has been largely overlooked in research.

I return to the reenchantment of research and the necessity of new research paradigms such as ABR. As Rolling (2010) posits, "perhaps the greatest benefit in exploring the ABR paradigm in education is in overcoming the biases inherent within the scientific paradigm for generating new knowledge" (p. 508). Thinking, imagining, and *doing* education research differently, through experimentation, collaboration, and creative self-expression means that surprise is an important element of the research process. What *emerges* from artistic processes, practices, and products should be prioritized, and it can never be already-known. In this way, ABR helps us become closer to the spirit of research itself: to re-search, or look again, look closer. Such an approach allows for my abiding interests in art, education, poetry, language, identity, and social justice. It is within this genre of work that I have begun to carve out a research agenda within academia.

ABR in Language Education Research

As Cahnmann-Taylor (2008) notes, due to the dominance of quantitative, cognitive, and neurocentric linguistic research, it was not until the 1980s that language education researchers began to see the arts as a valid form of inquiry into language education (p. 244). And although scholars in the last few decades have begun to investigate the contributions of the visual, literary,

and performing arts for language learning and teaching (as detailed in Chapter 2), very few have done so using ABR as a research methodology or underlying approach. You might recall from the previous chapter, out of 96 studies regarding language learning through the arts, only 7 employed an ABR methodology—that is, the actual making of art by both researchers and/or people they involve in their studies as a primary way of exploring, understanding, or representing experience (McNiff, 2008). The majority of studies I reviewed investigated the affordances of the arts, but did not *embody* artistic processes by using creative expression to undertake research or communicate findings. Nevertheless, the handful that did employ ABR methods were important in opening up the field of language education research to creative ways of knowing and being, through *poetry as a research methodology* (Hanauer, 2010; Garvin, 2013), *Poetic Inquiry* (Kim & Kim, 2018), *autoethnographic writing* (Frimberger, 2016), *scholARTistry* (Cahnmann, 2006), *collaborative arts-based ethnography* (Bradley et al., 2018), and *language portraits* (Coffey, 2015). This study humbly follows in all of these researchers' footsteps, and responds to Cahnmann-Taylor's (2008) call for increased arts-based approaches in language education research, "to stretch a researcher's capacities for creativity and knowing, creating a healthy synthesis of approaches to collect, analyze, and represent data in ways that paint a full picture of a heterogeneous movement to improve language education" (p. 251). In the following paragraphs, I delve into unique studies that have begun incorporating ABR into language education research.

Several studies have used poetry as/for language research. Hanauer's (2010) *Poetry as research: Exploring second language poetry writing* is a unique contribution to the field of language education. Positioning poetry writing as an integral part of a qualitative ABR method, Hanauer investigates ways in which poetry can explore questions related to second language learners. Similarly, Cahnmann's work (2006) not only makes a case for poetry in biliteracy development, but exemplifies it, showing how, through reading, living, and writing bilingual

poetry, teachers and students can “elucidate the goal of bilingual education—to provide an educational environment where students’ home languages and cultures are visible and valued as resources in the classroom” (p. 351). She makes a compelling case for how increased exposure of Latinx students and their teachers to poetry that communicates in more than one culture and code offers exciting possibilities to listen to diverse experiences with attention and dignity, developing students’ full biliteracy potential.

Bradley et al. (2018) used collaborative arts-based methods to enable youth to “explore their local communities in the same ways that ethnographic linguistic landscape researchers might, using creative inquiry to synthesise, analyse and create artefacts which were then used to present their findings” (p. 56). Students’ data collection involved photography, film, and interviews with community members (in inner-city Leeds, UK) about their neighbourhoods and their languages, and they represented their data through collages. In analyzing the collage processes and products of the students, the researchers found that arts-based processes and products enabled multilingual voices to be made audible and visible, with the collaging process itself acting as an example of a site of in-betweenness, opening up translanguaging spaces through the collaborative creation of pieces of creative work. In discussing the affordances of arts-based methods and practice in language pedagogy and in collaborative research practice with youth, Bradley et al. (2018) divulge that “artistic process and products are ‘both a site and a method’, and this has significant theoretical, epistemological and methodological implications for research of this kind” (p. 69). They note the contribution of the arts to language research is an epistemological project in the sense that it is “strongly committed to new forms of knowledge production and to the transformation of subjectivities, requiring novel processes, such as transdisciplinary work and creative co-production with young people” (p. 67), and methodological in the sense that it allows for collaborative spaces for re-imagining and re-constructing the semiotic landscapes inhabited by

young people, such as in the collages which represented “fluid multimodality” and “fluid multilingualism” (p. 68). The authors imply that non arts-based methods often fall short of valuing young peoples’ voices and visions. I explore this notion further in the context of ABC for youth HLDM.

Quality and Qualifications in ABR

How might one assess the quality of ABR or the qualifications of those who pursue ABR? Piirto (2002) cautions that “to observe heartfelt efforts by researchers with little or no background in the art being demonstrated was sometimes painful, especially to those who worked in, were trained in, knew, and loved the art being demonstrated” (p. 443). And as Cahnmann-Taylor (2008) warns, “without a critical community, arts-based inquiry is at risk of ‘anything goes’ criteria, making it impossible to distinguish what is excellent from what is amateur” (pp. 249–250). So, who can conduct ABR and what constitutes success in ABR? Who decides whether the ABR research is good or not? Several scholars have offered their input for assessing ABR, including Barone and Eisner (2012), who said that “a piece of arts based research must succeed both as a work of art and as a work of research” (p. 145) and offered six criteria for assessing it: incisiveness, concision, coherence, generativity, social significance, evocation and illumination (criteria which I expand upon in my section on *Strategies for Trustworthiness and Quality*). Piirto (2002), in defense of quality and qualifications of artists and their arts, also developed criteria for permitting students to do ABR for dissertations and theses, including having “at least an undergraduate minor (and preferably a major) in the domain in which they want to work,” or having “peer-reviewed exhibits, shows, and products, even if he or she hasn’t formally studied the domain” (p. 443). For Piirto, ABR researchers must prove a firm and solid background in the arts and have dedicated a lot of time to their practice; she gives the example that “for some thinkers in the field of qualitative research, the person using poetry in the depiction of qualitative findings

need have no background in poetry, no record of having written poetry, no formal study of poetry” (p. 435). Though I do not agree with colonial and gate-keeping criteria in the arts and academia, I agree with Piirto that time, dedication, and immersion in the arts is important for creating quality ABR. I do not think that a qualitative researcher can simply dabble in the arts to add creative or aesthetic elements to their research (i.e., to make it “look nice” or to respond to a research trend). The same way a hermeneutic researcher immerses themselves in that philosophy for years, so must an ABR scholar.

My qualifications for pursuing ABR in this study include more than a decade of experience as a poet, art educator, visual artist, and community arts organizer. I have participated in dozens of invited poetry readings, publications, and workshops; presented a solo art exhibition at dc3 art gallery in Edmonton; won a few prizes such as the Canadian Literature Centre poetry contest and was shortlisted for the CBC Poetry Prize; and received two large grants from the Edmonton Arts Council to pursue artistic work. I live, breathe, and make art daily, and I love immersing myself in different media, whether it is painting, collage, poetry, or working with installation or assemblage art. Having worked at the Art Gallery of Alberta, Edmonton Poetry Festival, and Griffin Poetry Prize, I also know the world of art and poetry quite well. I believe these *qualifications* show the time I have dedicated to my artistic and poetic craft, and the potential quality of my ABR study.

But are there pitfalls of focusing *demasiado* (too much) on quality or qualifications, especially in relation to youth creating art as research participants? Rather than focusing on gatekeeping debates over what makes ABR good, or who qualifies as a practitioner, I am persuaded by McDermott (2010) who asks whom and what purpose does a work serve, and whether it contributes to change. She posits that artistic scholarship is successful if it affects change in either the maker or the audience. This echoes Carl Leggo (2012) who said, “I no longer

ask, Is this a good poem? I ask, What is this poem good for?” (p. 143). Thus, some ABR studies may not necessarily succeed in the art or poetry worlds on their own, but if they move and incite others to think, feel, or act differently, perhaps that is enough. As Norris (2011) notes,

drawings, paintings, photographs, videos, performances, poetry, songs, and music, generated by research participants, may not achieve a high artistic standard but nor should this be expected... Their artistic merit will most often be not of gallery quality, but the attempt of employing a medium different from words may uncover stories and beliefs that further elucidate not only what one knows but also how what one knows is transformed by the medium chosen. (p. 5)

In this vein, Norris (2011) builds upon a First Nations circle metaphor to explore how employing the four interrelated concepts of Pedagogy, Poiesis, Politics, and Public positioning can provide a more holistic approach in evaluating the quality and merit of arts-based projects, be they for instructional or research purposes. I expand on this in the section on *Strategies for Trustworthiness and Quality*.

Research Procedure and Participants

Overview of Procedure

The study was carried out in six stages. *Stage 1*: I obtained ethics from the University of Alberta’s Research Ethics Board for conducting research with youth participants. *Stage 2*: I began designing a month-long online arts-based curriculum for Spanish HL learners. The program was advertised as a *Spanish Art Camp* during the month of August 2020, and was advertised to Spanish HL youth learners (13–18 years old) through various community programs, such as the Gabriela Mistral Latin American School. The camp would offer a mix of visual, literary, digital, and performative art projects using an immersive *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009) and *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (Hanauer, 2012) to promote maximum use

of the HL. *Stage 3:* Before the camp, I met with each of the nine youth participants to explain the purpose of my research and record an initial interview about their cultural identity, language use, loss, and aspirations. Participants also completed pre-interview activities including goal setting and a language portrait drawing (Ellis et al., 2011). This benchmark data helped me co-construct the curriculum with the youth to meet their needs, gather data about perceptions of their own language use and loss, and acted as an initial inquiry into RQ2. *Stage 4:* During the August-long *Spanish Art Camp*, we met twice a week on *Zoom*, alternating between one-hour individual art sessions (researcher and participant) and two-hour group art sessions (researcher and all participants). The youth created various art projects in Spanish using different media (e.g., drawing, painting, digital art, photography, video, poetry, music). They shared and discussed their artworks both synchronously on *Zoom* and asynchronously on *Slack* between art sessions. I observed and recorded field notes in my ABR journal and collected the participants' Spanish language practice and art-making, which was analyzed as data for RQ1. *Stage 5:* After the camp, I conducted second individual interviews to inquire about participants' experiences practicing their HL through art and to gain more insight for RQ2. My reflections on the value of arts in/as language research and the novel contributions that arts-based curricula make to HL development and maintenance in Canada were continuous, thus progressively comparing data from participants, the existing HL research, and my observations. *Stage 6:* In addition to my doctoral dissertation, I plan to present an online exhibition, featuring the youths' artworks, quotes, and experiences, after my defense.

How COVID-19 Impacted this Study

As I wrapped up my research proposal in early spring 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic began spreading rapidly across the globe. The initial proposed *Spanish Art Camp* was to take place in person at the Art Gallery of Alberta in Edmonton, but the gallery closed to the public that

spring and all educational programs, including their week-long summer camps, halted. As a result, I was forced to re-imagine the *Spanish Art Camp* as a digital experience, and opted for both synchronous and asynchronous delivery via *Zoom* and *Slack*. Instead of an Art Gallery of Alberta educator, I became the artist-pedagogue-researcher, both designing and delivering the ABC (which I describe in Chapter 6: Spanish Art Camp curriculum). Discussing the “silver linings” of moving the art camp online, my committee and I concluded that: (1) a free digital camp may be more economical for families during the tough financial time; (2) since school was not physically in session, HL parents and youth might be starving for creative opportunities to gather online; (3) all youth have more flexibility with no commute to the art sessions, and those who live in rural settings may have an easier time accessing the workshops; (4) an online HL community may be easier to maintain after the camp is over; and (5) I have years of experience leading poetry and art workshops online for youth. Though the camp was inevitably different from what I had proposed at the Art Gallery of Alberta, the types of data collected (pre- and post-camp interviews; observations in arts-based researcher journal; art products and interactions between participants) remained the same. Moreover, because the individual and group *Zoom* sessions were all recorded, I ended up with about sixty hours of incredibly rich data from the participants.

Participant Selection

In selecting participants for this case study, I used the purposeful sampling method called *homogenous sampling*, a strategy where “the researcher purposefully samples individuals or sites based on membership in a subgroup that has defining characteristics” (Creswell, 2003, p. 208). The three defining “subgroup” characteristics that I chose as parameters for this study were that (1) participants must identify as *Spanish HL learners*, (2) participants must identify as *adolescents*, defined as 13–18 years old, and (3) participants must live in or around Edmonton,

Alberta. One additional characteristic that I added for the purpose of logistics is that participants had to be available to participate in a digital *Spanish Art Camp* in August 2020.

I found youth participants for this camp and study through community HL schools, programs, and associations in Edmonton's mesosystem who disseminated the recruitment email (Appendix D), including the *Gabriela Mistral Latin American School* and *International and Heritage Language Association*. Snowball sampling was also used, where "participants...recommend other individuals to be sampled" (Creswell, 2003, p. 209). Being well connected to the Latin American community in Edmonton was an asset in helping me find participants. My immersion in Edmonton's Latinx community events and participation in projects such as *Mapping Places of Memory & Significance for Edmonton's Latin American Communities*, coupled with relationships built during my Master's in Spanish and Latin American Studies, also opened doors to find youth participants. Within a week of advertising, several Spanish HL learners or their parents emailed me with interest in the camp and study. I chose to cap the camp at nine participants, although there was more interest, demonstrating the need for such programs. The nine participants were first and second-generation immigrants from several countries in Latin America (Cuba, Venezuela, Mexico, El Salvador) and Spain, and had various levels of language proficiency and ties to the HL and culture. You will be introduced to each of them in detail in Chapter 5: Participant Portraits.

Ethical Considerations

Consent and Assent. As per standard Research Ethics Board (REB) procedures with any study involving human subjects, and especially with youth, I obtained informed consent and assent from all camp participants and/or their parents. For youth 14 and younger, I obtained signed *Parental Consent Forms* (Appendix A) and *Youth Assent Forms* (Appendix B). For youth 15–18, I obtained signed *Youth Consent Forms* (Appendix C). All participants and their parents were made

aware of the camp and study through these forms, which included the study's background, purpose, procedures, time commitment, potential benefits, risks, cost of participation, voluntary participation and withdrawal, confidentiality and anonymity, and contact information. Before providing consent or assent, participants 15 or over and parents of participants 14 or younger were informed that their or their child's involvement in the study was fully voluntary, permitting them the option to withdraw from the camp or the research study at any time. This included the right to withdraw their or their child's data up until the end of the first week of the camp, and withdrawing individual art pieces until three days after the camp ended. The letters informed participants and their parents that the *Zoom* sessions would be audio-recorded, and that their identities would always be protected with a pseudonym. Even if their artworks showed their faces or someone else's face (e.g., through photography, video, painted portraits), they were informed that the faces would be blurred or covered in my research dissemination. For example, I chose not to share the bilingual video poems that the youth created in this camp because many of the participants chose to show their face and their friends or family members.

Topics of language loss, learning, or reclamation sometimes induce potential emotional discomfort, triggering painful memories or personal stories that make one vulnerable. I watched for signs of this and offered compassion when uncomfortable feelings arose, such as when participants shared instances of racism or bullying in their individual interviews or art sessions. I included opportunities during both the individual and group art sessions for participants to safely remove themselves if they felt uncomfortable (e.g., turn their camera off, or exit the *Zoom* meeting). Moreover, participants were instructed not to share what other participants said or shared on *Slack* or during our *Zoom* group sessions, which to my knowledge, was observed. ABR also offered other unique ways to respond to discomfort when it arose: beyond the usual strategies of skipping a difficult interview question, pausing an interview, or removing oneself from a

situation, we switched gears with play, improv, drawing activities, or experiments (Sinding et al., 2008). This was negotiated between me and the participants *in situ* during the online camp. We also had conversations about ethics, and *sobre todo* about the balance between the type of necessary discomfort or perturbation that comes with learning versus the type of debilitating discomfort that can be too anxiety-inducing to be healthy or productive.

Although no participant felt the need to withdraw their presence during any of the interviews or art sessions, some participants chose to withdraw artworks that they created or shared during the camp. One participant removed an artwork from the study because they felt it was too personal and they were not confident with the piece, therefore they did not want it to be displayed outside the boundaries of our camp. They felt it was important for me to speak about the topic of the piece (the anxiety of returning to school during the pandemic), but they were not confident with displaying the actual artwork. Another participant shared art projects on *Slack* that they had worked on at school and they did not want those projects to be shown in the study in order to maintain their anonymity. *Otro jóven* gave me permission to share an art piece only if certain details from it were removed. All of these requests were respected.

Relationship Building. Relational ethics are heightened for arts-based researchers (Conrad & Beck, 2015). *In plus*, as Frimberger (2016) notes, “arts-based language learning is a situated practice that prioritises ethical, relationship-based objectives over static notions of language competence” (p. 285). Both my language pedagogy and research approach are marked by a strong ethical orientation rooted in relationship building. Since I did not know any of the youth camp participants, I had to establish instant rapport with the youth and *gradualmente* build trust. I chose to do this during pre-camp interviews through art activities, personal photo sharing and storytelling to get to know each other (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). *Durante las entrevistas*, I tried to proceed with kindness, openness, and respect, and paid special attention to the comfort of

the participants, accompanying them in the process through empathy and ensuring that they felt no pressure to respond to questions they might have felt uncomfortable answering. In relationships, as in research, we must be flexible *y dejarse llevar* (go with the flow). As Barndt (2008) reminds us, in ABR we cannot rigidly adhere “to some predetermined vision or outcome but rather a deep commitment to accompany people in a process of exploring their own histories, identities, struggles, and hopes—not knowing where it will lead” (p. 6).

In this open-ended art-making and research process, several of the youth disclosed experiences with racism, linguicism, and bullying in their school or community. Many of their experiences perturbed me, *m-au ținut trează noaptea*, which led me to consider a researcher’s obligations and responsibilities in these matters. These conversations with the youth led to profound transformations in my own ethical commitments as an educator, artist, and researcher: I re-prioritized linguistic justice and anti-racism in my pre-service teaching at the University of Alberta, in my academic presentations (Oniță, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2021d, 2021e), in my research collaborations (Oniță et. al, 2021a, 2021c), in my scholarly publications (Oniță et. al, 2021b; Oniță, 2022), and in my poetic practice (Oniță, 2019, 2021f).

Lastly, the ethics of *proceeding* with a research project is as important as the ethics of *ending* it (Sinding et al., 2008). After the camp and final interviews ended, I ensured that the camp participants had a way to stay in touch with me or with each other if they wished, and had access to other opportunities for Spanish HL community arts-based practice if they desired, including publication with *The Polyglot*, exhibitions with the *Edmonton Public Library*, and other creative opportunities to get together. I did not see my research ending when the camp ended; my ethical commitment to the participants extends beyond my dissertation and expands into my other community arts work.

Data Collection Methods

Stake (1995) said that case study as a methodology helps to “develop vicarious experiences” (p. 63). My goal for this case study was to collect as much rich data as possible from participants in order to provide an immersive vicarious experience for the reader through “thick description” (Geertz, 1973). In the following sections, I will delve deeper into the rationale and description of each type of data. A reminder, *drag cititor*; that at the beginning of this chapter, I explained how I view and use the word “data,” thinking of it in its Latin form: *the gifts that have been given*. My data/gifts included eighteen individual interviews, dozens of participant artworks, and my own observations and arts-based researcher notes from 38 *Zoom* art session recordings and *Slack* interactions over a period of six weeks.

Individual Interviews

In this study, eighteen semi-structured one-on-one interviews with participants took place *pre-camp* and *post-camp* on *Zoom*. Through a list of guiding questions, open-ended semi-structured interviews provide the researcher the flexibility to determine which direction to take during the interview process (Merriam, 2002). The *pre-camp* interviews were significant for five reasons: (1) they allowed me as the researcher to establish rapport with each participant; (2) they provided benchmark data on participant HL use, loss, and aspirations and therefore act as an initial inquiry into RQ2; (3) they helped me tweak the *Spanish Art Camp* curriculum to meet learner needs and interests; (4) they provided a foundation for observations during the camp; (5) they gave participants an overview of the study and camp with a chance to ask questions and receive clarification. Prior to these initial *Zoom* interviews, participants also received a \$50 gift card to a local art store in Edmonton to find the materials they desired, which were essential to complete interview and camp activities such as drawings, project brainstorming, poems, and artist statements (Ellis et al., 2011). The *post-camp* interviews focused on camp reflections, including participants’ perceptions of their Spanish language use during the camp, which art activities they

found most beneficial to their language practice and literacy aspirations, and how they saw the arts contributing to their HL development and maintenance (RQ1). The participant artworks produced during the camp were used as focal points for the post-camp interviews.

Each interview lasted between sixty and ninety minutes. I captured observations from the semi-structured interviews in my researcher journal and audio-recorded each interview as digital mp3 files from *Zoom*, which I later transcribed. Creswell (2003) suggested that the researcher create an interview protocol form to record information. I designed and used a form (Appendix E) to help with the flow of the interview and aid in keeping the focus on information needed for the study. Camp participants had a choice to conduct the interview in Spanish, English, or both languages. Consistent with the preface of this dissertation, I used the original language of the quotes, and provided translations alongside that have been verified by a Spanish-speaking doctoral candidate and translator at the University of Alberta.

Observations and Researcher Arts-based Journal

The process of observing is undeniably important in qualitative inquiry. Merriam (2002) stated that observation was the best method of surveying a phenomenon first hand “when a fresh perspective is desired” (p. 13). This gives the researcher an opportunity “to see things firsthand and to use his or her own knowledge and expertise in interpreting what is observed, rather than relying on once-removed accounts from interviews” (Merriam, 1998, p. 96). Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (2003) noted that “all observation involves the observer’s participation in the world being studied” (p. 49). Due to the underlying ethos of ABR, I embodied the role of artist-pedagogue-researcher in the *Spanish Art Camp*. This type of “insider” role allowed me to teach and engage in art activities with the youth at the same time as recording observations, with the advantage of having been able to see experiences from the views of participants, to the extent

that this was possible (Creswell, 2003, p. 214). I also double-checked during the post-camp interviews that I had captured their views as they intended.

I recorded my observations as field notes and drawings in an ABR researcher journal. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1998), field notes should be descriptive, while containing a reflective account of the researcher's journey in which s/he is free to record future plans, clarify ideas, problems, impressions, and feelings. I observed and documented participants' engagement in activities and projects, their language use (Spanish vs. English use; codeswitching), affective experiences that arose, reactions to art, conversations between participants, general moods and feelings during the sessions, and emerging perspectives about how ABC impacts language use. The arts-based component of the researcher journal supported aesthetic, experiential, embodied, and emotional ways of knowing and creating knowledge (Conrad & Sinner, 2015). Observations and fieldnotes were inseparable from the artworks created and collected, as described below.

Collection of Participant Artworks

Artifacts can be defined as “objects used in the process of teaching and learning or products that result from the process of teaching and learning” (Lodico et al., 2006, p. 133). In the context of this study, artifacts included participants' *physical art projects* (e.g., paintings, sculpture), *digital art projects* (e.g., songs, photos), as well as *ephemeral art projects* (e.g., poetry performances, works-in-progress). As Papoi (2016) notes, accurately capturing and storing 2- and 3-D physical artifacts or performances from an arts-based environment can be “logistically challenging” (p. 58). In the context of our online art-camp, the *physical art projects* were converted to *digital art projects* via photography or video. Participants either privately sent me their photographs or posted them directly on the digital platform of *Slack*. *Slack* was analyzed as a space of art planning, reflecting on, and discussing works-in-progress through their HL. This complemented my observations and detailed fieldnotes in my own arts-based researcher journal.

Data Analysis Methods

Typical data analysis in qualitative research involves “identifying, coding, categorizing, classifying, and labeling the primary patterns in the data” (Patton, 2002, p. 463). But verbs such as *identify*, *code*, *categorize*, *classify*, and *label* may be at odds with the spirit of ABR. What does the data *feel* like? What *textures* does it have? What *stories* does it tell about HL loss, reclamation, and maintenance through the arts? How can the data *evoke* and *provoke* new understandings of HLDM through arts-based practices? In my search for methods of analysis that are more embodied, holistic, and intuitive in nature, I discovered *Motif Coding* (Saldaña, 2013) and *Bidirectional Artifact Analysis* (Halverson & Magnifico, 2013). These analysis methods, coupled with Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory*, allowed for my observations, fieldnotes, interviews, and collection of art processes and products to “speak to” each other in an ongoing organic shifting conversation. In this, I subscribe to Parlett and Hamilton’s (1976) views about how collection and analysis of data are not seen as separate stages, but as part of an ongoing dialogue through which interpretations are allowed to develop organically and to undergo “progressive focussing.” Although *Motif Coding*, *Bidirectional Artifact Analysis*, and *Ecological Systems Theory* are not classified as arts-based practices, I used them as such. *Por ejemplo*, in analyzing my participants’ data, I painted colourful postcards similar to what was described in Chapter 2, in the section called *Methods for Analyzing Selected Studies*.

Motif Coding

Saldaña (2013) writes about *language and literacy based coding methods* (pp. 123–141) such as *Motif Coding*, that captures “intrapersonal and interpersonal participant experiences and actions in case studies, particularly those that lead toward narrative or arts-based presentational forms” (Saldaña, 2013. p. 124). A motif, in literature, is a recurring image, idea, sound, emotion, or action that has symbolic significance and can contribute to larger themes. In research, it is a

“particular element, incident, characteristic, trait, action, or unique word/phrase that reoccurs throughout a data set” (p. 138). Saldaña suggests that *Motif Coding* is a “creative, evocative method” that is “part literary element and part psychological association” and can reveal insights both individual and universal in nature in interview data transcripts or participant-generated documents such as journals (p. 130). I experimented with *Motif Coding* as an arts-based practice for the transcribed interview data, my researcher journal, the participants’ art journals, as well as the participant artifacts, making sure to pluck both seemingly mundane and significant elements that had the potential for rich symbolic analysis (p. 130). Regarding visual data, Saldaña advises, “trust your intuitive, holistic impressions when analyzing and writing about visual materials” (p. 57). Being able to alternate between the trees and the forest at the same time was crucial: *de hecho*, *Motif Coding* has much in common with the art-making process itself, where we focus on the tiny details and the big picture simultaneously and seamlessly. The emergent motifs captured in field notes, transcriptions, video and photographs created overarching themes arising from the interviews, camp, and exhibition, especially to understand how participants use art-making to communicate in their HLs, what they are learning about themselves and the world (Papoi, 2016).

Bidirectional Artifact Analysis

In this study, I used Halverson and Magnifico’s (2013) *bidirectional artifact analysis*, an analytic method developed specifically for understanding young peoples’ creative process and production through observations of participants *in situ*, the artifacts they create, and interviews with them as they describe their artwork. I was inspired by their desire to understand the artistic *process* as it evolves, their pedagogical grounding in *Multiliteracies Theory*, and their commitment to “look across and through full trajectories of art development” (p. 839). They show how examining drafts, plans, and reflections alongside a final product enriches our understanding of literacy learning and the creative process among youth. In their own words:

Bidirectional artifact analysis directly juxtaposes two kinds of data: learner's work and what learners say about their work. While many methodologies analyze these two data streams separately, we believe that we can learn more by examining them together. By employing this methodology, instructors and researchers can produce fine-grained maps of the learning inherent in creative processes. The analysis is rooted to the context of learning, and thus, this methodology is particularly useful for examining innovative non-traditional environments and contexts. (p. 413)

Particularly, case studies in non-traditional educational contexts such as this *Spanish Art Camp* benefit from this type of analysis, where "learning is process oriented and learners frequently reflect on their work, document their thinking, or receive feedback" (p. 414). The bidirectional analysis process involves the following steps: (1) identify a learner-created artifact (begin with the final product), (2) document relevant data around the artifact, tracing the steps in the process of the artifact's creation such as drafts, planning, and reflections to show how the artifact changed over time, and (3) construct narrative threads across the data types to trace the main ideas and tools in the final product through their development, taking note of how the text/image evolved over time, using fieldnotes, conversations, journals, and interviews to get insight into individuals' interpretations of what their creative work means over time. This method allowed me to let each piece of data "speak" to the others to allow for contextualization. For example, while analyzing a student-created artifact such as a written poem or drawing, I would refer backward to what the participant said about the work, forward to a final production or presentation, and within the same space to hear others' "take" on the work.

Halverson and Magnifico (2013) caution that "no single tool provides enough information to gain an understanding of how production processes and artifacts lead to literacy learning in complex environments" (p. 414) and warn that "bidirectional analysis is an effective tool for

focused case studies – for example, zooming in on focal learners – but ineffective for creating general pictures of events in a larger learning space” (p. 414). For this reason, *Motif Coding* and Bronfenbrenner’s *Ecological Systems Theory* were used alongside this method to gain a broader understanding of the learning context itself.

Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems Theory

Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory* was beneficial in constructing a holistic understanding of HLDM in Canada in Chapter 3. It was just as beneficial in my data analysis. After I collected my data, digitized it, transcribed it, coded it for motifs and themes, and considered it across multiple sources and across time with bidirectional artifact analysis, significant patterns emerged. I compared these patterns between participants and began to construct themes in the *microsystem*, *mesosystem*, *exosystem*, and *macrosystem*. Thus, this tool helped me interpret, socioculturally and contextually, my participants’ experiences of language and literacy learning through ABC, and the contributions of ABC for HLDM as presented in Chapter 7: Interpreting the Data.

Data Presentation Methods

Community Exhibition

In doctoral research we are often told to focus on presenting our research and findings to an academic community, particularly supervisors and committee members. My arts-based case study stretches beyond academe and commits to presenting findings to the Spanish HL community which the research impacts (Barndt, 2008; Conrad & Sinner, 2015). I will do this through a digital exhibition²⁷ of the *Spanish Art Camp*, to which families and community members will be invited to experience the study’s findings and art products of a month-long language learning journey through the arts. Cahnmann-Taylor (2008) posits that “sharing the

²⁷ The digital exhibition has been delayed due to the COVID-19 pandemic and is planned for December, 2021.

process and products of arts-based research with a much larger readership than that of a typical language education study has more immediate and lasting impact” (p. 251). For instance, “sharing a poem may be a much more effective way to bring a discussion of research findings back to a group of students or teachers, than sharing a lengthy research article or book-length manuscript” (p. 251). I agree that there are ways to disseminate research findings to an HL community in “more penetrating and immediate ways than any traditional text” (p. 251). Besides my dissertation and this community arts exhibit, I have and will continue to share findings at teachers’ conferences such as the *Encuentro de Profesores de Español de Alberta*, newsletters such as IHLA’s, and other ways to reach HL parents, learners, and policy makers.

Strategies for Trustworthiness and Quality

Positivist criteria used to evaluate the trustworthiness of quantitative research (i.e., internal validity, generalizability, reliability, and objectivity) are not suitable to judge all research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed that, for qualitative research, internal validity should be replaced by that of *credibility* (are the study’s findings believable?), external validity by *transferability* (can the results be transferred to other settings?), reliability by *dependability* (are the results consistent and can they be trusted?), and objectivity by *confirmability* (can the findings be corroborated?). While this study does not aim for *researcher distance* in the traditional modernist sense, I acknowledge that my own childhood experiences with Heritage Language loss could influence some people’s perception of the *credibility* and *dependability* of this study. However, without that experience, this study may have never been born. In van Kessel’s (2016) words:

researchers cannot fully separate themselves from what they are researching. There can be no objectivity in the sense of a lack of bias, judgment, or prejudice. Instead, there is a higher standard of objectivity, one that requires the recognition of subjectivities and their impact on research. (p. 7)

As described in my *Ethical Considerations* section, many ABR scholars would argue that a distanced researcher role is not really possible or desirable, but rather we should *aim* for a more intimate, involved co-creation of knowledge with our participants, and creative ways to show our findings to the community that the research affects (i.e., Spanish HL families who might not read this dissertation, but would engage with a community online exhibit). These relationships influenced the outcomes and implications of this study in positive ways that will hopefully contribute to the development and maintenance of HLs in the communities I inhabit. In Haraway's (1988) conception of *situated knowledges*, by acknowledging and understanding our own position in the world, and hence the contestable nature of our claims to knowledge, we can produce knowledge with even greater objectivity than if we claimed to be neutral observers. This greater standard of objectivity can be reached by being aware of and openly discussing our positionality and intention as researchers, as I did in Chapter 1. Moreover, when working with participants, I kept my own intentions and purposes in check by using open-ended questions to encourage them to speak as freely as possible (instead of sharing what they think I might want them to say) and by reflecting daily in my researcher journal. As in the art world, it was my intention to ensure that participants' art products and processes stand alone as their own works, and were not overly influenced by me. I envisioned my researcher role as a *curator* of participants' creations, tasked with the interpretation and presentation of their work, rather than a *commissioner* (someone who requests the creation of specific works).

Regarding transferability, while this case study was born in a specific sociohistorical, cultural, and educational context (and I caution readers outside of the province of Alberta in assuming that these findings are fully *transferable* to other contexts or communities), there are still important aspects of this study that could be applied to other contexts, much like I drew upon Anderson and Chung's (2011) work in the U.K. and Papoi's (2016) work from the U.S.

Intergenerational language loss are issues that affects both Indigenous and immigrant communities throughout the world, where youth could benefit from arts-based curricula for their HLDM.

Entonces, although Alberta's HL instructional situation is unique, and it is linked to provincial educational policies, attitudes, and initiatives in HLDM, readers may be able to transfer some of the findings in this dissertation to combat intergenerational language loss.

Quality Criteria for ABR

Which criteria are suitable to judge the *quality* of arts-based research? In this dissertation, I advocate for using Barone and Eisner's (2012) quality criteria for ABR and Norris' (2011) holistic "Great Wheel" model for quality and merit. Barone and Eisner (2012) came up with the criteria of *incisiveness* (does the arts-based research penetrate to the heart of a social issue?), *concision* (is it focused and to the point, omitting excess verbiage?), *coherence* (does it feature work that hangs together in a strong form?), *generativity* (does it enable one to act upon phenomena?), *social significance* (does it matter to people and aim to make a difference?), *evocation* (does it evoke feeling and an aesthetic experience?), and *illumination* (does it shed light on something in a new way?). These criteria were always at the back of my mind, helping me bring my arts-based case study closer to the spirit and purpose of art itself.

Norris' (2011) inclusive adapted "Great Wheel" four quadrants may also be employed for assessing the quality of merit of my ABR research: *Pedagogy* (to what extent does the work incite intellectual or emotional growth in individuals?), *Poiesis* (to what extent does the work exhibit a strong, polished sense of artistry?), *Politics* (to what extent does the work engage politically?), and *Public Positioning* (to what extent does the work appropriately serve its audience or public or context?). As Norris illustrates through his various examples, some art activities and projects are more pedagogical in nature, some works are more imbued with political intentions, some feature more polished poiesis, and some works are created for specific audiences or contexts. As Norris

states, “by asking, ‘What are the pedagogical, poetical, political and public positioning stances of any arts-based research and/or pedagogical project?’ we can act responsibly, looking at the bigger picture” (p. 19). Together, these criteria by Barone and Eisner (2012) and Norris (2011) not only allow me and others to assess the quality and merit of my arts-based case study, but also serve as guides in my dissertation and community outreach.

Limitations

Although exploratory and based on many rigorous ways of gathering and interpreting data, this study is not without limitations. For instance, my image-based methods for gathering data (i.e., pre-, during, and post-camp art activities) may not have accurately captured students’ experiences, emotions, or beliefs about HLDM. Moreover, because of the experimental, often freeing process of art-making, students sometimes did not make art obviously related to their language or identity, even when guided through an activity. To address the limitations of the arts-based instruments, I chose to conduct the pre- and post-camp interviews with learners to inquire directly about their current Spanish language use, loss, and aspirations. My fieldnotes and researcher reflections also served to enrich and compare findings.

Another limitation of this study is that it only included the experiences of HL youth. It did not include data from parents or grandparents, who may express different aspirations and approaches regarding HLDM and family language planning (see sections on Considerations and Future Research in Chapter 8, such as *Families* and *Family Language Planning*).

Además, this study did not include data from youth studying their HL in formal language learning environments in Alberta, such as those who attend K-12 schools with bilingual programs for Spanish, who may have had different experiences and views regarding HLDM. Moreover, the one-on-one individual HL art sessions in this study would likely not be feasible in most school settings and community HL learning spaces because of time and resource limitations.

Finalmente, the group of nine participating youth in this study seemed to be already interested in both maintaining their HL and making art, especially drawing, digital art, and music. Although an ABR paradigm is grounded in the belief that *all* humans are fundamentally creative and aesthetic beings, future research should explore how ABC could contribute to HLDM among youth who may not perceive themselves as “artistic,” nor have strong desires to maintain their HL.

Weaving it All Together

ABR has the power to reframe language education research to gain tangible insights into how ABC can contribute to HLDM. An *arts-based case study* of the *Spanish Art Camp* (bound by time, context, and activity) was the best approach to bring together the rigorous qualities of conventional qualitative methodologies with the aesthetic, imaginative, process-oriented qualities of the arts to reveal insights that would otherwise have been left unknown to us, including how Spanish HL learners can use the arts for their language and literacy aspirations. ABR also helps us reach the community that our research impacts in more direct, palpable ways. At the end of my case-study, “a reader [may] not take away three key points or five examples” (Neilsen, 2008, p. 4). I would like *el lector* to come away “with the resonance of another’s world, in the way we emerge from the reading of a poem or a novel, from a film screening or a musical event.” (p. 4) *Drag cititor*, I would like you to *feel* the resonance of an HL learner’s world, and understand at your body-level, through these multiple methods, how the arts could possibly stimulate a more emotional and embodied HLDM process, beginning with Chapter 5: Participant Portraits.

CHAPTER 5: PARTICIPANT PORTRAITS

In this chapter, you will be introduced to the nine *jóvenes* who chose to participate in this arts-based case study. Each *participant portrait* begins with a collage of their artworks made during the camp, because, as Jewitt and Kress (2003) defend, “rather than taking talk and writing as the starting point, a multimodal approach to learning starts from a theoretical position that treats all modes as equally significant for meaning and communication” (p. 2). *Inmediatamente después*, I delve into my first impressions of meeting them, their cultural identity, language portrait, and Spanish aspirations. The purpose of these in-depth multimodal portraits, *como mencioné en el capítulo anterior*, is to create “a resonance of another’s world” (Neilsen, 2008, p. 4) in line with an ABR epistemology that acknowledges multiple ways of coming to know through creating, embodiment, sensations, affect, and intuition. *Además*, part of what makes learning a Heritage Language *una experiencia más única* than, say, learning Foreign or Second Language, is that usually, “whatever their level of competence, [learners] experience an emotional attachment which forms a part of their heritage and thus of their identity” (Anderson & Chung, 2012, p. 260). Thus, the youths’ visual language portraits are especially important for more viscerally conveying the emotional *vínculos* that each youth has to their HL of *español*, and thus, their *identidad*. *Querido lector*, only by experiencing a resonance of these youths’ worlds can we begin to know how the arts-based curriculum was constructed and experienced. *Que disfrute mucho*.

Portrait of Daymé

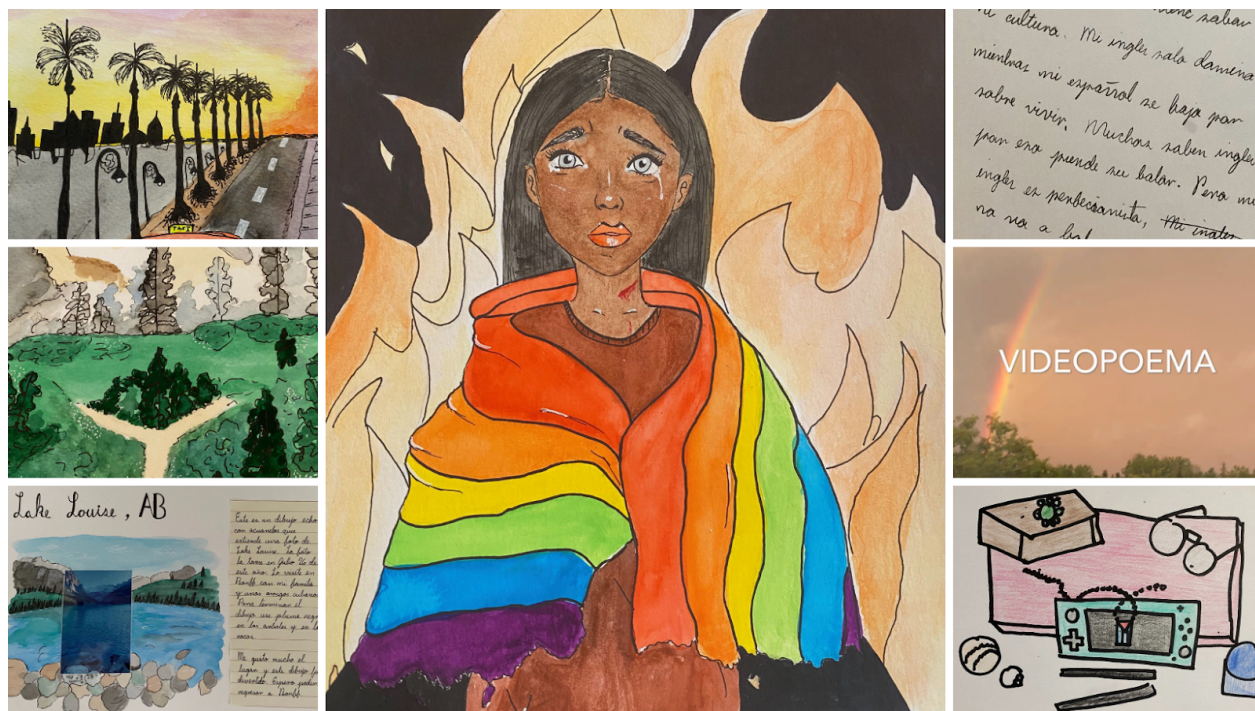


Figure 18: A collage of details from some of Daymé's artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*.

First Impressions

The first thing I noticed about Daymé was *su risa alegre* (her joyful laugh). From our first interview, her incisive anecdotes were always punctuated by candid laughter, which instantly made me feel like I had known her for years, not mere *minutos*. Now sixteen years old, Daymé was born in La Habana, Cuba and completed three grades there before moving to Alberta: “*no sabía nada de inglés cuando me vine p'acá.*”²⁸ (I did not know a word of English when I came here).²⁹ A brilliant young woman—witty, analytic, precise, *rebelde*—she is not afraid to fight injustices like racism, linguicism, transphobia, or homophobia head-on. Daymé loves Science and Math, but despises Social Studies and English Language Arts (which she feels promote regurgitation and oppression). She finds comfort in the freedom of art-making and dreams of becoming an architect one day. Her rigorous Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate

²⁸ From Daymé's pre-camp interview (00:14:42–00:14:44).

²⁹ All translations in this dissertation have been verified by a Spanish-speaking doctoral candidate and translator at the University of Alberta. The youths' linguistic mistakes (in both Spanish and English) have been maintained to highlight their language learning process.

high-school courses do not allow for a lot of free time, so she was excited to participate in this summer art camp, especially to share her artworks with other youth who speak her HL.

Cultural Identity

Daymé identifies first and foremost as *cubana*, though she also used the terms *afro-cubana*, *afro-latina*, *del Caribe*, *hispana*, and *latina* to describe herself. Curiously, when asked whether she identified as *canadiense* (Canadian), she laughed and said that she did not, despite having lived in Canada for seven years and becoming a citizen. She shared that her friends are mostly immigrants from the Philippines and Vietnam because she relates more to them as they have similar histories (“*Me relaciono más con ellos. Tenemos similares historias*”³⁰). As a transnational, when she goes back to Cuba once every two years, she feels at home. Though she did not maintain friendships there, she loves hanging out with her cousins as “*la bebé de la familia*.”³¹ Daymé feels most connected to her Cuban culture when she speaks Spanish because “*me hace sentir como que no me fui*”³² (it makes me feel as if I never left), adding that her language “*es más parte de mi cultura. Yo nunca me he mezclado tan bien con la cultura aquí y español me ha ayudado.*”³³ (it is part of my culture. I never fit in well with the culture here, so Spanish has helped me a lot). This incongruence between her host culture and home culture was often a topic of our conversations, as Daymé negotiated her intersecting transnational, cultural, racial, and linguistic identities through art and dialogue.

Language Portrait

Daymé proudly calls *español* her *lengua materna* (mother tongue), *lengua de herencia* (heritage language), *lengua de la casa* (home language), and *primera lengua* (first language).

However—like many other HL adolescents in Canada—English is her *lengua dominante*

³⁰ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:22:01–00:22:06).

³¹ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:34:31–00:34:33).

³² From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:23:39–00:23:41).

³³ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:20:37–00:20:43).

(dominant language): “*porque yo soy muy buena hablando español, pero escribiéndolo, no. Tengo faltas en todo lo que, en todo lo que escribo.*”³⁴ (I’m very good at speaking Spanish, but writing it, not so much. I make mistakes in everything I write). The experiences and stories she shared became very useful when co-creating the *Spanish Art Camp* curriculum, as we focused on developing her writing skills while maintaining her speaking skills.

When Daymé drew her language portrait on *Sketchpad*, she used red organic lines for Spanish, light blue straight lines for English, and dark blue squiggles for French “*porque cuando pienso de líneas rectas pienso en que es perfecto o que intenta ser perfecto, no como las líneas ondeadas, que no lo tienes que pensar mucho.*”³⁵ (because when I think of straight lines, I think that it’s perfect or it tries to be perfect, unlike wavy lines, where you do not have to overthink it).



Figure 19: Daymé’s language portrait from the pre-camp interview

³⁴ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:18:26–00:18:33).

³⁵ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:55:29–00:55:42).

Mientras she illustrated this language portrait *en vivo* (live), she also narrated the relationships between her three languages in her *cuerpo* and *mente*:

<p><i>Yo siempre veo español como rojo, porque la bandera de Cuba tiene rojo y azul... Y lo veo más fluido, como que lo veo, como que, rodea—porque fue lo primero que aprendí. Lo veo que llena desde el centro, ¿no? Y lo veo bien fluido. Y entonces el inglés lo veo como más claro, porque lo veo que—es un color que domina todos los países, todo el mundo. Casi todos los diferentes personas de todos los países tienen que aprender inglés, en vez de la otra manera. Y veo el inglés, no sé, más gordo. Y lo veo, como que, tratando de cubrir la lengua materna. Lo veo así en cuadrados, así, Como tratando de ser perfecto. A francés lo veo como un azul oscuro y lo veo como tratando de cubrir pequeños lados de mi mente.³⁶</i></p>	<p>I always see Spanish as red, because the Cuban flag has red and blue... And it's more fluid, like it surrounds everything, because it was the first thing I learned. It fills up from the centre, right? And I see it as very fluid. And then I see English as lighter, because it is a language that dominates all countries, the entire world. Almost everyone in the entire world, in all countries, has to learn English, instead of the other way. And I see English, I don't know, fatter. I see that it's trying to cover the mother tongue. I see it like this, in squares. Like trying to be perfect. I see French as a dark blue that is trying to cover tiny parts of my mind.</p>
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Evident in her narration above, Daymé is hyper aware of the power and status struggles between her languages. *Además*, in one of her poems from the camp, she powerfully stated: “*Mi inglés domina mientras mi español se faja por sobrevivir*”³⁷ (My English dominates meanwhile my Spanish fights to survive). One of the major challenges that she faces—as she frequently brought up—is that her Spanish use is confined to her microsystem: conversing with her mom and dad at home or talking to her grandparents and other family members on the phone.

<p><i>Yo nada más hablo español con mi mamá y papá porque en la ciudad que yo vivo es como, no sé, es una ciudad muy rica. Aquí nada más hay canadienses. Casi nadie habla otro idioma. Hay asiáticos, pero nadie, nadie quien habla español. So, el español que hablo siempre es con mi mamá y papá, en la casa.³⁸</i></p>	<p>I only speak Spanish with my mom and dad because in the city I live in, it's like, I don't know—it is a very rich city. There are only Canadians here. Almost nobody speaks another language. There are Asian people, but nobody, no one who speaks Spanish. So, I just always speak Spanish with my mom and dad, at home.</p>
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³⁶ From Daymé's pre-camp interview, 00:52:31–00:54:13).

³⁷ From Daymé's fourth individual art session.

³⁸ From Daymé's pre-camp interview, 00:14:59–00:15:18).

Daymé perceives her city on the outskirts of Edmonton to be “*una burbuja*”³⁹ (a bubble) where she feels “*casi nadie habla otro idioma*”⁴⁰ (almost no one speaks another language) and “*nadie habla español*”⁴¹ (nobody speaks Spanish). She sees this habitus—and her perceived lack of HL opportunities in her mesosystem—as major obstacles to maintaining her Spanish. For instance, she first noticed rapid Spanish language loss about a year after she moved from Cuba to Canada. One critical incident she narrated was when she was asked to help another student who came from Venezuela. As she recounted: “*me mandaron a mi a ayudar a traducir. Yo no me acordaba de nada. No me acordaba de casi nada. Yo decía, ‘no sé si estoy hablando español o inglés.’*”⁴² (they sent me to help translate. I didn’t remember a thing. Didn’t recall almost anything. I was like, “I don’t know if I’m speaking Spanish or English”). Now, years later, Daymé says she thinks in “Spanglish” and often invents new words (printer + impresora = printadora) with Spanish morphology when she cannot remember words in her HL.

Spanish Aspirations

Despite the lack of programs available in her mesosystem, Daymé would have liked the opportunity to attend school or community courses in Spanish for HL learners “*porque me hubiera ayudado mucho, porque es bueno mantener las dos lenguas. Te ayuda mucho en el futuro. Pero como no las tuve, fui perdiendo la gramática en español.*”⁴³ (it would have helped me a lot, because it’s good to maintain both languages. It will help a lot in the future. But because I did not have that, I gradually lost my grammar in Spanish). Daymé has linguistic goals that relate to improving her writing skills, spelling, and grammatical accuracy, so in the *Spanish Art Camp*, I

³⁹ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:22:49–00:22:50).

⁴⁰ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:15:09–00:15:13).

⁴¹ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:15:15–00:15:16).

⁴² From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:41:58–00:42:08).

⁴³ From Daymé’s pre-camp interview (00:20:10–00:20:21).

made sure to include writing opportunities while making space for her artistic goals for the month-long camp, such as expanding her photography skills and creating a watercolour and collage journal like I showed in my introductory camp video.

Portrait of Ximena



Figure 20: A collage of details from some of Ximena’s artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*

First Impressions

Ximena is playful and prolific, with boundless energy. “In my family, I’m known as the dramatic person,”⁴⁴ the fifteen-year-old revealed in her first interview. Having experimented with many *géneros de arte*—animation, comics, costume design, drama, drawing, music, painting, photography, poetry, and sculpture—Ximena sees art as a place where she belongs and can express herself freely with no judgment. She confessed that she could not sleep the night before the *Spanish Art Camp* because of the “excitement.” When I asked why she was so excited, she said, “*porque esto es muy chido. Puedo intentar más arte. Y también hay más personas que*

⁴⁴ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (1:02:06–1:02:09).

hablan español y le gustan arte también.”⁴⁵ (Because this is really cool. I can try making more art, and there are also people who speak Spanish and like art, too). We bonded over her favourite artist, the iconic Bob Ross, whom she adores “*porque cuando él hace el pintura todo es tan calm and relaxed, y cuando un mistake happens, sólo se va con eso.*”⁴⁶ (because when he makes a painting, everything is calm and relaxed, and when a mistake happens, he just goes with it). Ximena’s energetic nature and seamless code-switching made for some interesting and invigorating art sessions.

Cultural Identity

Born in Puerto Vallarta, México, Ximena moved to Alberta when she was just three years old and identifies as *mexicana*. On several occasions, she indicated that she does not want to lose her Mexican culture nor her Spanish language because:

No quiero perder donde nací y no quiero perder cultura, no quiero perder el familia, no quiero perder el forma a communicate con mi familia.

⁴⁷

I don’t want to lose where I was born, and I don’t want to lose my culture, I don’t want to lose my family, I don’t want to lose the way to communicate with my family.

Ximena also uses the terms “secret agent” or “double agent” when referring to her cultural identity and special ability to move between two distinct worlds. For example, she said: “when I’m in Mexico, I feel a part of the crowd. I blend in. I feel like everyone else. I feel like a secret agent.”⁴⁸ When speaking of her transnational experiences, she said, “it feels like I’m a double agent. Like, I came from Mexico; I go to Canada, and I come back, telling them what it’s like,”⁴⁹ (them being ambiguous on purpose, meaning both Mexicans and Canadians). In our art sessions, she described the profound connections between her lands and languages. For instance, in one of

⁴⁵ From Ximena’s first individual art session (00:02:29–00:02:42).

⁴⁶ From Ximena’s second individual art session (00:17:46–00:18:00).

⁴⁷ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (00:22:30–00:22:45).

⁴⁸ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (00:25:05–00:25:17).

⁴⁹ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (00:25:30–00:25:34).

her bilingual poems, which will be showcased and discussed in Chapter 7, she wrote: “My Spanish has certain colours and smells / along with feelings, it’s sacred to me because / as I write, it’s more than just a laugh, a joke, a food, a spice, music, and a place.”⁵⁰

Language Portrait

Ximena identifies español as her *primera lengua* (first language), *lengua de la casa* (home language), and *lengua de herencia* (heritage language), but, like Daymé, English is her *lengua dominante* (dominant language). In her language portrait, she drew español first, as “verde montañas” (green mountains) that she sees from one of her “abuelita’s casas.” Next, she drew English as “chiquito shards” of blue ice covering most of the page. Finally, she drew French as an orange flower because she would like to take French as an option in high-school, and Japanese as a small yellow oval, because she would like to learn Japanese in order to watch her favourite anime shows, like *My Hero Academia*, without subtitles.



Figure 21: Ximena’s language portrait from the pre-camp interview

Ximena later explained why she purposefully overlapped her green Spanish and her blue English:

⁵⁰ From Ximena’s fourth individual art session.

Porque a tiempos, como, necesito ayudar mi mamá con inglés y mi mamá me ayuda con español. Y también tengo.. mi mamá tiene latina amigas que tienen hijos y también hablo español y inglés con ellos. También en la escuela, a tiempos.⁵¹

Because sometimes, like, I need to help my mom with English and my mom helps me with Spanish. And I also have.. my mom has Latina girlfriends who have kids and I speak Spanish and English with them. Also, at school sometimes.

Indeed, Ximena speaks a mutualistic mixture of Spanish and English in her microsystem with her mom and dad—“*con mi mamá más español y mi papi, un poquito más inglés*”⁵² (with my mom more Spanish and with my dad, a little bit more English). However, with her five-year-old Canadian-born sister, Ximena told me that she speaks “*más inglés, porque es fácil para mí y ella*”⁵³ (more English because it’s easier for her and me) and “*no puede hablar español*”⁵⁴ (she cannot speak Spanish). This insight from Ximena’s family confirms previous research presented in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3 on intergenerational language loss, such as the reports by O’Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976), Lachapelle and Henripin (1982) (who provocatively said HLs did not outlast the generation that brought them), and Turcotte (2006), who reported that only 11% of respondents in his study said their youngest child could carry a conversation in the HL and only 16% spoke the HL with their friends. Ximena also confirmed this when she said she has a friend her age “*que habla español también, pero hablamos más inglés que español*”⁵⁵ (that speaks Spanish, too, but we speak more English than Spanish). Throughout our camp, Ximena became more aware of her language use and habits, as well as what she needs to improve in Spanish, such as writing, oral fluency, and grammatical accuracy.

Spanish Aspirations

⁵¹ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (00:40:39–00:40:54).

⁵² From Ximena’s second individual art session (01:09:51–01:09:54).

⁵³ From Ximena’s second individual art session (01:09:20–01:09:31).

⁵⁴ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (00:16:45–00:16:51).

⁵⁵ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (00:15:50–00:16:01).

Similar to Daymé, Ximena lives in a town right outside Edmonton and never had the chance to take a formal course in Spanish at her school. However, she says she would have liked to have the opportunity so she can “*practicar más y puedo saber como...para hablar con mi tíos y tías más mejor. Porque a tiempos voy a decir inglés en el medio. Y también más para cultura.*”⁵⁶ (practice more...to talk to my aunts and uncles better, because sometimes I add English in the middle. And also for culture). Moreover, Ximena says she would like to practice writing in Spanish more because, for instance, when she is writing a message to her mom on Messenger, “*le voy a mandar un mensaje en español, y entonces cuando mi cabeza no sabe como decir un palabra en español, voy a borrar todo, y poner mi inglés*”⁵⁷ (I go to write her a message in Spanish, and then when my head doesn't know how to say a word in Spanish, I delete everything and add my English). She also has goals to improve her fluency and accuracy in Spanish:

<p><i>Quiero aprender cómo express myself más mejor. To express myself more wide. Y también, como, cuando me fui de México, cuando era tres, no sé tantos de mi ABCs y números. Entonces también quiero saber más de eso.</i>⁵⁸</p>	<p>I want to learn to express myself better. To express myself more wide. And also, like, when I left Mexico, I was three. I don't know my ABCs and numbers. So I also would like to know more of that.</p>
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Before the camp, Ximena said that she believed art-making in Spanish would support her self-expression goals and even grammar development, and she was especially eager to experiment with animation, photography, and watercolour landscapes. Having had positive experiences with art clubs in the past, she could not wait to get to know other youth to make friends and converse about their art in Spanish. After school, on Tuesdays, she used to attend an art club run by her Art and Language Arts teacher. It was “an amazing place. I felt like I belonged. There were people who were weird. Everyone was different in a way. They all loved to express themselves in a

⁵⁶ From Ximena's pre-camp interview (00:20:15–00:20:31)

⁵⁷ From Ximena's pre-camp interview (00:20:58–00:21:14)

⁵⁸ From Ximena's pre-camp interview (00:58:47–00:59:11)

different way. There was no judgment.”⁵⁹ Hearing her describe the art club reminded me of the reasons I became an art and language educator in the first place.

Portrait of Marisol



Figure 22: A collage of details from some of Marisol's artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*

First Impressions

Marisol is a trilingual thirteen-year-old (español, English, français) who loves to “casually sculpt”⁶⁰ and eat her grandma’s *empanadas*. Her gentle confidence, eloquent responses, and caring nature captivated me *instantáneamente*. In our first interview, she confessed, “I love art. I love all of its aspects. I think, especially music, dance, the visual arts, and theatre...because art brings me happiness and makes me feel free. And it's such a special thing, you know?”⁶¹ *En cada taller de arte*, I learned so much from Marisol. Through the vehicles of Spanish and art, we had profound conversations about her experiences with the pandemic and prioritizing personal growth. I am

⁵⁹ From Ximena's pre-camp interview ([01:00:39–01:00:48]).

⁶⁰ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:56:22–00:56:24).

⁶¹ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:55:13–00:55:40).

grateful to Marisol for pushing me to think deeper and broader about what education and art can *do* for freedom.

Cultural Identity

Though she has not returned to Venezuela since she left Maracaibo at age five, for Marisol, being Venezuelan is important: “It defines certain things that I do in my day-to-day life. It also defines, of course, where I come from, the language I speak.”⁶² Speaking Spanish and being Venezuelan seem to be synonymous to her, as revealed by her fascinating phrasing, “when I speak Spanish, that explains why I’m Venezuelan.”⁶³ Having now spent eight years in Canada, Marisol has also come to define herself as Canadian: “I see myself as kind of like—how do I explain this—like I was born in Venezuela, I’m Venezuelan by blood. But I’ve also lived in Canada for so long. I’ve grown to also be Canadian.”⁶⁴ One day she hopes to revisit Venezuela, currently suffering a humanitarian and refugee crisis, but until then, she says: “I feel really, really stiff, like really helpless. I can’t really do much in this situation.”⁶⁵

Language Portrait

Marisol calls Spanish her mother tongue, heritage language, and first language. She speaks Spanish with her immediate family in Edmonton, as well as her extended family in Toronto, Chile, and Venezuela—“with my sister, with my mom, with my dad, with my grandma, especially because she doesn’t know English or anything. With all my aunts, uncles, like my whole family.”⁶⁶ Despite Spanish being her family and home language, Marisol named English as her dominant language, and like Ximena, she later revealed that she actually speaks English with her sister: “my sister isn’t as advanced in Spanish as I am, so it’s more comfortable for her to use English. I just

⁶² From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:23:32–00:23:41).

⁶³ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:24:48–00:24:53).

⁶⁴ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:22:53–00:23:10).

⁶⁵ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:29:07–00:29:15).

⁶⁶ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:15:04–00:15:16).

use it all the time with her.”⁶⁷ Marisol chose to do her pre-camp interview in English, “*porque hay palabras que no sé decir en español*”⁶⁸ (because there are words I don’t know how to say in Spanish). In her language portrait, she chose a darker orange for Spanish, explaining, “I still know a lot of it, but I chose the colour because I’m still learning it. I’m not so confident with it all the time,”⁶⁹ a lighter blue for English because it is “easy” for her to communicate in English and she can “communicate with a lot of people,”⁷⁰ and for French, “a darker red because to this day, it’s still a little tricky”⁷¹ and she can “get a bit anxious with it”⁷² as she does not want to do or say something wrong.

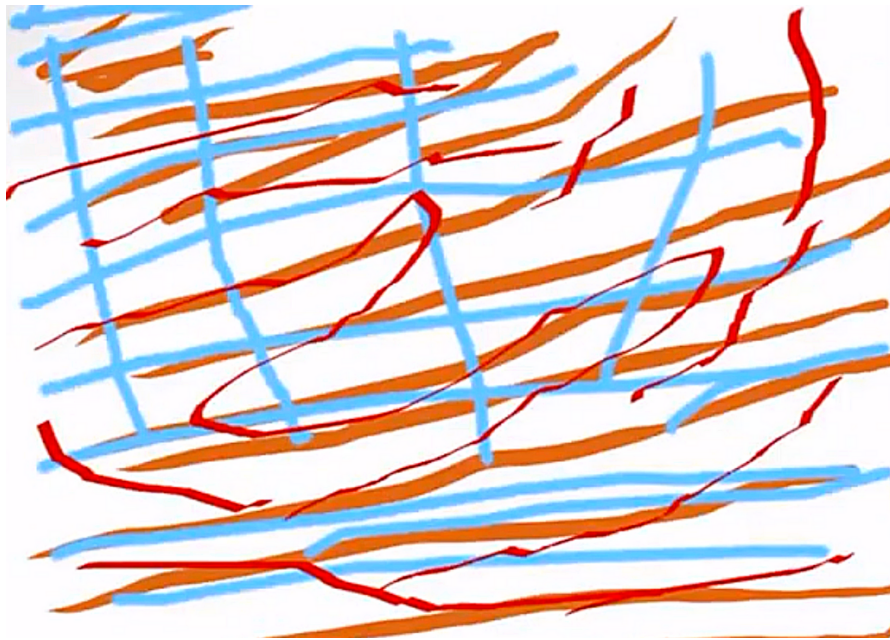


Figure 23: Marisol’s language portrait from the pre-camp interview

The entangled messiness of her visual language portrait was also echoed when Marisol described her Spanish language use and loss in terms of her mesosystem:

⁶⁷ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:16:53–00:16:59).

⁶⁸ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:03:01–00:03:03).

⁶⁹ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:51:15–00:51:25).

⁷⁰ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:52:00–00:52:10).

⁷¹ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:52:21–00:52:33).

⁷² From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:53:12–00:53:22).

I think it's been kind of messy. I think, because I'm surrounded by a lot of people who would know English, and that's it—or they know English and French. There's not a lot of people who know Spanish here in my community, especially school. So, yes, I've kind of been in a situation where I feel like I'm the only one who knows Spanish—obviously I'm not. But, ever since I joined Spanish school, I feel like I'm more open to Spanish, I'm more—I feel more connected to Spanish.⁷³

Marisol has been attending a Heritage Language school for three years on Saturdays. She loves attending this school for its grammar-based mornings and its arts-based afternoons, where students have a choice between *talleres* (workshops) in music or dance (she chose dance). As she describes:

I like the different kinds of activities we do. Of course—it's not as varied when you get into the older grades—which is something that the school lacks. But, yeah, I do enjoy it. They have different activities set for us.⁷⁴

Perhaps it's due to this variety of activities that Marisol reported she feels confident in her Spanish writing and reading skills. She is proud to share with me that “at Spanish school, I'm always being told that I'm very, very good.”⁷⁵

Spanish Aspirations

“My main goal is to expand my vocabulary, because I guess I'm not that good with certain words,”⁷⁶ Marisol shared in our pre-camp interview. Although Spanish surrounds Marisol in her microsystem—from daily conversations with her *abuela*, to her mom's Zumba and “energetic Spanish pop songs,”⁷⁷ to reading Spanish picture books to her sister—the thirteen-year-old still

⁷³ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:30:36–00:31:20).

⁷⁴ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:21:20–00:21:40).

⁷⁵ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:32:34–00:32:37).

⁷⁶ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:39:56–00:40:05).

⁷⁷ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:35:24–00:35:25).

recognizes that she is always in the *process* of improving and maintaining her Spanish. Part of that process was choosing to interact with other teens in this *Spanish Art Camp* through a medium that deeply interests her. Marisol was keen to step outside of her comfort zone, try new things, and improve on already-known art skills:

I'd like to explore photography because it's never really something I've pursued. It seems interesting. I'd also like to take the clay and sculpture kind of aspect, kind of improve on that. I'd like to do more work with canvases, painting on canvas, especially with watercolour, because I'm not very good at that. I've avoided watercolour my whole life. (laughs)⁷⁸

This openness to innovation, experimentation, and risk-taking may be linked to the arts-based curricula that Marisol already experienced in her HL Saturday school.

Portrait of Abina



Figure 24: A collage of details from some of Abina's artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*

⁷⁸ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (01:00:12–01:00:40).

First Impressions

When Abina first wrote to me to express interest in the *Spanish Art Camp*, she said, “*Mi mamá me ayudó a escribirte este mensaje. Me gusta el español pero necesito aprender mucho más. Estoy contenta de tener esta oportunidad.*”⁷⁹ (My mom helped me write this message. I like Spanish but I need to learn a lot more. I am happy to have this opportunity). Abina is a fourteen-year-old who loves long bike rides and making music. She always has a warm smile on her face, which turns into a wide grin when talking about her family, El Salvador, art, or music. One of the first things she ardently shared with me was about her musical family: “*Mi papá y mi hermano sabes toca la baterías de africanos. Mi mamá sabes toca la flauta.*”⁸⁰ (My dad and my brother play the African drums. My mom plays the flute.); and “*Yo toca la baterías, la piano, y un poquito de la trompeta.*”⁸¹ (I play the drums, piano, a little bit of the trumpet). Abina was very excited for the *Spanish Art Camp*, but nervous for “speaking Spanish and not messing up”⁸² and “insecure”⁸³ about her art skills (“I like other people's art, but I don't necessarily like my own”).⁸⁴ But her calming energy coupled with her expressive creativity made for refreshing art sessions, and I noticed big improvements in her self-expression in Spanish during the six weeks we spent together.

Cultural Identity

Though Abina's mother is from El Salvador and her father is from Ghana, she identifies as “half Latina and half Canadian.”⁸⁵ Born in Canada, she has visited El Salvador twice and feels “happy”⁸⁶ when she is there and proud to understand “ninety eight percent”⁸⁷ of what is said to

⁷⁹ From Abina's first email showing interest in the camp.

⁸⁰ From Abina's first individual art session (01:05:41–01:06:11).

⁸¹ From Abina's first individual art session (01:03:49–01:04:08).

⁸² From Abina's post-camp interview (00:10:15–00:10:17).

⁸³ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:06:54–00:06:54).

⁸⁴ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:07:02–00:07:05).

⁸⁵ From Abina's pre-camp interview (00:26:33–00:26:36).

⁸⁶ From Abina's pre-camp interview (00:27:33–00:27:34).

⁸⁷ From Abina's pre-camp interview (00:27:44–00:27:45).

her. Abina visited Ghana only once when she was a baby and, besides playing the African drums with her dad and brother, she has “not really at all”⁸⁸ connected with that side of her heritage, adding, “I never tried to learn the language of my dad.”⁸⁹ In contrast, Abina’s mother speaks to her mostly in Spanish and is very passionate about her daughter maintaining her Salvadoran cultural heritage and Spanish heritage language. Together, they do many activities *en español*, such as cooking following instructions in Spanish, and talking about current events, *sobre todo* about what is happening in El Salvador. Abina actively learns Spanish at home from her enthusiastic mom: “when my mom would teach me the name of objects or items, she'd always point to it or act a verb out physically while saying it...sometimes she'd write it out.”⁹⁰

Language Portrait

Abina defines English as her mother tongue, home language, first language, and dominant language. When it comes to Spanish, her receptive skills are excellent, but her productive skills are at an A1/A2 level: “I can understand it a lot more than I can speak it or write it.”⁹¹ It was fascinating to witness Abina create her digital language portrait, especially the minimalist representation of her languages. The colours do not overlap, much like languages do not overlap in her life: “I use French only at school and then Spanish only with my mom.”⁹²

⁸⁸ From Abina’s pre-camp interview (00:31:27-00:31:28).

⁸⁹ From Abina’s pre-camp interview (00:31:29-00:31:37).

⁹⁰ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:27:40-00:28:03).

⁹¹ From Abina’s pre-camp interview (00:22:10-00:22:13).

⁹² From Abina’s pre-camp interview (00:20:47-00:20:53).

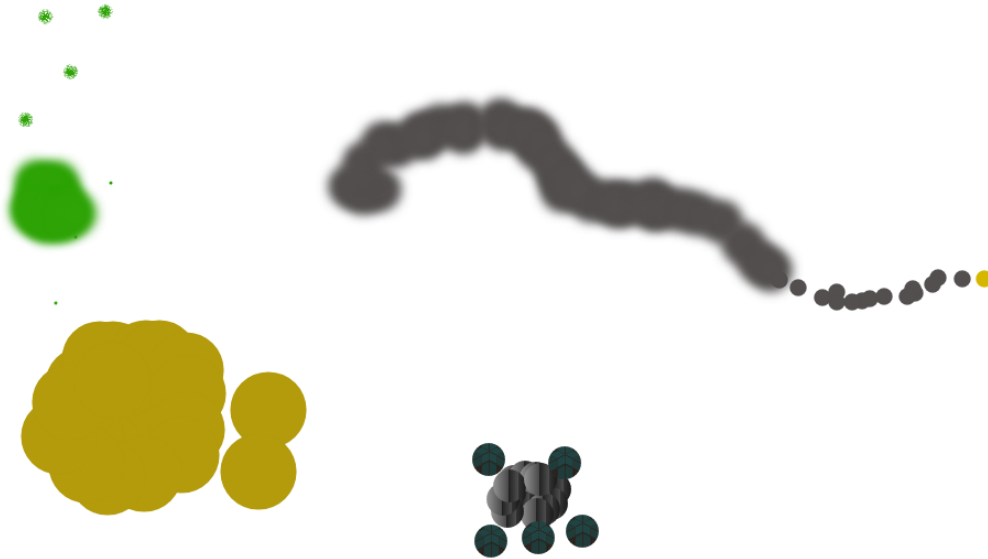


Figure 25: Abina's language portrait from the pre-camp interview

Abina chose the colour green for English “because it's my favourite colour and it's bright. It shows confidence for me.”⁹³ Spanish appears bigger in gold, “like a metal, like confidence.”⁹⁴ Then, for French, she chose to draw the bottom centre dots, as she takes French as a second language at school. She added the gray wavy trailing line above to represent how “Spanish just flows very easily,”⁹⁵ specifically, “interpreting phrases.”⁹⁶ This is probably because, as she explained, “my mom likes to speak to me in Spanish for a lot of commands and orders and just normal speaking Spanish. And then, there are a lot of times when I don't really realize that she's just speaking Spanish to me.”⁹⁷ Besides her mother, Abina sometimes speaks Spanish with her older brother (though, like Ximena and Marisol, the siblings communicate primarily in English), an uncle, and a teacher at school. However, she does not yet have friends with whom to converse in Spanish outside of her microsystem.

Spanish Aspirations

⁹³ From Abina's pre-camp interview (00:45:24–00:45:30).

⁹⁴ From Abina's pre-camp interview (00:46:26–00:46:27).

⁹⁵ From Abina's pre-camp interview (00:54:18–00:54:27).

⁹⁶ From Abina's pre-camp interview (00:54:44–00:54:45).

⁹⁷ From Abina's pre-camp interview (00:30:43–00:31:04).

When Abina shared her first memories of learning Spanish, I witnessed close connections between her Spanish language goals, family motivation, identity, and confidence: “I was six-ish. I could start understanding it. And my mom kept saying that ‘you can understand it so well’ when she was talking to family members and everyone else in Spanish. And then I kept going.”⁹⁸

Abina’s experience supports Guardado’s (2002) claim that Spanish HLDM is strongly affected by parents promoting a positive attitude and encouragement among their children. Guardado (2018) also reminded us that an HL is often not “something that is already present” (p. 5), and thus not meant to be *maintained* for children in the same way it existed for their parents, but developed and nurtured for different needs, uses, and domains. One of Abina’s goals is to expand her Spanish language use in different domains, and she is aware that she needs sufficient exposure, practice, and use in order to do this. For instance, she wants to improve her Spanish “to be able to speak more fluently and to write more fluently in Spanish...like letters and, sort of little paragraphs. I love being able to talk online in Spanish.”⁹⁹ I hope that Abina’s eagerness and initiative will one day launch her from speaking Spanish mostly at home with her mother to conversing confidently with other youth and in the online realm. Participating in this *Spanish Art Camp* was a crucial first-step for the fourteen-year-old to become aware of how Spanish is spoken outside of her microsystem.

Portrait of Manuel

⁹⁸ From Abina’s pre-camp interview (00:22:36–00:22:56).

⁹⁹ From Abina’s pre-camp interview (01:04:54–(01:04:33–01:05:02).



Figure 26: A collage of details from some of Manuel's artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*

First Impressions

Manuel is a whip-smart and introspective fifteen-year-old who enjoys making music, listening to Lil Baby, playing video games, and sleeping late into the afternoon. “I like art. I'd say I'm more a creative person than a logical person,”¹⁰⁰ he shared in our first interview. When I asked him what he liked about art, he said, “it doesn't really have rules. You can do whatever you want in art. It's freedom.”¹⁰¹ Before quarantine, he would sometimes draw characters using pen and pencil, but once quarantine started, he started learning to make beats because “making music is pretty therapeutic. It's very calming.”¹⁰² Besides his often profound thoughts on art and music, Manuel astounded me with his knowledge of current and world events, which led to some very interesting *conversaciones* through art about climate change, human trafficking, censorship, and

¹⁰⁰ From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:50:44–00:50:49).

¹⁰¹ From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:50:56–00:50:58).

¹⁰² From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:55:16–00:55:23).

police brutality. It was a privilege to make art alongside him in this camp.

Cultural Identity

Manuel moved to Canada from Cuba at four years old and identifies as “Cuban-Canadian.”¹⁰³ A transnational, he has been back to Matanzas, Cuba “a few times”¹⁰⁴ where he visits his grandmother, aunts, and uncles. Manuel feels “proud”¹⁰⁵ to be Cuban-Canadian, but he cannot quite express *why* yet, at least through words—through music it appears to be easier. He shared that his Cuban cultural identity plays a big role in this family life as an only child because “it’s what I experience at home every day,”¹⁰⁶ but outside of his home, “not that much, because I mostly speak English with English-speaking friends.”¹⁰⁷ In Manuel’s own words: “I do have friends who are from Cuba, but we usually speak English, unless we’re around our family.”¹⁰⁸ When I asked him why that might be, he responded: “I think it is because they grew up in an English-speaking country, so they’re more used to it.”¹⁰⁹ In later sessions, we unpacked the factors—in his microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem—that might help or hinder his Spanish language maintenance, which raised his language awareness and led him to make a goal of “*hablar español con amigos que hablan español, o hacer clases así*”¹¹⁰ (speak Spanish with friends who speak Spanish and do more classes like this one).

Language Portrait

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Manuel calls *español* his mother tongue, home language, and heritage language, but English his dominant language, as all the youth presented thus far: “I speak English mostly with my friends, Spanish with my family, and I learned French through fourth

¹⁰³ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:21:56–00:21:57).

¹⁰⁴ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:34:57–00:34:58).

¹⁰⁵ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:22:45–00:22:46).

¹⁰⁶ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:22:13–00:22:18).

¹⁰⁷ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:22:31–00:22:35).

¹⁰⁸ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:18:36–00:18:45).

¹⁰⁹ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:19:04–00:19:08).

¹¹⁰ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:49:32–00:49:36).

grade to ninth grade. And I'm going to take Mandarin next year.”¹¹¹ The language portrait drawing activity in our first interview revealed how Manuel views the different personalities and domains of his languages. His drawing resembles a flag, or a map with separate territories for each tongue. Whereas small-but-bright Spanish lights up his top left corner, dark blue English dominates the majority of the page. There is also a strict *frontera* (boundary) drawn between the two, as seen with the vertical blue line. Finally, French appears red in the top-right corner, overlapping with the blue, as Manuel says he learned French *through* the medium of English in his French as a Second Language program.



Figure 27: Manuel's language portrait from the pre-camp interview

Through a think-aloud, Manuel walked me through his drawing processes and the relationships between his languages:

I was born speaking Spanish. But, it's not a lot, so it's just gonna be a small circle, about a quarter of the page. And I used yellow because, I don't know, I think that when I think of

¹¹¹ From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:15:05–00:15:20).

Spanish the colour that comes to my mind is yellow. Maybe because the sun. It's very hot. When I think of English, it makes me think of a dark blue, like you did. Not sure why. It's just a cool color. And I do also agree with the rigidity, I guess, of it. It's a lot more—it has more strict rules than Spanish, I'd say. It's a more precise language. And I'd say it would take up a large majority of the page because it's the language I speak most... So yeah, it's a lot larger. And then, it's also separate because I learned it after. It's different than, I'd say, Spanish. But then we go to French, which I'd say is red. I'm going to put it within... Actually, I'm gonna do it a little smaller, within the blue because I learned French in English.¹¹²

This fascinating think-aloud was great for me as a researcher, but even for Manuel as a language learner. For example, it was the first time that he realized that he actually “learned French in English” meaning that he never felt he had enough French exposure and input to be able to express himself meaningfully in the language. Because of this, weeks later he made connections to his own Spanish HLDM and made goals to increase his consistency and exposure: “*Creo que eso es lo más importante es hablarlo con tu consistence, por eso si estas en una clase de francés no vas a poder hablar mucho francés porque es una hora al día. Tendrías que hablar todos los días, como tres horas para poder entender y hablar ese idioma.*”¹¹³ (I think that’s the most important, it’s speaking with consistence. Because if you’re in a French class you won’t get to speak a lot of French because it’s one hour a day. You have to speak every day, like three hours to be able to understand and speak that language).

Spanish Aspirations

¹¹² From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:47:26–00:49:04).

¹¹³ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:48:46–00:49:10).

For Manuel, retaining his Spanish language is very important: “I just don't want to lose it when I grow up, like stay at least at the level I am when I grow up”¹¹⁴ and “I just try to make sure I don't forget it, subconsciously.”¹¹⁵ Manuel did not express that he felt language *loss* specifically, but a lack of vocabulary from the start: “because I moved here at a young age, so it's not like I lost the vocabulary, it's more like I never picked up on it.”¹¹⁶ Manuel's remarks relate, again, to Guardado's (2018) warning that the word “maintenance” itself connotes “something that is already present, and for second-generation immigrant youth this is often not the case” (p. 5). In the Spanish art workshops with Manuel, similar to Abina, I had to keep my own biases in check, and never assume that his Spanish was *once there* and *now lost* because of forces beyond his control. His Spanish—like many other HL adolescents—needed to be *developed*, fostered, and nurtured through the intervention of direct teaching, exposure, and experiments to *acquire* and *practice* the HL. Manuel would have liked to attend a formal Spanish course but his family “couldn't find a school with a Spanish class nearby.”¹¹⁷ This *Spanish Art Camp* was his first experience with receiving direct instruction in his HL and feeling the authentic need and urge to express himself better: “*En la casa, cuando hablo español con mis padres, siempre es como una respuesta o como decir 'sí' o 'OK.'* La verdad que sí, español como en una clase es algo que yo no he hecho antes.”¹¹⁸ (At home, when I speak Spanish with my parents, it's always like an answer, or like saying “yes” or “okay.” The truth is that I've never done a Spanish class before).

Portrait of Eva

¹¹⁴ From Manuel's Pret-Camp Interview (00:31:47–00:31:42).

¹¹⁵ From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:27:14–00:27:20).

¹¹⁶ From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:27:55–00:28:01).

¹¹⁷ From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:21:11–00:21:14).

¹¹⁸ From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:26:58–00:27:19).



Figure 28: A collage of details from some of Eva's artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*

First Impressions

The first word that comes to mind when I think of Eva is *trabajadora* (hardworking). She is one of the most dedicated seventeen-year-olds I have ever met. Although the *Spanish Art Camp* had already started, Eva was ardent on joining us, writing to me: “*que privilegio tan grande sería tomar ventaja de tu gran arsenal de talento artístico*” (what a privilege it would be to take advantage of your giant arsenal of artistic talent); and “*moveré cielo mar y tierra para unirme a tu equipo*” (I will move the sky, seas, and earth to join your team). Meeting Eva for the first time on *Zoom*, I noticed a gallery wall behind her with a dozen colourful drawings and paintings of various sizes. I quickly discovered that Eva is a multipotentialite who feels immense joy when she creates:

I like to do almost everything. I like to sculpt. I like to draw. I like to paint. I like to play music. I play guitar. And I know a bit of piano. And ukulele. I also like photography. Yeah,

I like to do photography with my dad, actually, a lot. It's kind of something that him and I do. I also enjoy making little videos that I put together as little memories.¹¹⁹

When it comes to language, Eva chose to do her first interview in English, cautioning within the first two minutes: “*Mi español no está tan bueno. Es que mi mamá es la que habla español en la casa. I can understand everything. I have trouble, like, speaking it.*”¹²⁰ (My Spanish is not that great. It’s my mom who speaks it at home). But slowly, she started speaking more Spanish throughout our art sessions, where she expressed her opinion on a wide range of topics—the ethics and paradoxes of veganism, consumerism, globalization, feminism and how women are expected to behave, the Black Lives Matter movement, cultural stereotypes, and more. My own artistic practice grew considerably in conversation with Eva. Because she regularly makes art about social causes that she cares deeply about, I learned about what art can *do* and how “it’s the most powerful way to make change.”¹²¹

Cultural Identity

Eva moved to Canada from Mexico when she was two years old. In her words: “I identify as a Canadian-Mexican, really. My parents did their best to kind of like incorporate Mexican culture into our Canadian lifestyle here in Edmonton.”¹²² Her parents are both from the state of Jalisco, with her mother’s family from Puerto Vallarta and half of her father’s family from Guadalajara. In the “three to four times”¹²³ that she has visited her family in Jalisco, she feels that “there's something about it that feels very home-y”¹²⁴ and “there's something very warm about it.”¹²⁵ In the past, Eva has had a complicated relationship to her cultural and linguistic heritage in

¹¹⁹ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (01:16:58–01:17:38).

¹²⁰ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:01:41–00:02:03).

¹²¹ From Eva’s second individual art session.

¹²² From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:33:49–00:34:09).

¹²³ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (01:41:40]–01:41:42).

¹²⁴ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (01:42:09–01:42:12).

¹²⁵ From Eva’s pre-camp interview(01:42:24–01:42:27).

Canada because, according to her, she does not have the “Latin-looking genes”¹²⁶ and “so people just assume that I am white”¹²⁷:

Like my accent isn't as thick, or I can't, like, show them a picture of my mom because my mom's pretty fair as well, you know? So that's always been kind of difficult, like the physical aspect of it. I know there's no certain way to look Latin, but it didn't really help with wanting to embrace the culture when I saw myself as very whitewashed and everyone else kind of saw me the same.¹²⁸

Future research might explore how perceptions (both of self and other) of race and culture might affect language maintenance. When Eva began taking formal Spanish courses at school, she describes that as a turning point in accepting her heritage despite her fair skin:

At the beginning, I kind of didn't really care about it, but as I started taking more Spanish classes, I wanted more people to know that, you know, it's my heritage, too. So I started kind of like wearing a lot of Frida Kahlo stuff, or a lot of—I started listening to a lot more Spanish music, just to, I guess kind of put up a front that, you know, I'm Mexican as well.¹²⁹

Exploring her cultural and linguistic identity—including what she called her English “dominance” and “dependence”—was a key theme in Eva’s art and poetry.

Language Portrait

Eva catalogs Spanish as her mother tongue, heritage language, and first language, and English as her dominant and home language. In her early childhood Eva “basically only spoke in Spanish,” but once she began school that all changed: “from what my mom has told me, ever

¹²⁶ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:37:44–00:37:46).

¹²⁷ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:37:44–00:37:50).

¹²⁸ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:38:01–00:38:32).

¹²⁹ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:38:59–00:39:32).

since I started school, basically is when I stopped really speaking Spanish. So like around five.”¹³⁰ By the second grade, Eva reports that she became very fluent in English: “no one would suspect that I spoke a different language at home. Because I didn't really. I stopped speaking that language at home.”¹³¹ Now in her teens, Eva tries her “hardest to try and communicate with [her] mom”¹³² in Spanish, but she speaks English with her dad, and English with her siblings (similar to Ximena, Marisol, and Abina). Though her parents do speak Spanish or Spanglish to their three children, like many other HL adolescents, they “respond in English.”¹³³ Besides her immediate family, Eva speaks Spanish to her grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins in Mexico. She has Cuban friends her age in Edmonton who speak Spanish, but she chooses to speak to them in English because she felt “intimidated”¹³⁴ with their fluency and speed when they first started communicating with her, which has “created a barrier”¹³⁵ that is difficult to overcome (though she really hopes to do so in the future because it feels “very lame” not to).¹³⁶

When Eva drew her language portrait, she used red and orange marker squiggles for Spanish, blue crayon for English, and yellow triangles for ASL.

¹³⁰ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:30:03–00:30:16).

¹³¹ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:40:16–00:40:25).

¹³² From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:23:34–00:23:39).

¹³³ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:26:54–00:26:59).

¹³⁴ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:36:10–00:36:11).

¹³⁵ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:35:34–00:35:36).

¹³⁶ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:37:27–00:37:29).



Figure 29: Eva's language portrait from the pre-camp interview

The colour, shapes, sizes, and textures in this drawing were deliberate. In Eva's words:

I filled the entire thing blue...I feel like English is just a very blue colour. Seems very formal, you know? I made Spanish two different colours, because this is to show my relationship with Spanish now and my relationship with Spanish before: how it was a lot more defined, I guess, like it was easier to show and communicate. But now it's kind of, like, blended in with everything else. But it is a lighter colour because I have a better relationship with Spanish now. And I added yellow triangles to show how I'm wanting to branch out into a different form of communication for ASL.¹³⁷

This transformation in Eva's relationship to her Heritage Language is exceptionally interesting, and I will explore it in Chapter 7: Interpreting the Data.

Spanish Aspirations

Eva has clear personal goals when it comes to developing her Spanish. Like other young HL learners, family and identity seem to be her biggest motivators. Though she has never attended

¹³⁷ From Eva's pre-camp interview (01:09:05–01:10:18).

(nor heard of) Spanish heritage language schools, in Grade 10, Eva took the important initiative to begin taking formal classes in Spanish:

I started taking Spanish classes at my school, just to kind of help with my grammar so that I feel more comfortable when I actually start speaking because, you know, I want to be able to communicate with the rest of my family that lives in Mexico.¹³⁸

She added: “And I’d like to have more conversations with my mom in Spanish, because it’s easier for her to talk in Spanish than English.”¹³⁹ Besides her mother, who is “very supportive”¹⁴⁰ of her language maintenance and puts tremendous effort into helping her, Eva would like to also speak more Spanish with her younger sister: “My sister’s starting to get more into speaking Spanish, though, as well, which is nice. So maybe, eventually, her and I could start speaking in Spanish.”¹⁴¹ Eva is one of the few who charted this language plan for herself. Her own language awareness, intrinsic motivation, and language planning at seventeen perhaps will pave the road for success: “I think that being able to speak Spanish and wanting to learn Spanish—I feel like it allows for a lot more opportunities to open, hence the camp I’m in right now.”¹⁴²

Portrait of Elvira

¹³⁸ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:23:39–00:23:55).

¹³⁹ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:33:20–00:33:34).

¹⁴⁰ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:24:49–00:24:50).

¹⁴¹ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:27:16–00:27:29).

¹⁴² From Eva’s pre-camp interview (01:35:09–01:35:24).



Figure 30: A collage of details from some of Elvira's artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*

First Impressions

“A mi me encanta el arte. El arte de dibujar siempre ha sido un hobby, como más una cosa que hago por mi freetime. Y el arte de escribir y el arte de películas es mi pasión.”¹⁴³ (I love art. Drawing has always been a hobby, something that I do in my freetime. Writing and making movies is my passion). Meeting Elvira for the first time, I was struck by her *entusiasmo* and openness. Speaking a mile a minute in Spanish, *me contó* about her goal of moving to California to make movies, her love of writing stories, her experience with giving up social media for her mental health, and more. Elvira is mature well beyond her thirteen years. Her self-awareness coupled with her world-awareness astonished me. A young activist in the making, Elvira regularly brought up community and school issues like prioritizing mental health (currently all “posters” and no action) and larger systemic societal issues like plastic pollution, fast fashion, underfunded arts, racial injustice, sexual abuse, extreme wealth inequality, and corrupt technological

¹⁴³ From Eva's pre-camp interview (01:30:14–01:30:30).

companies. Our profound and intense art sessions were punctuated by belly laughs, witty observations, and the kind of heartfelt chit-chat found only in art studios. After one art session with Elvira, I wrote in my research journal, “*estoy tan inspirada por su pasión y entusiasmo. Los adultos a veces nos volvemos tan cínicos y hopeless, but these youth do not take no for an answer.*” (I am so inspired by their passion and enthusiasm. We adults often become so cynical and hopeless, but these youth do not take no for an answer). Elvira unknowingly reminded me of why I became an educator: to fight injustices *ocultos a plena vista* (hidden in plain sight).

Cultural Identity

Elvira moved to Edmonton from Barcelona, Spain when she was eight years old. A transnational, in the last five years, she has gone back to Spain three times with her family for summer vacation. It’s the simple poetic moments that Elvira misses about Spain, such as smelling the fruit stands or biting into a delicious fresh bun from a bakery: “*¡No tienes que ir al Save-on-Foods para comprarte un bollo que ni siquiera está bueno!*”¹⁴⁴ (You don’t have to go to Save-on-Foods to buy a bun that’s not even good!). But while she loves visiting Spain and feels at home there, Elvira confessed that often she feels more Canadian than Spanish:

<p><i>Me gustaría ser más cercana de mi cultura, pero yo—es que, mi vida aquí en Canadá ha sido mucho más presente que en España, así que todas las culturas que tengo de mis chistes, de mis cosas no son muy españolas. Son mucho más—no canadienses—pero americanas, Norteamérica.</i>”¹⁴⁵</p>	<p>I’d like to be closer to my culture, but I—my life here in Canada has been much more present than Spain, so all of the cultures in my jokes and things are not very Spanish. They’re more—not Canadian, but American, North American.</p>
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Elvira also poignantly revealed: “*yo siempre he tenido mucho ashame de ser española. No sé por por qué. No me gustaba mi acento, así que siempre intenté pararlo y no tengo acento ahora*”¹⁴⁶ (I

¹⁴⁴ From Elvira’s Pre-camp Interview (00:43:01–00:43:06).

¹⁴⁵ From Elvira’s Pre-camp Interview (00:36:17–00:36:45).

¹⁴⁶ From Elvira’s Pre-camp Interview (00:55:55–00:56:10).

was always ashamed of being Spanish. I don't know why. I didn't like my accent, so I tried to get rid of it and now I don't have an accent). In further sessions, we explored the “why” of the shame Elvira felt, which opened up space for fascinating revelations to come forward.

Language Portrait

Like many other teens in this study, Elvira labels *español* as her mother tongue and heritage language and English her dominant or first language. In her own words:

<p><i>...porque en mi mente, mis pensamientos son en inglés. Y mi vida de day-to-day es en inglés, así que es como más dominante que el español, porque no voy a ningunas clases de español ni ninguna inmersión. Sólo hablo aquí con mis padres y eso es un poco iffy también. Y con toda la tele que veo que es en inglés, es como dominante total.¹⁴⁷</i></p>	<p>...because in my mind, my thoughts are in English. And my day-to-day life is in English, so it's more dominant than Spanish because I don't take Spanish classes and I don't take immersion. I only speak Spanish here with my parents and even that is a little iffy. And with all the TV shows I watch in English, it's totally dominant.</p>
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Elvira speaks Spanish with her parents, but English with her older sister and younger brother (like Ximena, Marisol, Eva, and Abina). When reflecting about this, she bluntly stated:

<p><i>Pues, como he aprendido todos los slang en la escuela y esto es en inglés, y mi hermano y mi hermana también, es como un tipo de expresarnos diferente porque no se puede hacer en español. Es una diferencia de cultura. Así que hablamos mucho más en inglés entre nosotros, por eso. Y toda la tele que vemos es en inglés, al menos algunos shows que son de España, como la Casa de Papel, que lo veo todo en español.¹⁴⁸</i></p>	<p>Well, my brother, sister and I learned all our slang at school, which is in English. It's like a different type of expression that can't really be achieved in Spanish. It's a difference of culture. So, if we speak in English between us, it's because of this. Plus, all the TV that we see in English, with the exception of some shows that are from Spain, like <i>Money Heist</i>, which I watch all in Spanish.</p>
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As she painted her language portrait, Elvira narrated the different tints and textures of English that have layered over the organic *ondas* (waves) of her mother tongue, which is pictured in yellow and red lines at the top and bottom. She also added some French (green transparent texture in the

¹⁴⁷ From Elvira's Pre-camp Interview (00:32:31–00:33:01).

¹⁴⁸ From Elvira's Pre-camp Interview (00:27:26–00:27:57).

bottom right) as she recently started learning it as a subject in school, and Catalan in the background—the language of her schooling until age 8—as “*super rojo. Y super estricto también. Pero estricto, como, siempre at the back of my head es donde está.*”¹⁴⁹ (very red and very strict, too. But strict like at the back of my head, where it lives).



Figure 31: Elvira's language portrait from the Pre-Camp interview

Fascinatingly, the words she used for English included *technical*, *dominando* (dominating), *menos transparente* (less transparent), *redondo* (round), and *spreading*.

*El inglés es más como inking. Como si fuera technical pen... Algo así. Como, dejame coger el airbrush—mejor, que es mucho más grande. Dominando un poco. Menos transparente y mucho más... Más como redondo, como si estuviera una spreading through my brain. It's like a cloud, so it's like my thoughts.*¹⁵⁰

English is more like inking. It's like a technical pen... Something like this. Like, let me get the airbrush—better, because it's bigger. Dominating a little bit. Less transparent and more... More round, like it's a spreading throughout my brain. It's like a cloud, so it's like my thoughts.

¹⁴⁹ From Elvira's Pre-camp Interview (01:25:28–01:25:41).

¹⁵⁰ From Elvira's Pre-camp Interview (01:22:30–01:23:33).

Similar to other camp participants' language portraits (like Daymé's), Elvira depicted English as dominant force that seems unstoppable as it takes over all domains of use and expression because of its status and power. When I asked Elvira about the multicoloured nature of English in her painting, she replied:

El color lima es tipo los structure de gramático como aprenderlo. El azul es el lenguaje en si. Tendría que haber puesto más rosa porque el rosa es el modo de expresarme con amigos, sobre el internet. Y el morado, como es más logical, como utilizo para mi writing, cuando hago historias.¹⁵¹

The lime colour is like the grammatical structure of learning it. Blue is the language itself. I should have added more pink because pink is my self-expression with friends and on the Internet. And purple is more logical, it's what I use in my writing, when I write stories.

Elvira began her painting with Spanish and ended it with Spanish, her finishing touch being “*un poco más español, creo, por los lados*”¹⁵² (a little bit more Spanish, I think, on the sides). This marginalization of Spanish *por los lados* is something that Elvira is aware of and honest about—which is especially impressive considering she is only thirteen years old.

Spanish Aspirations

The first time Elvira noticed Spanish language attrition (“*no me salen las palabras*”¹⁵³ / words are not coming out), she was in Grade 5. Since then, she has noticed that she code-switches from Spanish to English whenever she does not remember the words in her HL. She was the only participant who was presented with a direct chance to enroll in a public Spanish bilingual program at her school, but she opted for a more academic program instead: “*había uno en mi escuela, pero yo quería hacer pre-AP más que nada porque era para después hacer AP en high-school. Tener más créditos para el college*”¹⁵⁴ (there was one in my school, but I wanted to do pre-AP to later do AP in high-school and get more credits for college). Nevertheless, maintaining her Spanish is

¹⁵¹ From Elvira's Pre-camp Interview (01:28:40–01:29:19).

¹⁵² From Elvira's Pre-camp Interview (01:26:13–01:26:15).

¹⁵³ From Elvira's Pre-camp Interview (00:55:54–00:55:55).

¹⁵⁴ From Elvira's Pre-camp Interview (00:33:41–00:33:53).

important to Elvira. When she spoke about her Spanish language goals, it was in relation to family, culture, and identity.

<p><i>Me gustaría quedarme el lenguaje al menos oralmente porque yo quiero tener la comunicación que pueda con mi familia, con la cultura de España y todo. Al menos “arms reach” porque no quiero estar como un outsider de mi propia cultura y confundirme even más.¹⁵⁵</i></p>	<p>I would like to keep my language at least orally because I want to keep communicating with my family, and with Spanish culture and everything. At least “arms reach” because I don’t want to be an outsider of my own culture and confuse myself even more.</p>
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Because of her passion for movies and TV shows, since Elvira started watching shows in Spanish, she has noticed a big change in her fluency and comprehension: “*Noté el cambio rapidísimo cuando empecé a ver cosas en español porque consumo tanto media.*”¹⁵⁶ (I quickly noticed a change when I started to watch things in Spanish because I consume so much media).

Interestingly, Elvira attended this camp in Spanish only because the topic was art: if it were another medium or subject, she would not have attended.

Portrait of Carmen

¹⁵⁵ From Elvira’s Pre-camp Interview (00:50:58–00:51:19).

¹⁵⁶ From Elvira’s Pre-camp Interview (00:55:02–00:55:17).

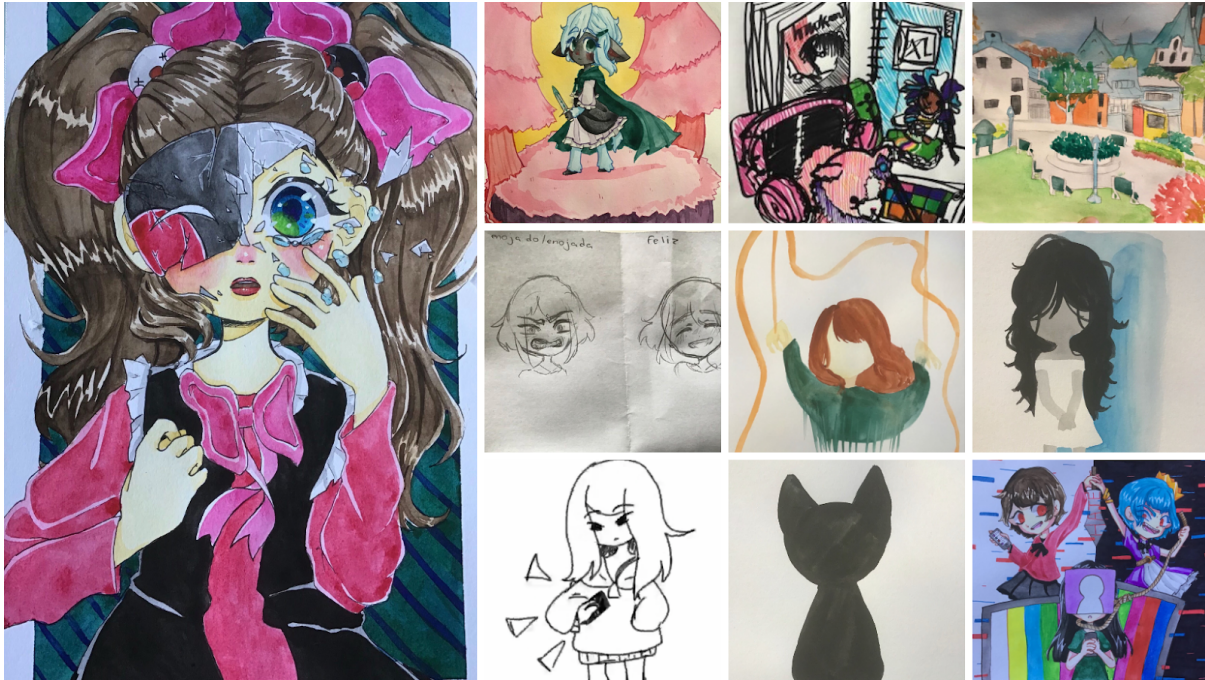


Figure 32: A collage of details from some of Carmen's artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*

First Impressions

Drawing is like breathing for Carmen. Throughout our first interview, the fifteen-year-old drew anime characters in her sketchbook, explaining “*es algo que he estado haciendo desde chica. He estado dibujando casi toda mi vida.*”¹⁵⁷ (It's something I've been doing since I was a kid. I've been drawing almost all my life). Like other camp participants, Carmen sometimes uses her art to think through social justice issues, especially climate change, LGBTQ rights, systemic racism, public education, and toxic social media practices. Although she calls herself “*pesimista,*”¹⁵⁸ and her sister Laura—who is also in this study—says “*se pasa renegando de todo*”¹⁵⁹ (she complains about everything), I find that Carmen stands out for her frank honesty and resonant clarity. She is not afraid to speak directly when the moment warrants, whether it's offering her opinion on J.K. Rowling's transphobia or the government's irresponsible response to

¹⁵⁷ From Carmen's pre-camp interview (00:50:49–00:50:55).

¹⁵⁸ From Carmen and Laura's third art session (00:55:07–00:55:08).

¹⁵⁹ From Carmen and Laura's third art session (01:08:38–01:08:41).

the COVID-19 crisis. In Carmen's words, "*hay personas que tratan tanto de ver lo bueno que terminan ignorando lo malo que pasa*"¹⁶⁰ (there are people who try so hard to see the good that they end up ignoring the bad that takes place). Carmen offered a breath of fresh unfiltered air in both the camp and study through her insights and innovative art.

Cultural Identity

Carmen moved to Edmonton from Mexico when she was six months old. With the exception of her parents and two siblings, "*casi toda [su] familia vive allí en México*"¹⁶¹ (almost all [her] family lives in Mexico), whom she sometimes visits at Christmas. When asked about her cultural identity, she confessed, "*la verdad es que no sé*"¹⁶² (the truth is I don't know) and elaborated "*porque soy mexicana, pero de verdad no me siento como si soy de verdad mexicana porque crecí aquí. Y pues tengo experiencias que no los tienen los canadienses*"¹⁶³ (because I'm Mexican, but the truth is I don't feel very Mexican because I grew up here. And I have experiences that Canadians don't have). Being a transnational, this was not phrased as a problem or something to be *resolved*, but rather a revelatory truth that Carmen dwells in. This relates to Guardado's (2010) idea of how HL learners' "identities become greater than the sum of their parts" (p. 322) as they negotiate the complexities and nuances of being Generation 1.5 "third culture kids."

Language Portrait

When Carmen began drawing her language portrait, she chose green for Spanish and covered the entire background in a grassy texture, explaining "*el español es la lengua con que crecí, que yo no aprendí inglés hasta que llegué a la escuela*"¹⁶⁴ (Spanish is the language I grew

¹⁶⁰ From Carmen and Laura's third art session (0:1:10:24–0:1:10:33).

¹⁶¹ From Carmen's pre-camp interview (00:05:21–00:05:22).

¹⁶² From Carmen's pre-camp interview (00:19:37–00:19:38).

¹⁶³ From Carmen's pre-camp interview (00:19:46–00:20:01).

¹⁶⁴ From Carmen's pre-camp interview (00:31:59–00:32:09).

up with. I didn't learn English until I started school.” Then, she layered a red web of English overtop, saying English “*dominó todo*”¹⁶⁵ (dominated everything). Almost imperceptibly, she added thin blue lines for French. Despite having attended French immersion for the last ten years, “*el francés no lo uso tanto la verdad...porque cuando estaba en la escuela de chica casi siempre querían...Era más o menos como si nos forzaban que lo usamos*”¹⁶⁶ (I don't really use French, to be honest, because when I was young, at school they always wanted...It was almost like they forced us to use it). The finished portrait depicts a resonant metaphor: though red English has tried to cover her *español verde*, we still see the green grass growing tall behind the red. I interpret this as Carmen's high proficiency in her HL due to her parents' nurturing motivation, despite the odds being stacked against them to maintain their language.



Figure 33: Carmen's language portrait from the Pre-Camp interview

¹⁶⁵ From Carmen's pre-camp interview (00:33:24-00:33:24).

¹⁶⁶ From Carmen's pre-camp interview (00:34:01-00:34:18).

Spanish Aspirations

To maintain her Spanish, Carmen makes the conscious effort of always speaking in Spanish at home: “*siempre hablo con mis papás en español*” (I always speak in Spanish with my parents).¹⁶⁷ Though she speaks to her two siblings in English (like Ximena, Eva, Abina, Marisol, and Elvira), Carmen does not perceive that as a problem, since all three attend French immersion and they speak Spanish with their parents as *lengua de la casa* (home language). During our individual art sessions—which she chose to do in tandem with her sister Laura—Carmen would speak strictly in Spanish to me and only English with her, flowing between the two languages like water, and rarely code-switching within the same utterance. My experience of witnessing Carmen interact with her sister and I (and sometimes her parents) complicates the issue of *linguistic choices* that HL learners make in relation to their identity and goals; I was left wondering whether, in fact, they can be called *choices* given the seeping power of English in Albertan society and the dominance that Carmen referenced. Even in French immersion school, Carmen speaks with her peers “*casi siempre*” (almost always) in English, “*pero cuando necesitamos hablar francés, sí lo hablamos*”¹⁶⁸ (but when we need to speak in French, we do it), referencing a more extrinsic motivation for French, unless there is an authentic need, urgency, or obligation. However, when it comes to her HL, Carmen’s motivations are more intrinsic. For instance, one of her linguistic goals is learning to write in Spanish, which she brought up on several occasions: “*puedo leer, pero nunca me enseñaron cómo escribir en español*”¹⁶⁹ (I can read, but I was never taught to write in Spanish). For this reason, I made sure to add extra writing practice into the *Spanish Art Camp*.

Portrait of Laura

¹⁶⁷ From Carmen’s pre-camp interview (00:37:13–00:37:14).

¹⁶⁸ From Carmen’s pre-camp interview (00:14:45–00:14:49).

¹⁶⁹ From Carmen’s pre-camp interview (00:18:17–00:18:20).

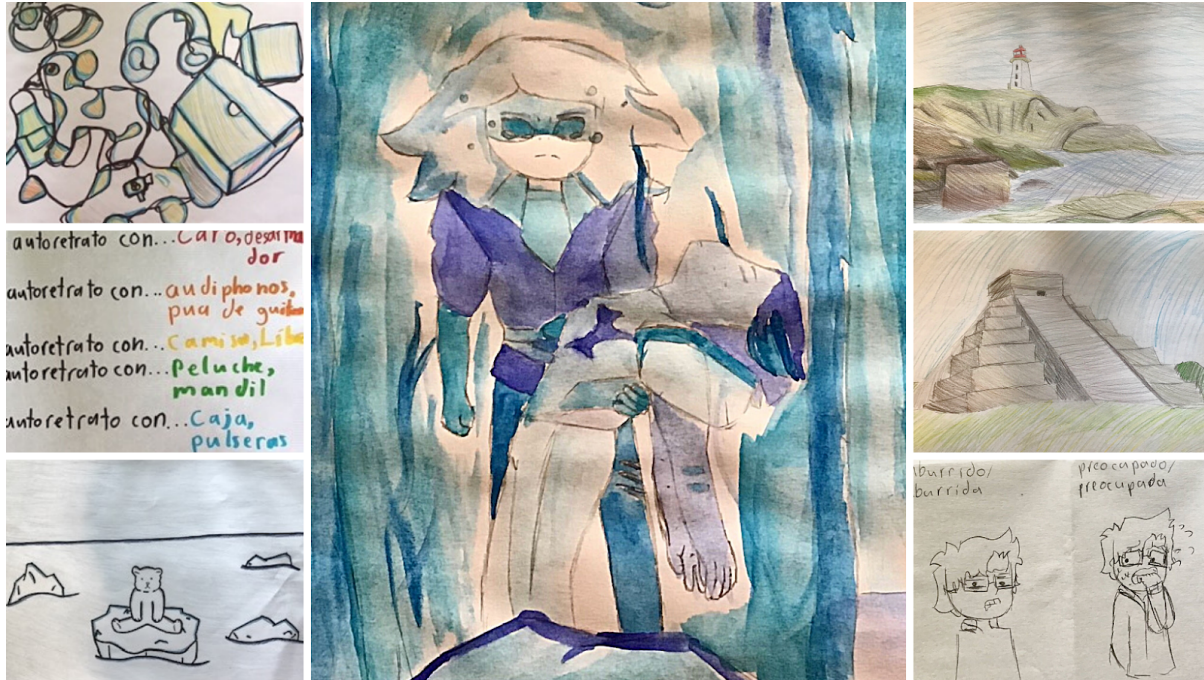


Figure 34: A collage of details from some of Laura’s artworks from the *Spanish Art Camp*

First Impressions

Laura is an introverted and creative thirteen-year-old who is passionate about animation. With just a simple pencil and paper—her preferred drawing tools—she has an uncanny ability to capture a character’s mood and personality in just a few strokes. She participated in the *Spanish Art Camp* with her fifteen-year-old sister Carmen and they chose to do their individual art sessions together, but this was not the first time they took an art course in Spanish. In Mexico, they participated in a two-week oil painting course together. For Laura, art is “*divertido*”¹⁷⁰ (fun) and she was open to experimenting with many media during our camp. I deeply enjoyed witnessing her art evolve, from drawing favourite landscapes in Mexico and Nova Scotia to portraying global warming’s effects on animals.

Cultural Identity

¹⁷⁰ From Laura’s pre-camp interview (01:25:42–01:25:42).

At first, Laura was unsure of how to describe her cultural identity, but she said if someone were to ask her the classic “where are you from?” question, she would reply Mexico, even though she was born in Canada. Laura also feels like she belongs to a Mexican community in Edmonton “*porque hay un grupo que nos reunimos con que son mexicanos*”¹⁷¹ (because there is a group that we get together with who are Mexican). However, when I asked if she spoke Spanish with that group, she revealed, “*pues, con sus papás*”¹⁷² (well, with their parents), adding that with youth her age she speaks “*normalmente inglés*”¹⁷³ (normally English). Nevertheless, Laura feels most connected to her Mexican cultural identity when she speaks Spanish with her family, “*con todos excepto mi hermana y mi hermano*” (with everyone except my sister and brother).¹⁷⁴

Language Portrait

Laura’s language portrait was so primal and subconscious that when she finished it, she did not know how to explain it. But a picture *vale mil palabras* (is worth a thousand words) and I had the privilege of witnessing her create it.

¹⁷¹ From Laura’s pre-camp interview (01:35:26–01:35:36).

¹⁷² From Laura’s pre-camp interview (01:08:07–01:08:08).

¹⁷³ From Laura’s pre-camp interview (01:08:15–01:08:16).

¹⁷⁴ From Laura’s pre-camp interview (01:05:57–01:06:00).

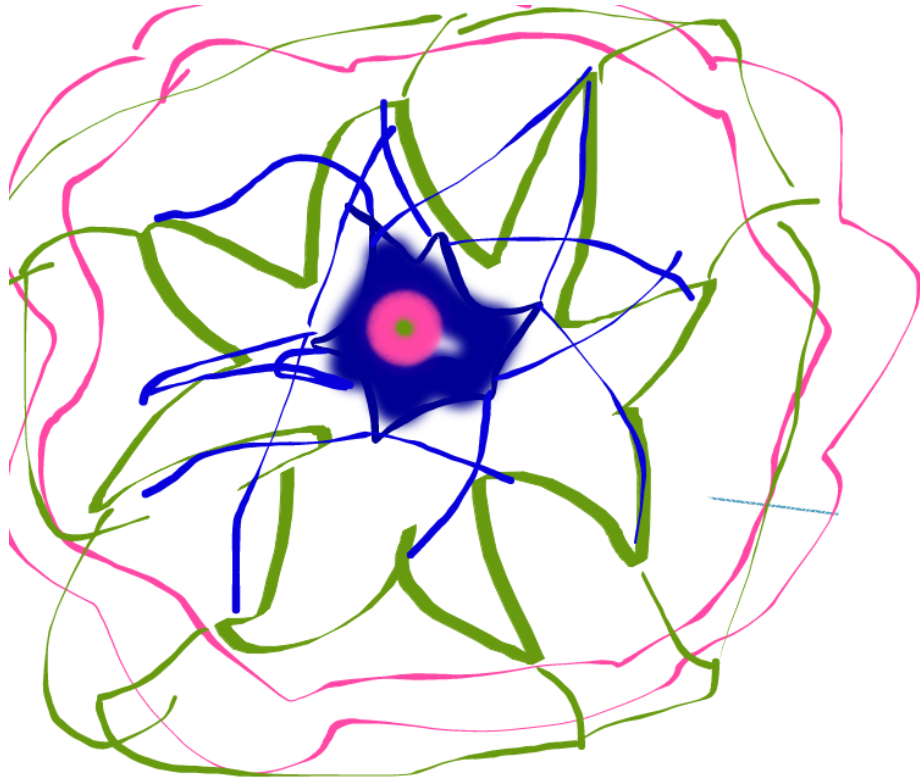


Figure 35: Laura's language portrait from the Pre-Camp interview

Laura first drew Spanish—which she deems her mother tongue, heritage language, and home language—in the centre of the portrait as a tiny green dot. That green dot quickly got swallowed up by a large hot pink circle representing English and a dark navy blue blob representing French (Laura is in the same French immersion program as her sister Carmen). Then, like lotus petals, she drew her green Spanish and blue French blossoming out from the core, only to encounter an outer pink border of English—which Laura called her first and dominant language because it is the language in which she can express her personality, humour, and emotions best. A point worth noting is that Laura was able to draw the relationships between her languages *much* easier than describing them orally, which confirms the power of art to reveal connections beyond the conscious mind. For her, through drawing, she could depict more (and more comfortably) than she could describe.

Spanish Aspirations

Laura told me that her Spanish language maintenance is important, and she keeps her language up by speaking to her parents in Spanish and reading: “*trato de leer los de Harry Potter y Los tres mosqueteros*”¹⁷⁵ (I try to read Harry Potter and the Three Musketeers). Similar to her sister, Laura has a goal to learn to write because “*nunca he tenido que escribir en español, entonces no he escrito*”¹⁷⁶ (I’ve never had to write in Spanish, so I’ve never written), so I included writing practice in the camp. Sometimes Laura still ended up expressing herself in English, but her creative writing yielded alert and surprising insights about her relationship to Spanish:

My Spanish is dusty like every single dress I own. My Spanish helps with my French. My Spanish has a limited vocabulary like my sister has a limited ability to annoy me. My Spanish is lacking, like my ideas at the moment. My Spanish has too much fancy wording and too many accents. My Spanish is like me, running out of ideas.¹⁷⁷

As this stunning prose poem above illustrates, Laura has a complex relationship to her Heritage Language. Words like “dusty,” “limited,” “lacking,” and “running out of ideas” point to her Spanish language loss. Therefore, during our camp, I was very curious to observe whether having the opportunity to express herself in her HL to other youth in an art context would help with expanding and enriching Laura’s vocabulary or strengthening her connection to Spanish.

Weaving it All Together

In this chapter, you were introduced to each of the nine youth interested in maintaining their HL through the arts through participant “portraits,” which included my first impressions, and how they described their cultural identities, language portraits, and Spanish aspirations. The nine adolescents, who ranged in age from 13 to 17 years old, had diverse racial and cultural origins from El Salvador/Ghana (Abina), Cuba (Daymé, Manuel), Mexico (Eva, Carmen, Laura,

¹⁷⁵ From Laura’s pre-camp interview (01:32:20–01:32:23).

¹⁷⁶ From Laura’s pre-camp interview (01:31:04–01:31:10)

¹⁷⁷ Poem by Laura from our fourth individual art session.

Ximena), Spain (Elvira), and Venezuela (Marisol). Two participants were born in Alberta (Laura and Abina) and the other seven moved to Alberta at various ages: 6 months (Carmen), age 2 (Eva), age 3 (Ximena), age 4 (Manuel), age 5 (Marisol), and age 8 (Daymé and Elvira).

Despite the fact that adolescents are often excluded from researchers' definitions of HL learners (see Montrul, 2010), these participant portraits showed how young people also wish to learn, develop, and maintain their current level of HL proficiency. Though their Spanish language experiences and aspirations were as varied as their stories and personalities, some commonalities included: (1) Although Spanish may be their heritage and home language, all participants called English their dominant language; (2) All seven participants who had siblings (Abina, Eva, Carmen, Laura, Elvira, Ximena, and Marisol) revealed that they spoke to their siblings almost entirely in English even if they spoke to their parents in Spanish; (3) With the exception of Eva and Marisol, who enrolled in Spanish FL or HL classes, the majority of the participants were not presented with the chance to study Spanish formally in their mesosystem, but they all shared the desire to attend school or community courses in Spanish; (4) Intergenerational family communication seemed to be a big emotional motivator for maintaining and improving their Spanish oral and written skills; (5) The youth had unique-yet-shared emotional stories of language learning, attrition, shame, belonging, and identity formation, which will be further unpacked in Chapter 7: Interpreting the Data; and (6) Art seemed to be an outlet of self-expression, freedom, and stress release, and the nine youth dabbled in a variety of art forms including music, illustration, animation, painting, video, and more.

These participant portraits are crucial to respond to the second research question of this study: *How might arts-based practices support Spanish HL youth learners' language and literacy experiences and aspirations?* Getting to know the participants' needs, abilities, interests, goals, dreams and concerns—through the pre-camp interviews and individual and group art

sessions—was also paramount in order to construct the curriculum. It was clear from getting to know each participant that there is immense value in expanding opportunities and environments for youth in the mesosystem where they *feel* the authentic and urgent *need* to speak in their HL with other youth. In order for HLs to be “preserved and maintained across generations in the face of powerful forces of language shift/assimilation to Anglo-Canadian language/culture” (Guardado, 2009, p. 106), grassroots community programs like this *Spanish Art Camp* become essential. This arts-based case study is the first in Canada to explore how HLDM can benefit from *arts-based curricula* (where language is taught through the *social process* of engaging with art, both art-making and art-experiencing, in a community of practice). In the following chapter, I will describe the *Spanish Art Camp* curriculum and continue to speak about these nine participants’ experiences and aspirations in the context of the camp.

CHAPTER 6: SPANISH ART CAMP CURRICULUM

Context and Curriculum-as-plan

Deborah Barndt (2008) advises that community-based researcher-artists “must learn to live with uncertainty, become comfortable with discomfort, and be excited by the insights and creativity that can emerge from both silent and sticky moments” (p. 11). In summer 2020, as the world continued to cope with several crises—COVID-19, racism, police brutality, and the climate crisis to name a few—it seemed as if *uncertainty*, *discomfort*, and *silence* were the norm. As artist-pedagogue-researcher, I was faced with the seemingly impossible task of designing a new digital hybrid *arts-based curriculum* (ABC)—a month-long *Spanish Art Camp*—that not only responded to the unique linguistic needs of nine HL adolescents, but also appealed to their own aspirations and interests and addressed global crises in the macrosystem. I asked myself daily, “how can we do justice to this new curriculum of breath, of bones, of steps, of screens, of protest?” (Oniță et al., 2021b, p. 98). Even before recruiting participants, months of brainstorming and consultations—with my supervisor and committee, art educators, Spanish teachers, counselors, parents of HL teens, youth I had previously taught, and members of the Spanish and Latin American community—informed this “curriculum-as-plan” (Aoki, 1991). I was particularly concerned with how to engage and nurture youth online in a year of screen fatigue, where most of their schooling and social events had been transplanted to the digital world. I also wanted to proceed with a caring and anti-oppressive ABC, taking into account equity concerns due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and also the waves of global anti-racist protests following George Floyd’s murder.

Entonces, the ABC was emergent and responsive, designed within a specific habitus and with specific learners in mind: Spanish HL adolescents in Edmonton—and their needs, abilities, ages, interests, goals, dreams, and concerns. Following a participatory, community-based, and

collaborative arts pedagogy and scholarship (Barndt, 2008; Conrad & Sinner, 2015), it was crucial for me to co-construct the ABC together with my nine participants. Although I had collected my own ideas for projects, sequencing, and scaffolding, accumulated over a decade of working with youth and months of consultation with others, I had to suspend my own pre-determined vision in order to deeply inquire, listen to, and accompany my participants “in a process of exploring their own histories, identities, struggles, and hopes—not knowing where it will lead” (Barndt, 2008, p. 6). As Barndt notes, “this kind of research and art requires a willingness to share power and to embrace processes that may be beyond one's control” (p. 11). For example, during the pre-camp interviews, I not only inquired about the teens’ Spanish language goals, but also the type of themes, projects, and materials they wanted to experiment with, which deeply informed the ABC. I offered each youth a \$50 gift card to a local art store in Edmonton to find the materials they desired, which they used to purchase a variety of supplies from paint markers to sketchbooks. Sharing power and co-constructing this responsive ABC often meant that I had to learn alongside the youth. For instance, I registered for a course with Adolfo Serra (a well-known illustrator from Spain) to better facilitate a workshop related to character illustration and storytelling, which many of the youth were interested in. *Además*, I made it a priority to learn about each youth’s cultural background, art practice, and the issues that were at the forefront of their minds. As I described in Oniță, Guéladé-Yai, and Wallace (2021b):

I researched and included artists from the youths’ cultures into the camp curriculum, centred self-expression and experiences in their heritage language, and made space for uncomfortable emotions, as well as dialogue and inquiry into world issues they deeply cared about, such as racism, linguistic discrimination, environmental destruction, LGBTQIA+ issues and mental health. (p. 99)

Integrating macrosystem issues with microsystem goals and concerns made for a meaningful, emergent, and socially-urgent “curriculum-as-lived” (Aoki, 1991). This is a very important facet of ABC, which is deeply committed to the principles of *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009) and *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (Hanauer, 2013) as articulated in Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpainting. One of the main principles of TMP is that it “enables students to construct knowledge, create literature and art, and act on social realities through dialogue and critical inquiry” (Cummins, 2009, p. 50). *En otras palabras*, the purpose of the *Spanish Art Camp* was not for HL learners to learn solely about art subjects, techniques, or genres in Spanish: it was primarily focused on critical inquiry within the HL on a wide variety of topics that *arose* from social artistic practices (related to current events, culture, science, literature, etc.). As I defined in Chapter 1, ABC is a pedagogical practice where language is learned and taught through the *social process* of engaging with art (both art-making and art-experiencing) in a community of practice. The eclectic mix of visual, literary, digital, and performative art projects was designed to encourage free, non-judgmental self-expression and problem-solving in the social context of the camp. Thus, the activities and projects described in this chapter—from protest art to video-poems—helped the HL learners work in their Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD), or “the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers” (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). As Papoi (2016) portrayed, there is something special about ABC that facilitates literacy learning through multimodal scaffolds and dialogue:

When culturally and linguistically diverse students are engaging in literacy learning, arts-based practices can be incredibly powerful scaffolds to assist children to work in their ZPD, because the arts draw upon multimodal resources that may not otherwise be accessed

in a verbo-centric classroom. With the scaffolding provided through arts-based practices (i.e., different modalities such as gesture, sketching, use of materials) and dialogue (with peers, teaching artists, and classroom teachers), both of which naturally occur within the art-making process, students gain facility with new language and concepts in ways that are not possible when working solely within a linguistic modality. (pp. 29–30)

Deci, the visual, literary, digital, and performing arts can act as important *scaffolds* for rich language practice, helping us move from a verbo/text-centric curriculum that privileges a cognitive, rigid approach to literacy, to one that emphasizes multiliteracies and meaningful literacy. In the following sections, I will describe the *ABC Spanish Art Camp* logistics and offer an in-depth overview of the individual and group art sessions that composed the curriculum.

Camp Logistics

The *Spanish Art Camp / Taller de arte en español* took place online over a four-week period in August 2020. The participants and I met on *Zoom* for individual and group synchronous art workshops and interacted asynchronously between our sessions using a multimedia application called *Slack*. In total, each teen participated in eight online art sessions, alternating between weekly individual art sessions with me, and weekly group art sessions that included all participants. Each session lasted about ninety minutes and was structured using *Prezi* presentations that embedded visuals, text, and video. I used the target language of Spanish 90% of the time when teaching and interacting with each participant, and the teens were encouraged to use their HL as much as possible, and use English if/when they deemed necessary in their self-expression. During the camp, the youth were invited to explore themselves and the world by creating different art projects in Spanish, learning about various artists in their community and abroad, sharing and discussing artworks including their own, and participating in our online *Slack* community. As previously mentioned, I also conducted individual pre- and post-camp interviews a

week before the camp and a week after the camp that inquired into the youths' language and art experiences, cultural backgrounds, goals and aspirations in relation to Spanish language maintenance, and more. See the section on *Individual Interviews* in Chapter 4: Methodology.

Individual Art Sessions

The four individual art sessions were designed as interactive art workshops with different genres, responsive to the youths' interests and goals in both Spanish and art: *Autorretratos* (self-portraits), *Fotografía* (photography), *Ilustración* (illustration), *Arte de protesta* (Protest art), and *Poesía bilingüe* (bilingual poetry). Each session was further adapted for each youth, depending on their language level, aspirations, cultural background, and art interests. For instance, some youth preferred photography while others chose illustration. Some required more explicit vocabulary instruction than others. Some *Prezis* included more text and image supports, while others needed less scaffolding. Some had more reading or writing opportunities while others had more oral activities, depending on their language goals. For all individual art sessions, I researched and included artists related to each youth's cultural backgrounds, thus the curriculum-as-lived was evolving and responsive. Including Spanish and Latin American artists, poets, and musicians in the curriculum reflected the five principles of *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009), namely the importance of students feeling represented in the curriculum to "acknowledge and build upon the cultural and linguistic capital (prior knowledge) of students and communities" (p. 50) and promoted "identity investment on the part of students." (p. 50).

Autorretrato con / Self-portrait with.



Figure 36: Carmen's continuous line drawing from her first individual art session

For my first of four individual art sessions with each participant, I designed an *autorretrato* / self-portrait project which included a scavenger hunt, drawing experiments, and writing a list poem. I opted to *not* use Prezi slides during this first session as I felt that face-to-face interaction was important to continue building rapport after our pre-camp interviews. Our first workshop online began organically by sharing our sketchbooks and other art we have been working on, then exploring the following questions.

<p><i>¿Qué significa “autorretrato”? ¿Puedes pensar en ejemplos de autorretratos?</i></p> <p><i>¿Por qué hacemos autorretratos?</i></p> <p><i>¿Cómo se hace un autorretrato? ¿Qué materiales podemos usar?</i></p> <p><i>¿Un autorretrato necesita tener una cara?</i></p> <p><i>¿Se puede crear un autorretrato con solamente objetos?</i></p> <p><i>¿Se puede “escribir” un autorretrato?</i></p> <p><i>¿Cuál es la diferencia entre un autorretrato y un selfie?</i></p> <p><i>¿Cómo decidimos qué incluir y qué excluir de un autorretrato o selfie en línea?</i></p> <p><i>¿Qué historias cuentan los objetos acerca de nosotros?</i></p>	<p>What is a self-portrait? What kinds of self-portraits come to mind?</p> <p>Why do people make self-portraits?</p> <p>How can we create a self-portrait? What kinds of materials could we use?</p> <p>Does a self-portrait need a “face”?</p> <p>Can we create a self-portrait only using objects?</p> <p>Can we “write” a self-portrait?</p> <p>What’s the difference between a self-portrait and a selfie?</p> <p>How do we choose what to include and exclude from a self-portrait or selfie online?</p> <p>What stories can our objects tell about us?</p>
--	--

As shown above, what started out as a general inquiry into the *what, why, and how* of self-portraits usually led to more profound questions about *identity texts* (Cummins, 2009), including how we choose to represent ourselves offline and online, the difference between curating a self-portrait and a selfie, and the stories that our objects tell about us. We also got inspired by looking at iconic self-portraits by Mexican artist Frida Kahlo, who often painted her *autorretratos* with unique objects and animals that represented her identity and culture. Our fascinating conversations transitioned to a scavenger hunt activity, where I asked each teen to find ten objects around their house that represented them, that they used or consumed daily, or that had become important to them during the pandemic quarantine. They were instructed to gather their ten objects and arrange them on a flat surface, much like a still life. I modeled it beforehand with a think-aloud around my apartment where I chose ten meaningful objects to add to the growing still life on my kitchen table. As I walked and narrated the objects that make up my identity, I also prompted them to recall the words for my objects in Spanish.

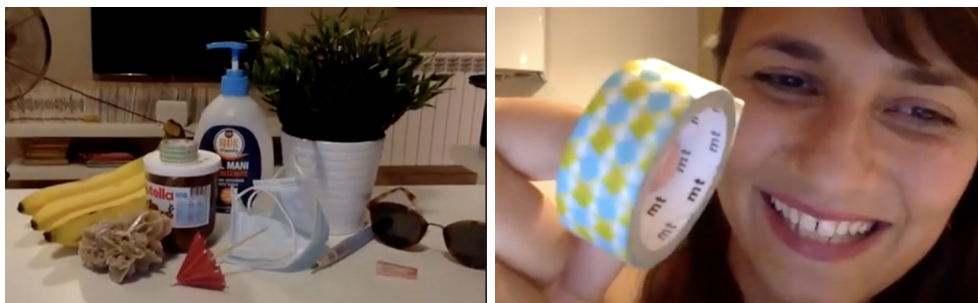


Figure 37: Screenshot from a *Zoom* individual art session of my still life with ten objects

Figure 38: Screenshot of me prompting a participant to remember the word for tape by holding it up to the camera

As they gathered and arranged their still life self-portraits, we discussed the stories behind each object. The youth often narrated memories related to childhood, family members, or trips to their country of heritage. Then, as a way of inquiring even deeper into the relationship between their objects, I led them through several quick drawing challenges, always modeling first through video: *dibujo de línea continua* (continuous line drawing, where you never lift your pen off the

page), *dibujo de contorno ciego* (blind contour drawing, where you cannot look down at your page while drawing), *dibujo de memoria* (drawing their or my objects from memory), and *dibujo con formas* (drawing the objects only using basic shapes). The atmosphere during these drawing challenges oscillated between serious concentration to bursts of laughter, as our drawings never truly came out the way we hoped or expected. I chose these challenges because they are common warm-ups that artists use to make space for spontaneity, surprise, and improvisation in their practice. Learning to relinquish control, self-doubt, and inhibitions when making art is particularly important for adolescents. Moreover, these challenges represent exercises in learning how to *see* differently. As Daymé expressed after her drawing experiments, “*te estás fijando más en lo que ves, y no te desconcentras lo que piensas que ves. Estás viendo lo que está ahí realmente*”¹⁷⁸ (you’re focusing on what you see, and you’re not getting distracted by what you *think* you see. You’re seeing what is truly there).

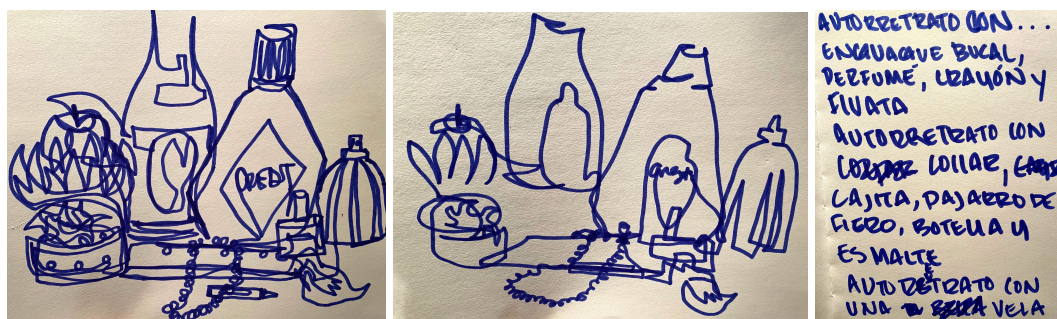


Figure 39: Eva’s continuous line drawing, blind contour drawing, and list poem from her first individual art session

The last part of our workshop was writing a list poem repeating the prompt “*autorretrato con*” (self-portrait with) plus their ten objects, as illustrated above. A list poem is a common practice of poets, which often involves anaphora (repetition of a phrase) for emphasis. For inspiration, we looked at a translated version of the poem “*canvas and mirror*” by Evie Shockley. This poetry project adhered to the ethos of Hanauer’s (2012) *Meaningful Literacy Instruction*,

¹⁷⁸From Daymé’s first individual art session (00:26:30–00:26:42).

particularly how “learning a language involves an interaction with everything that makes up the experience and understanding of the learner, including issues of identity and self perception” (p. 108). Since almost all of the youth said that they lacked opportunities to practice their writing in Spanish, this accessible poem and prompt were embedded into the ABC to offer a chance for creative production of an *identity text* (Cummins, 2009) while gaining vocabulary practice with everyday objects and increasing language awareness. After creating their visual and written *identity texts*, they read their poems aloud and were invited to share both the drawing experiments and the poems on *Slack* with others if they desired.

La Ilustración / Illustration. The second week of individual art sessions was differentiated according to the youths’ preferred artistic media and cultural backgrounds, which is the first principle of TMP (Cummins, 2009), where learners are valued for their individual potentials, talents, interests, and imagination. For those who chose illustration, I researched and tailored workshops according to what they had generously shared with me about their cultures, curiosities, goals, and interests. For the sake of brevity, I will showcase one example of these tailored workshops from Week 2: that of Abina, the fourteen-year-old with Salvadoran family connections. I created a workshop for Abina on “*Artistas de El Salvador*,” including four Salvadoran illustrators, painters, and mixed-media artists: Rosa Mena Valenzuela, Roger Garcia, Victoria Guzman, and Michelle Campos Castillo. The latter three artists are based in Edmonton, as I felt it was important for Abina to be exposed to the work of bilingual practicing artists who share part of her heritage and also live, work, teach, and exhibit in her city, which is in line with a TMP (Cummins, 2009) framework of acknowledging and building upon the cultural and linguistic capital (prior knowledge) of learners and their communities.



Figure 40: A screenshot of the whole Prezi for Abina's second individual art session

Abina's art session began with a virtual visit to the MARTE (Art Museum of El Salvador), which had a COVID-10 campaign called #MarteDesdeCasa where they made art exhibits available for free to be viewed online from home.

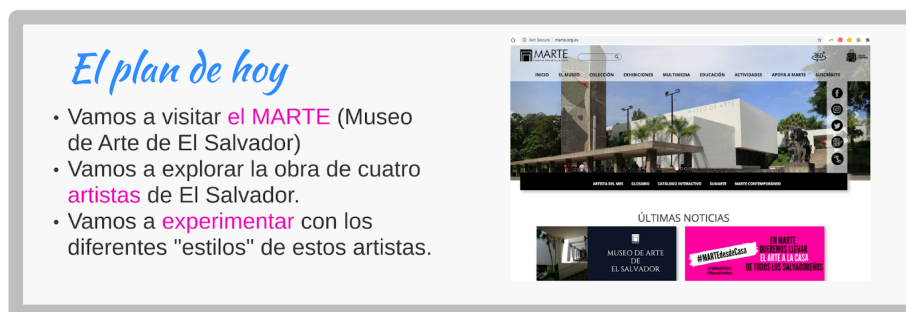


Figure 41: Screenshot of Prezi slide "El plan de hoy" from Abina's second individual art session

At the MARTE, we discovered the important avant-garde works of Rosa Mena Valenzuela. Abina loved her abstract self-portraits, in which the artist combined oil paint, pastels, cloth, paper, and

industrial materials to create collages. Using Valenzuela's paintings, I taught Abina how to formulate her answers in Spanish to common questions when discussing art: What do you see? What does it remind you of? How does it make you feel? How was the work made? What messages or stories does the work tell us?

Rosa Mena Valenzuela 1913-2004
San Salvador

¿Qué ves?
Yo veo....
Hay....

¿A qué te recuerda?
Me recuerda a....
Me hace pensar a....

¿Cómo te hace sentir?
Me hace sentir.... feliz, triste, frustrada...

¿Cómo fue hecha la obra?
Es una pintura de...acuarela, acrílico...
Es un dibujo con....lápices de color,
marcadores, carboncillo, conte, técnica mixta....

¿Qué mensajes o historias nos cuenta la obra?

A La Mesa, 1984
<https://www.arteformado.com/galeria/rosa-mena-valenzuela/a-la-mesa-44772>

Figure 42: Screenshot of *Prezi* slide on Rosa Mena Valenzuela from Abina's second individual art session

Abina and I referenced these questions and answers throughout this session, as well as the rest of our weekly art sessions. Each time we looked and discussed artworks, I would gradually remove some supports, as illustrated in Figure 43 below featuring Roger Garcia's artworks. At first, I would first display both questions and supports to formulate the answers, and then I would remove scaffolds, such as the questions we asked each other.

<https://www.rogergarcia.ca/work/abilities-etsy>



¿Qué ves?
 ¿A qué te recuerda?
 ¿Cómo te hace sentir?
 ¿Cómo fue hecha la obra?
 ¿Qué mensajes o historias nos cuenta la obra?

Yo veo...
 Me hace pensar en....
 Me hace sentir...
 La obra es.....
 El mensaje o la historia es.....



Yo veo....
 Me hace pensar a....
 Me hace sentir...
 La obra es... una pintura, un dibujo, una ilustración digital...
 La historia es sobre....

Figure 43: Screenshot of *Prezi* slide on Roger Garcia's illustrations from Abina's second individual art session

After carefully looking at and discussing each of the four artists' work, the project of the second session was to create an illustration in the “style” of one of the artists. Abina felt inspired to try Roger Garcia's playful story-telling style with bold lines and interesting characters.

To begin, we discussed what photography is and the types of photos we take daily, including what we choose to include and exclude from our frames. We brainstormed different genres of photography and watched a brief video (in Spanish) about the history of the art form to understand how we have evolved from daguerrotypes to digital selfies within less than 200 years. Then, I challenged Daymé to a *búsqueda de tesoros fotográfica* (photo scavenger hunt), where I offered a list of things to photograph around her house with her cellphone. The list included both concrete things, like *una textura rugosa* (a rough texture), as well as abstract things, like photographing a feeling (*algo triste* / something sad) or a memory of Cuba. I also asked Daymé to make up a list of things for me to photograph, and she came up with a similar mix of abstract and concrete things to capture, like something liquid or something that shines. We shared our photographs via *Slack*, trying to guess and match the photos to the challenge. Once we had shared and discussed our process, we read an article featuring some photography composition techniques, including the rule of thirds, framing, filling the frame, juxtaposition, minimalism, and switching up perspectives. Using these new techniques, we did a second photo scavenger hunt, this time being more intentional about the aesthetic composition of each photograph.

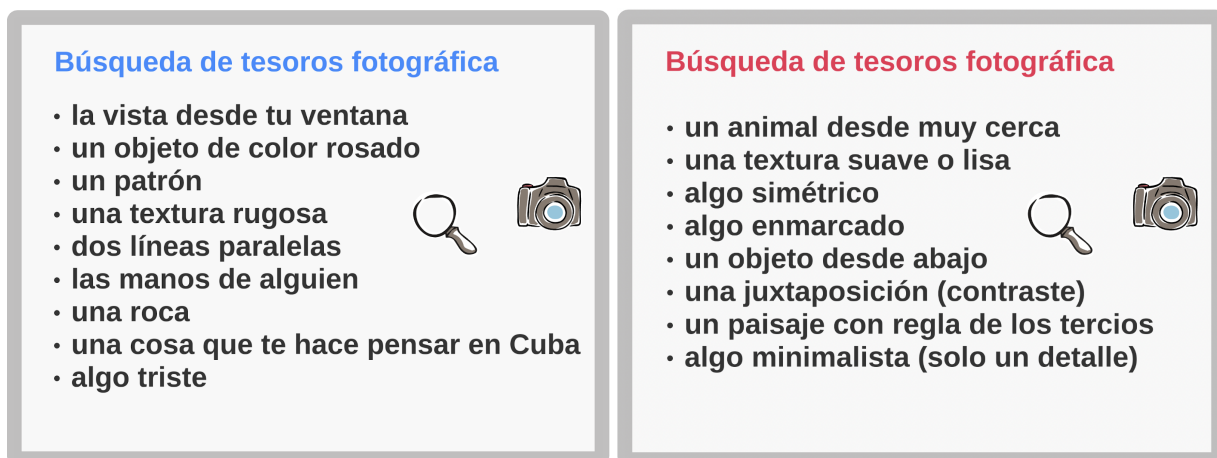


Figure 46: A screenshot of the first photo scavenger hunt with a list for Daymé: the view from your window, a pink object, a pattern, a rough pattern, two parallel lines, someone's hands, a rock, something that makes you think of Cuba, something sad.

Figure 47: A screenshot of the second photo scavenger hunt after reading about photography techniques.

The last phase of Daymé's workshop was fusing photography and painting. After watching the introductory video for the *Spanish Art Camp*, where I painted around and on top of polaroid photographs, Daymé was very intrigued and said that it was one of her top goals to try this mixed-media approach. Knowing that she owned a small photo printer, I challenged her to print a photo, either from our challenge or from her camera roll, extend the photograph with paint, and compose an artist statement to practice her writing in Spanish. What emerged was a hybrid photo-painting of Lake Louise with a description of her artistic process, which will be discussed in Chapter 7: Interpreting the Data.

Es importante notar que not all the photography sessions were the same because the youth had different interests. For example, after the photo scavenger hunt, Manuel chose to create a piece of music based on a photograph of Cuba that he had in his house. But one commonality throughout the sessions was the exploration of photography as a way to re-animate everyday life, especially during a seemingly endless quarantine. Photographs are experiments designed to shake us out of our ruts. When we observe *through* a lens with care and intention, even mundane, routine, and ordinary things can be interesting and valuable.

El Arte de Protesta / Protest art. Artistic expression has been critical in protest movements across Latin America and Spain. Throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, writers, artists, filmmakers, and musicians have resisted repressive regimes and censorship through their art. The protest songs of Victor Jara (Chile), Mercedes Sosa (Argentina), and Silvio Rodríguez (Cuba); the murals of Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco (Mexico); the poems of Miguel Hernández (Spain) and Ana Castillo (Chicana); the *testimonios* of Rigoberta Menchú (Guatemala) and Domitila Barrios de Chungara (Bolivia) have been internationally recognized for giving voice to the marginalized and oppressed. This cultural legacy of protest in Spain and Latin America, combined with the youths' knowledge and interest in political issues, the sociocultural context of

the racial protests of summer 2020, and TMP’s focus on “building on the cultural and linguistic capital (prior knowledge) of students and communities” and “acting on social realities through dialogue and critical inquiry” (Cummins, 2009, p. 50) led to a “must-have” workshop on protest art. This workshop was originally planned as a group art session, but since the levels of Spanish proficiency among the youth were quite varied, I decided to run it as individual sessions in order to differentiate instruction. This way, we could dive deep into several artworks through conversation, and each youth would have the chance to learn new vocabulary at their level, practice oral and written production, and build their confidence in a low-stakes one-on-one environment.



Figure 48: A screenshot of the whole Prezi of the third individual art session for all youth

This workshop began with initial brainstorming/dialogue questions: What is protest art? What comes to mind when you think of protest art? Can you think of examples of protest art from Edmonton or Latin America / Spain? Why do people make protest art? How can we make it?

What materials can be used? Depending on the language level of each youth, I sometimes included a brainstorming activity for phrases in Spanish to express our opinions and preferences, and describe the messages of artists.



Figure 49: A screenshot of a *Prezi* slide where we reviewed ways to express opinions

Next, we dove into the artworks of several protest artists, both in Edmonton and internationally. Local artists included Michelle Campos Castillo (Salvadoran visual artist living in Edmonton) and A.J.A. Loudon (Jamaican-Canadian muralist living in Edmonton). Latin American artists included Camila de la Fuente (Venezuelan illustrator and animator living in Mexico), Diego Rivera (renowned Mexican muralist), and Luis Manuel Otero Alcántara (Cuban performance artist). I also included the work of Ai Wei Wei, one of China’s most vocal artist-activists. While discussing each artwork and message, eliciting vocabulary and opinions along the way, we also debated quotes from each artist about the purpose of art, such as “*Dibujo para hacer pensar a la gente*” (I draw to make people think) by Camila de la Fuente, or “*Un artista debe ser un activista*” (an artist must be an activist) by Ai Wei Wei.

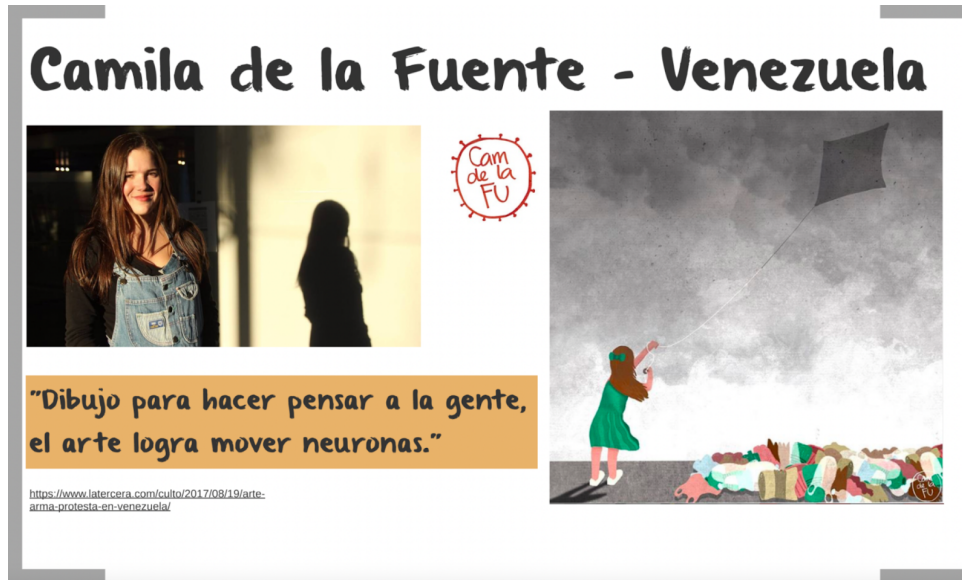


Figure 50: A screenshot of a *Prezi* slide about Camila de la Fuente in the third individual art session for all youth

After becoming inspired by these different protest artists, we transitioned to a brainstorming session where I asked the youth to write down what they would protest through art. I gave them three minutes and asked them to list as many ideas as possible. The results were astounding, and will be discussed in Chapter 7: Interpreting the Data. After the initial brainstorm, I asked each youth to choose the cause they felt most passionate about and consider which medium would be best for expressing their protest artwork: drawing, painting, video, photography, performance, animation, poetry, short story, song, mural? While most youth chose drawing as their medium, their causes were as varied as their passions. Whether it was examining the ethics of veganism or toxic behaviours online, they were all guided to write an artist statement in Spanish explaining their title, cause, process, and materials used. They were also invited to share their art and statements with other participants on Slack.

La Poesía Bilingüe / Bilingual Poetry.



Figure 51: A screenshot of the overall Prezi of the third individual art session for all youth

Poetry writing is a powerful way of manifesting *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* in the language classroom (Hanauer, 2011) and has been recommended for bilingual students to explore their linguistic and cultural experiences (Cahnmann, 2006). Bilingual poetry—where writers code-switch between two languages—is a fruitful way to explore themes of language, identity, belonging, home, place, and community. For the final series of individual workshops in Week 4, participants were first introduced to bilingual poems that explore these themes, and then were invited to experiment with creative writing in their languages through three writing prompts that I will describe shortly. The final project was creating a bilingual Spanish-English video-poem.

As always, we began with a chat of what poetry is, why poets write, and what they write about. We shared examples of our favourite poems and I presented a few of my own poems that mix multiple tongues. Following our warm-up discussion, I led an interactive presentation of some bilingual Spanish-English poems, taking turns reading Tato Laviera’s “my graduation speech,” Maurice Kilwein Guevara’s “Doña Josefina Counsels Doña Concepción Upon Entering Sears,” Gloria Anzaldúa’s “Una lucha de fronteras” and “To live in the Borderlands means you,”

Gustavo Pérez Firmat's "Bilingual Blues," Lady Vanessa Cardona's "A Mother Poem," and Melissa Lozada-Oliva's "My Spanish is." Humour and storytelling were common themes throughout these poems, which often incorporated dialogue in Spanglish. The passion in the spoken word poems of Colombian-born Edmonton-based Lady Vanessa Cardona (former Canadian National Slam Champion) and "Guatelombian" (Guatemalan-Colombian) American Melissa Lozada-Oliva's pieces were a hit and inspired two of the writing prompts. After listening and reading these hybrid poems, we transitioned into a guided creative writing session with three prompts of five minutes each (see Figure 54). First, I guided them through an *escritura libre* (free-write on any subject), then two inkshed prompts inspired directly by Lozada-Oliva's poem, "My Spanish is." First, the youth had to start with the phrase *My Spanish is... / Mi español es...*, and write for five minutes non-stop, freely associating feelings and things that remind them of their language. Then, they switched to the prompt *My English is... / Mi inglés es...* and wrote for five minutes about what they associate with the English language. Participants were asked to begin by writing in Spanish, but they could code-switch to English when they did not remember a word. As the goal of a free-write or an inkshed is fluency, keeping the ideas flowing on paper *sin parar* (without stopping), I told participants not to worry about grammar or spelling.

Escritura libre por 5 minutos...

- Empieza a escribir y no te pares por 5 minutos.
- No importa el sujeto.
- Empieza en español. Cuando no sabes una palabra, cambia al inglés.
- No prestes atención a la gramática o la ortografía.
- Deja que se creen imágenes libremente, sensaciones, o que despierte recuerdos.
- No pares de escribir. Puedes incluso escribir "no sé qué escribir, bla bla bla"



My Spanish is.... / Mi español es....

- Escribe por cinco minutos empezando con la frase arriba



¿Cuándo piensas en el español...en qué piensas?

My English is.... / Mi inglés es....

- Escribe por cinco minutos empezando con la frase arriba



¿Cuándo piensas en el inglés...en qué piensas?

Figure 52: Screenshot of the freewriting prompt “Escritura libre”
 Figure 53: Screenshot of the inkshed prompt “My Spanish is/Mi español es”
 Figure 54: Screenshot of the inkshed prompt “My English is/Mi inglés es”

After the freewriting and inkshed activities, they were guided to choose five phrases from any of their three prompts to stitch together into a poem. This poem would become an edited “5 by 5” video (five still video frames of five seconds each) with each poem line illustrated by one of the five frames. Thus, as the youth spoke their poem, we saw an accompanying video with images they associated with their words, which created another meaningful *identity text* (Cummins, 2009). They were encouraged to share these *identity texts* on the *Slack* platform with each other, however, since most youth incorporated their face or their family’s faces in these videos, I am unable to include them in this dissertation. See the section on *Ethical Considerations* in Chapter 4.

Group Art Sessions

The weekly group art sessions with all nine participants were scaffolded to work towards telling a visual story in Spanish: landscape, characters, animation, and music, responsive to the participants’ interests and language needs. Each session was conducted entirely in Spanish and lasted about ninety minutes. In the following sections, I will describe the workshops in detail.

Nuestros Paisajes / Our Landscapes. Much like the languages we speak, the landscapes we inhabit are crucial to the stories we tell about ourselves. In the first group workshop, we focused on visually expressing our favourite landscapes, both in Canada and in their countries of heritage. This allowed us not only to get to know each other better but also to inquire into the relationships we have with the lands that sustain us.



Figure 55: A screenshot of the overall *Prezi* of the first group art session on landscapes

As this was the first time the youth met and interacted, we each introduced ourselves, the *paisajes* / landscapes we called home, and the type of art media that we enjoyed to use. Then, the youth were led to elicit landscape vocabulary through both receptive recall (e.g., eliciting landscape words *with* text support on the screen) and productive recall (e.g., describing landscapes *without* text support on the screen). Some of the landscape words were cognates with English (*el desierto, la costa, las islas, el lago, el volcán, el glaciar, las rocas, las montañas*) and some were more difficult (*el acantilado, la llanura, las cataratas, las colinas, los árboles*). The activities were scaffolded in the following way: 1) introduce the workshop with an explicit focus on learning or reviewing landscape vocabulary; 2) bring landscape words to the youths' working memory through a Group of Seven painting with accompanying animated words; 3) brainstorm race on the types of landscapes that are found in Latin America and Spain; 4) guide a virtual "tour" of famous landscapes in Latin America and Spain through landscape photographs; 5) describe famous landscape paintings; 6) share an outdoor landscape painting project I did in Edmonton; 7) share of my favourite landscapes in the world to review vocabulary one last time; 8)

share youths' favourite landscapes through screen-share; 9) draw or paint their favourite two landscapes in Canada and Spain/Latin America and share.



Figure 56: Collage of screenshots of landscape review from the first group art session *Prezi*

These scaffolds set the stage for participants to create two of their own landscapes using the materials of their choice: watercolour, markers, collage, or anything else they had at home. One landscape had to be of their favourite place in Canada, and the other of a meaningful place in their heritage country—Cuba, Venezuela, Mexico, Spain, or El Salvador. About half of this ninety-minute workshop was spent making art online together (videos on or off) while chatting.



Figure 57 (left): Abina's acrylic landscape of Edmonton from the first group art session
 Figure 58 (middle): Daymé's watercolour landscape of Cuba from the first group art session
 Figure 59 (right): Elvira's watercolour landscape of Edmonton

Los Personajes y Las Emociones / Characters and Emotions. The second group art session was centered around depicting people and characters in different moods and emotions. It was essential to include this topic in the *Spanish Art Camp* curriculum since the majority of the youth were interested in drawing, painting, or animating their own characters.



Figure 60: A screenshot of the whole *Prezi* for the second group art session on characters and emotions

Besides the artistic goal of visually expressing characters' emotions, the linguistic goals of this workshop included speaking in breakout rooms with other youth, and reviewing and

practicing the difference between *ser* and *estar* (the two Spanish verbs for to be) when communicating character states and emotions. Since only two of the nine youth had taken formal Spanish classes where grammar was taught, and the group sometimes made mistakes when expressing themselves with *ser* and *estar*, I felt it was necessary to provide some grammatical scaffolding (structure and support) for participants who were less self-sufficient to succeed while simultaneously providing opportunities and direction for the more self-directed students to review and express themselves in a creative context (Bilash, 2011).



Figure 61: Screenshot of the goals for the second group art session

First, I divided the camp into three breakout rooms of three people each, instructing them to chat freely, get to know each other, and share the art that they had made over the week (in the camp or outside of the camp), especially any characters they had drawn, for about 15–20 minutes. It was important for the youth to have a time and space where they could communicate and bond without me as instructor/researcher present, so we also repeated this in subsequent group sessions. I was especially interested to ask, in other art sessions and the final interview, which language(s) they each expressed themselves in when they were in these small breakout rooms.

When we all gathered as a whole group again, we reviewed the grammatical difference between *ser* and *estar*. We went over the situations in which we would use each verb to describe characters (i.e., *¿Cómo es?* for personality or character vs. *¿Cómo está?* for emotions, states, and mood), and the conjugations for both. I formatively assessed their understanding with a quiz featuring the cartoon character Homer Simpson. Then, we practiced responding more openly by describing several characters that the youth had already shared on Slack, as well as other character drawings by famous artists. The youth especially loved to see their own art framed in the *Prezi*. As the first principle of TMP (Cummins, 2009) is that “TMP constructs an image of the student as intelligent, imaginative, and linguistically talented,” (p. 50), I included the youths’ artworks into our ABC as often as I could.



Figure 62: Carmen’s character drawing as featured in the second group art session

Figure 63: Ximena’s character drawing as featured in the second group art session

The grammar and oral practice were followed by a timed drawing challenge. The youth were instructed to fold a piece of paper three times into eight sections. Each section corresponded to a different emotion, and they had two minutes to try to depict a character of their choice displaying that emotion in the section. We took this opportunity to attend to form again, speaking about feminine/masculine adjective agreements, and how the “x” and “e” are used for inclusive gender expression including for non-binary folks (i.e., *cansadx* or *cansade* rather than *cansado* or

cansada), enacting the fourth principle of the anti-oppressive TMP framework (Cummins, 2009) about responding to social realities through instruction. *A este punto*, the youth got to showcase their emerging drawing skills and teach each other. Between each section, we paused and shared the drawings and discussed their decisions. It was evident how inspired they were by one another, and how keen they were to justify their choices in terms of line, shape, and texture. This second group workshop segúed nicely into the third group session on animation and storytelling.



Figure 64: A visual depiction of the drawing challenge in the second group art session



Figure 65: Laura's drawing challenge from the second group art session

La Animación: El Arte de Contar Historias / Animation: The Art of Storytelling.

Several of the camp participants had expressed interest in animation, including a few who were considering pursuing the art form as a career. Since MLI (Hanauer, 2012) repositions learners' interests, emotions, and aspirations at the centre of the learning process, and TMP (Cummins, 2009) “employs a variety of technological tools to support students' construction of knowledge, literature, and art” (p. 50), in this third group session, we built upon our previous group sessions on landscape and characters to experiment with creating short animations.



Figure 66: Screenshot of the whole Prezi of the third group art session on animation

We began with a group discussion of what animation is and the animations/cartoons they grew up with (e.g., *Sailor Moon*, *Batman*, *Studio Ghibli*, *A Bunch of Munsch*). The teens who had experience making animations (Elvira, Carmen, Manuel, Elvira, Abina, and Ximena), shared their

projects and the tools that they have used to create them, like *ProCreate* and *FlipAClip*. Next, to gauge their understanding and promote discovery-learning, I quizzed them on different types of animation using videos embedded in the *Prezi*: cel animation with *Bugs Bunny* (by Warner Bros), stop-motion animation with *Fresh Guacamole* (by Pes), claymation with *Taco Man* (by Jonathan Garzón), digital animation with *Cuerdas* (by la fiesta), and flipbook animation with *Flipbooks* (by Andymation). Watching and listening to *Cuerdas*, the 2014 winner of the Goya award for Best Spanish Short Film Animation, also put into practice their listening skills and raised metalinguistic awareness about the varieties of Spanish.

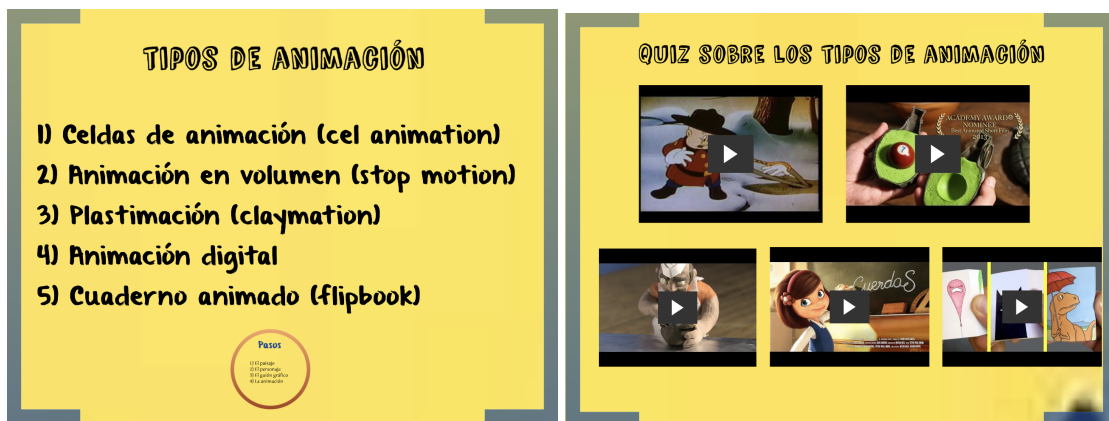


Figure 67: Screenshot of review about types of animation

Figure 68: Screenshot of the quiz on types of animation

Before we moved into creating our own animations, we brainstormed the steps artists take in creating an animation, including the indispensable *guión gráfico* (storyboard). I also modelled the project by sharing my screen and drawing on FlipAnim. The youth had complete freedom over what they chose to animate using the online tool. For many, it was the most challenging yet rewarding part of the camp. As Daymé expressed, “*eso fue bastante challenging porque nunca lo había hecho anterior*”¹⁷⁹ (it was very challenging because I had never done it before), “*pero me encantó mucho hacerlo y creo que para la próxima lo que lo hago con hasta mas layers para que*

¹⁷⁹From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:16:45–00:16:46).

sea más lento.”¹⁸⁰ (but I loved doing it and I think next time I would do it with even more layers for it to be slower).



Figure 69: Daymé’s animation from the third group art session

Pintando la Música / Painting Music. The relationship between music and language is a powerful one, so for our last group art session, I planned a workshop on painting to music. Through previous art sessions and interviews, I learned that my participants were very passionate about music: most played a musical instrument, made music digitally, or listened to different musical genres in their HL. I also knew from Charalambous and Yerosimou’s (2015) research that “music engagement in heritage language learning proved to be advantageous” (p. 377), especially in terms of enhancing HL youths’ motivation with opportunities for “expressing themselves, as well as their ideas and feelings” (p. 377). Therefore, the goal of this final group session was to bond over music by expressing preferences, tastes, opinions, and emotions related to music from Latin America and Spain, in line with the second principle of TMP (Cummins, 2009) about building upon the cultural and linguistic capital of learners and their communities.

¹⁸⁰ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:17:29–00:17:39).



Figure 70: Screenshot of the whole *Prezi* of the fourth group art session on music

After writing and sharing a definition of music as if we had to explain it to an extraterrestrial (to practice circumlocution), we took part in a brainstorm game to see how many musical genres we could name, which resulted in several dozen genres from *la salsa* to *el trap*. This workshop was carefully designed so that all learners, no matter their Spanish proficiency, would extend the use of vocabulary and improve their listening and speaking skills by asking and answering questions regarding their musical preferences. Because of the immersive nature of the ABC, we learned a lot of vocabulary spontaneously in context and through conversation, but there was also explicit vocabulary and grammar instruction I had prepared to provide extra support and scaffolding for our more personalized discussions.

Un conjunto
 El guitarrista / la guitarrista
 El cantante / la cantante
 El bajista / la bajista
 El baterista / la baterista

Maná es un **conjunto** o una **banda** de rock/pop. Una buena canción de ellos es "Rayando el sol"
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3B0327KAc4>

El guitarrista toca la guitarra y el cantante canta las canciones.
 El baterista toca la batería
 El bajista toca el bajo

DISCUSIÓN

¿Te gusta la música? i.e. ¿Eres aficionado/a de la música?
 ¿Qué género de música prefieres? (el jazz, la música clásica, la música folklórica, la música popular, la música rap, la ópera, el rock, la salsa).
 ¿Qué género de música no te gusta para nada?
 En tu opinión: ¿Qué característica es más importante para la música buena: la letra, el ritmo o la melodía? ¿Por qué?

Figure 71: Balancing explicit vocabulary and grammar instruction with immersive MLI through discussion

The rich musical landscape of Spain and Latin America can be one of the biggest motivators for HL learners. Thus, it was important for the youth not only to share their own favourite musicians and bands, but also to learn about new talents that perhaps were not on their radar. For instance, I was curious to discover whether the youth were aware of singers like Afro-Indigenous-Colombian-Canadian Lido Pimienta who is based in Toronto, but who sings primarily in Spanish.

¿Conoces a estos cantantes y conjuntos?

Cardi B dominicana rap
 Shakira colombiana pop
 Celia Cruz cubana/americana salsa
 Ozuna boricua rap/reggaeton/trap
 Paco de Lucía español flamenco
 Plácido Domingo español ópera
 J Balvin colombiano reggaeton
 Rosalía, española flamenco /reggaeton
 Maluma colombiano reggaeton, trap
 Mana - Mexico - rock
 La Salvadoreña salvadoreña cumbia



Figure 72: Screenshot from the fourth group art session with popular Spanish and Latin American singers and bands.

Figure 73: Screenshot from the fourth group art session with lesser-known Spanish and Latin American singers and bands.

All of this scaffolding—brainstorming, dialogue, explicit teaching, and musical discovery—led up to our last project of the camp, which involved listening and painting to five different songs with five different emotions. Since each youth had different painting or drawing materials at home, they could use any mark-making tools to express the emotion that each song represented for them. To appeal to their interests, I chose a diverse range of genres for the songs, including tango, pop, flamenco, reggaeton, and electronica/cumbia. The songs were Astor Piazzola’s “Miedo,” Shakira’s “No,” Paco de Lucia’s “Entre dos aguas,” J Balvin’s “Blanco,” and Lido Pimienta’s “Nada.” The youth were encouraged to express the songs’ mood or emotions through colour, line, shape, or texture *during* the song only, creating an embodied lived experience that could not be repeated, much like a painted concert. Each youth expressed the songs differently: while some were more abstract, others opted for more literal or symbolic drawings. Below is one example from this project. After the music class, two youth voluntarily shared their own Spanish playlists in *Slack*.

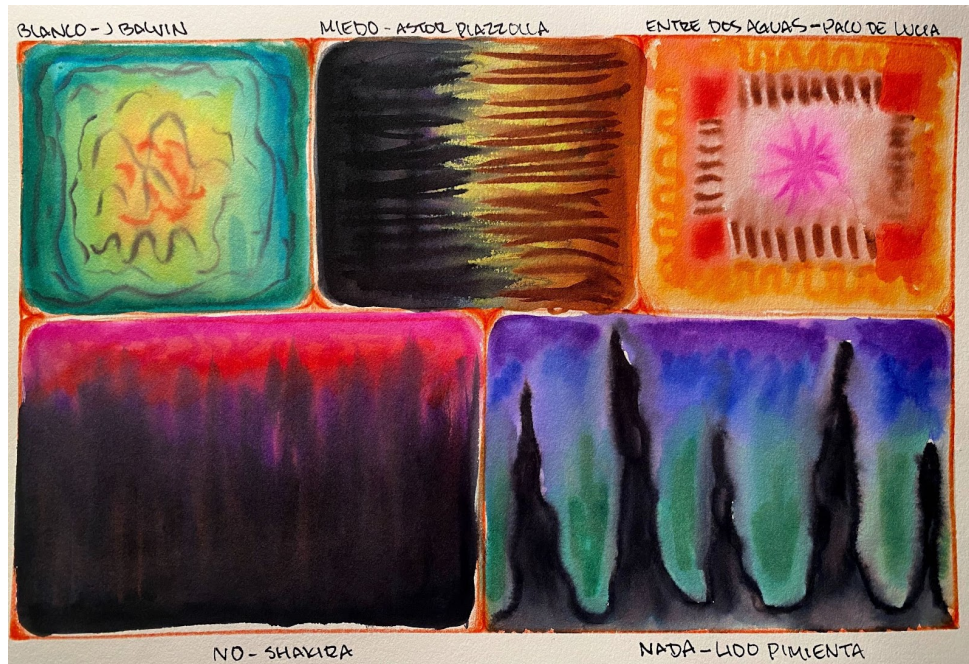


Figure 74: Eva's painting to music project from the fourth group art session

Weaving it All Together

This *Spanish Art Camp* arts-based curriculum for HLDM was co-constructed with the nine participating youth. It was designed with *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (Hanauer, 2012) in mind and the five principles of *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009) to incorporate and respond to several things at once: the participating youths' interests, language abilities, goals, preoccupations, and aspirations; macrosystem concerns in summer 2020 featuring crises like the pandemic and heightened worldwide anti-racist protests; the online digital community space of learning through *Zoom* and *Slack*; and the research on HL development and maintenance for youth in Canada. The emergent, responsive, and immersive ABC featured individual art sessions in drawing, poetry, illustration, photography, video, and protest art, and group art sessions in landscapes, characters, animation, and music that aligned with their language needs and topics that they deeply cared about. In the following chapter, I will interpret the rich data that arose from this arts-based curriculum.

CHAPTER 7: INTERPRETING THE DATA

Contributions of Arts-Based Curricula to Youth HLDM

Being the first arts-based case study in Canada to examine how ABC can contribute to HLDM, *y era necesario construir una base para el lector en los últimos seis capítulos*. This study required a strong foundation, built gradually over the last six chapters, to address the major gaps in research regarding HL education through the arts. First, it was crucial to articulate a theoretical underpainting (Chapter 2) for exploring HLDM from a sociocultural perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) while building a case for how the arts make space for multilingual, multimodal, and anti-oppressive and anti-assimilatory pedagogies such as *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009), and *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (Hanauer, 2012). Next, a comprehensive contextual underpainting of HLDM in Canada from 1960–2020 did not exist; so, tracing changes across three chronosystems in Chapter 3 allowed the reader to see how HLDM is affected by powerful assimilatory forces in the macrosystem and exosystem which drip down into the mesosystem and microsystem over time—for example how Canada’s two colonial/colonizing languages of English and French have been exalted, funded, and supported (e.g., through Status Planning and Acquisition Planning), while HLs have been *continúamente* neglected, denigrated, or denied, lacking meaningful legislation and consistent funding for programming. ABR was the best pairing for working with young HL learners, as it purposefully honours and makes space for their stories, identities, expressions and emotional bonds to their language (Chapter 4). Finally, to enact the theoretical and methodological commitments of this study, I presented *el lector* to the nine youth in my arts-based case study through vivid and multimodal “participant portraits” (Chapter 5) in line with an ABR paradigm and TMP/MLI pedagogies, as their personal stories and needs deeply informed the *Spanish Art Camp*, through which I explored the contributions of ABC for HLDM (Chapter 6).

In this chapter, I return to my two research questions to present an interpretation of the data that I collected: (RQ1) *What contributions might arts-based curricula make to our understanding of Heritage Language development and maintenance in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada?* and (RQ2): *How might arts-based practices support Spanish HL youth learners' language and literacy experiences and aspirations?* In Chapter 4, I clarified that the word “data” may suggest a positivist epistemology for some, but in this dissertation, I use the word data as I am inspired by its Latin form: *the gifts that have been given*. In this case study, the gifts that were given, accepted, honoured, and interpreted included the pre-camp and post-camp interviews with the youth, their art products, processes, and interactions throughout the camp, and my own observations and reflections in an arts-based research journal. Interpreting both the visual and verbal data using *Motif Coding*, *Bidirectional Artifact Analysis*, and *Ecological Systems Theory*, these three broad themes emerged with regards to how arts-based curricula might contribute to youth HL development and maintenance: (1) ABC can support the *language and literacy development* of HL youth; (2) ABC can facilitate *identity exploration and relationship building in the HL*; and (3) ABC can boost *HL learner engagement and motivation*. In the following sections, the themes will be explored and unpacked into several subthemes.

ABC Can Support the Language and Literacy Development of HL Youth

Data from this *Spanish Art Camp* case study indicates that ABC can contribute in positive ways towards youths' HL language and literacy development in Spanish, including improving their speaking and writing proficiency, vocabulary development, and language awareness. As an introduction to these findings, when asked whether the camp helped them practice or develop their Spanish language skills, this is how the nine participants responded:

Marisol: “Definitely...because the whole camp was in a Spanish atmosphere.”¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:30:25–00:30:39).

Ximena: “Yeah, definitely...I had to find ways to express myself better.”¹⁸²

Daymé: “*Sí. Me ha ayudado. Me ha ayudado bastante, sentir que puedo hablarlo en otro lugar que no sea—bueno, estoy en mi casa—pero que no sea con mis padres.*”¹⁸³ (Yes. It helped me. It helped me so much to feel that I can speak it in a place that’s not—well, right now I’m at home—but beyond my parents.)

Manuel: “*Yo creo que sí. Mucho. Me gustó mucho para eso.*”¹⁸⁴ “*Me ayudó mantener el español.*”¹⁸⁵ (I believe so. A lot. I really liked it for that aspect. It helped me maintain my Spanish.)

Carmen: “*Sí, me ayudó practicar un poco. Siempre traté de hablar en español.*”¹⁸⁶ (Yes, it helped me practice a bit. I always tried to speak in Spanish.)

Elvira: “Practice was good...*hablar español con otras personas.*”¹⁸⁷ (speaking in Spanish with other people)

Laura: “*Estoy aprendiendo más el lenguaje del arte, relacionado con el arte...como con la música español.*” (I’m learning more about art vocabulary, related to art...like Spanish music.)¹⁸⁸

Eva: “I do feel like it took me out of my comfort zone. It was a very welcoming environment.”¹⁸⁹

Abina: “My fluency grew, my grammar grew, and my writing skills in Spanish grew.”¹⁹⁰

In the post-camp interviews, each participant recalled a different art activity or project that they thought helped improve their Spanish skills the *most*: discussing the art that they made in Spanish (Manuel), playing vocabulary and grammar games on eliciting emotions (Eva), creating the protest art project (Daymé), speaking together in the individual and group classes (Marisol), the “self-portrait with” activity (Abina, Elvira), writing artist statements and poems (Ximena), and writing the inksheds and “My Spanish is / My English is” poems (Carmen, Laura). The contributions and benefits of these art activities and more will be presented in the following subsections on speaking, writing, vocabulary development, and language awareness.

Speaking. As noted in Chapter 6, this study’s participating youth had diverse speaking levels and exposure to their HL, but a common concern among all participants in the *Spanish Art*

¹⁸² From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:22:39–00:22:49)

¹⁸³ From Dayme’s post-camp interview (00:36:17–00:36:27).

¹⁸⁴ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:26:43–00:26:45).

¹⁸⁵ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:27:31–00:27:33).

¹⁸⁶ From Carmen’s post-camp interview (00:38:20–00:38:24).

¹⁸⁷ From Elvira’s post-camp interview (00:28:06–00:28:20).

¹⁸⁸ From Laura’s post-camp interview (00:16:00–00:16:30).

¹⁸⁹ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:39:51–00:40:02).

¹⁹⁰ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:33:13–00:33:21).

Camp was their perception of the lack of opportunities to practice speaking Spanish outside of the microsystem of their families in Edmonton. This could have also been exacerbated by the fact that travel plans were halted by the COVID-19 pandemic and restrictions in the macrosystem (for instance Elvira and her parents cancelled their trip to visit family in Spain). *Entonces*, there was a palpable *necesidad* (need) for a COVID-safe gathering place for the youth to speak their Heritage Language. In post-camp interviews, all participants reported that the *Spanish Art Camp* helped them develop their speaking skills outside of the home, particularly oral fluency (how smoothly a speaker delivers the message in terms of flow, continuity and automaticity) (Koponen & Riggenbach, 2000), and discourse competence (knowing how to construct longer stretches of language so that the part makes up a coherent whole) (Canale, 1983).

As Manuel describes below, even with family, Spanish is only used for brief spoken interactions. He was not used to having to express himself in his HL outside of the microsystem, or on a wide variety of issues, or for an extended period of time.

<p><i>En la casa, cuando hablo español con mis padres, siempre es como una respuesta o como decir "sí" o "OK." La verdad que sí, español como en una clase es algo que yo no he hecho antes, entonces, yo creo que ayudó con mi español.¹⁹¹</i></p>	<p>At home, when I speak Spanish with my parents, it's always a reply, or saying "yes" or "OK." To be honest, yes, taking Spanish in a class like this is something I had never done before, so, I think it helped with my Spanish.</p>
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Manuel said that the camp was *most* beneficial for improving his speaking skills: "*creo que con lo que ayudó más es hablar*"¹⁹² (I think that it helped me most with speaking), specifying "*creo que me ayudó con el fluidity de cómo hablaba. Porque antes tenía que pausar para pensar de una palabra, pero ahora hablo más freely.*"¹⁹³ (I think that it helped with the fluidity that I was speaking with. Because before, I had to pause and think about a word, but now I speak more

¹⁹¹ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:26:58–00:27:19).

¹⁹² From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:35:01–00:35:02).

¹⁹³ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:33:21–00:33:30).

freely). I also observed this change in Manuel’s speaking fluency. At the beginning of the camp, Manuel was hesitant, paused often, and gave brief answers, but by the end of the month, he was more confident, spoke faster, and offered longer opinions with fewer English words. For example, speaking about his protest art and what he does to combat climate change, he gave sentence-long answers, saying, “*Hago lo más que yo pueda. Yo no como carne roja. Yo tengo una botella de agua. Creo que la falta nunca es sobre las personas individual, y cae más en la industria en el lack of regulation.*”¹⁹⁴ (I do the most I can do. I don’t eat red meat. I use a water bottle. I think that the blame shouldn’t be on individual people, but it should fall on the industry and the lack of regulation). Later, in our post-camp interview, Manuel reported “*de todas esas actividades, creo que fue tener que hablar sobre el arte en español después que lo he hecho*”¹⁹⁵ (out of all those activities, I think it was having to talk about my art in Spanish after I made it) that helped him the most. The camp’s arts-based curricula offered Manuel generative ways to express his opinions in Spanish on topics that he already often thought about in English, addressing a gap that he felt in his HL practice at home.

Echoing Manuel’s experiences of brief or limited daily Spanish interactions with family or friends, Ximena also felt challenged in the *Spanish Art Camp* to construct longer stretches of language and improve her oral skills. Speaking about the camp, she shared:

*Es diferente. Porque mi mamá y mi papi, yo puedo hablar Spanglish, como dijimos. Y también con mi mama's amigas, no necesito hablar tanto español. Necesito, "ah, no gracias," o "si por favor." Y digo, "ah, escuela está bien, gracias." Y son chiquitos. Pero contigo necesito ser lo más grande.. mi español ser más mejor.*¹⁹⁶

It’s different. Because with my mom and dad, I can speak Spanglish, like I said. And even with my mom’s friends, I don’t need to speak that much Spanish. I need “ah, no, gracias” or “sí, por favor.” And I say “ah, school is good, thanks.” And they’re all short. But with you, I needed to make it longer. My Spanish needed to be better.

¹⁹⁴ From Manuel’s third individual art session (01:04:39–01:05:08).

¹⁹⁵ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:36:41–00:36:51).

¹⁹⁶ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:01:54–00:02:23).

Ximena quickly felt an authentic need to expand her vocabulary to improve her discourse competence, as she tends to code-switch to English when she does not know a word. For example, when she gave me a sketchbook tour of her art, she would say things such as, “*aquí traté el sea serpent con diferente designs y todo eso que I searched up. Aquí es un character que hice.*”¹⁹⁷ (Here I tried the sea serpent with different designs and everything I searched up. Here is a character I made). She shifted to English when she did not know words like “sea serpent,” “designs,” “searched up,” and “character” in her HL. In this way, Ximena’s frequent oral code-switching proved to be a blessing in disguise: it was a useful indicator to both me and her as we were able to pinpoint the exact vocabulary that she was missing in Spanish. For example, when she described what she saw in Diego Rivera’s famous mural *Sueño de una tarde dominical en la Alameda Central* (Dream of a Sunday Afternoon in the Alameda Central) during our protest art session, she shifted to English when she forgot nouns in Spanish, but without losing fluency for describing the image:

<p><i>Veo un skeleton. Una señora que es como un skeleton. Un ángel holding un flag. Una señora con long hair in un yellow dress. Muchos señores con top hats. Personas que, con.. Las señoras con diferente dresses, como es lo unos en el left. Se ven como muy fancy mientras the one on the right looks like, old-timey, medieval stuff. Una niña chiquito. Se ve como un perrito bajo de ella.</i>¹⁹⁸</p>	<p>I see a skeleton. A lady who is like a skeleton. An angel holding a flag. A lady with long hair in a yellow dress. Many gentlemen with top hats. People who are, with.. Ladies with different dresses, like the ones on the left. They look very fancy, meanwhile the one on the right looks like old-timey, medieval stuff. A small girl. It looks like there is a dog underneath her.</p>
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As Ximena spoke, I would write the Spanish words that she was missing or struggling with in the Zoom chat, for instance *skeleton, flag, long hair, yellow dress, top hats, dresses, left, right, or fancy*. When she was finished describing the piece, we went over the words together. She repeated

¹⁹⁷ From Ximena’s second individual art session (00:32:21–00:32:24).

¹⁹⁸ From Ximena’s third individual art session (00:07:31–00:08:14)

them outloud, wrote them down in her notebook, and would later reference her notes when she was speaking and needed to quickly access those words again. In the post-camp interview, Ximena described this feedback process as useful:

Well, because then I could say words, and I'd be like, "I don't know how to say this," so I would say [it] in English, and then you would write it down and then I would be able to see what it sounds like or what it was spelled like.¹⁹⁹

I will speak more about this feedback process and Ximena's vocabulary learning through art in the section on *Vocabulary development*.

Marisol and Eva felt that their speaking skills improved in the immersive camp because they were challenged to speak mostly in Spanish, but were also supported. Marisol thought that setting the expectation of speaking Spanish in the camp was beneficial because it set the stage from the beginning without being too strict or rigid: "when we were just talking in the classes, like individual and group, because you were always like encouraging people to talk in Spanish, I think that was nice."²⁰⁰ Eva agreed that it was an encouraging environment, which helped boost her self-confidence in speaking:

It helped my self-confidence, just because you weren't, like, forced to speak Spanish, but we were always supported. So every time I would forget a word or anything, I knew I could ask you. And it just felt, like, very safe. You know?²⁰¹

Welcoming teaching environments seem to be key for confidence-building, as well as group support. Later, she added, "it boosted my confidence to know other people were also in the same boat, you know? All just talking in Spanish together."²⁰² She said that during the individual

¹⁹⁹ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:37:10–00:37:22).

²⁰⁰ From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:31:22–00:31:32).

²⁰¹ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:47:56–00:48:21).

²⁰² From Eva's post-camp interview (00:46:46–00:47:00).

sessions she felt “*comfortable. Podía* ask you questions if I didn't know anything. I enjoyed it,”²⁰³ and that in the group session she felt the same: “*también lo mismo porque* we were all close to the same age, so I felt comfortable asking questions about certain words. I didn't feel judged or anything.”²⁰⁴

Although Daymé, Carmen, and Elvira already had excellent speaking abilities, they frequently conveyed the value of speaking Spanish outside of their home in helping them maintain their language. In Daymé’s words: “*Me ha ayudado bastante, sentir que puedo hablarlo en otro lugar que no sea—bueno, estoy en mi casa—pero que no sea con mis padres.*”²⁰⁵ (It helped me so much to feel that I can speak it in a place that’s not—well, right now I’m at home—but not with my parents”). The fact that “*estábamos hablando constantemente*”²⁰⁶ (we were speaking constantly) helped her maintain her fluency. Elvira also valued the practice that came with “*hablar español con otras personas*”²⁰⁷ (speaking in Spanish with other people), as her Spanish use was also limited to speaking with her parents in the microsystem. Similarly, Carmen made a conscious effort to always speak in Spanish during the camp: “*siempre traté de hablar en español*”²⁰⁸ (I always tried to speak in Spanish). She added, “*fue interesante porque casi nunca voy a cosas en español*” (it was interesting because I never go to things in Spanish), because “*aquí en Canadá no voy a muchas cosas...a clases o a actividades que son en español. Casi siempre son en inglés*”²⁰⁹ (here in Canada, I don’t go to many things...to classes or activities that are in Spanish. They’re almost all in English). When I asked whether she would like the opportunity to have more activities like this camp where she could practice speaking in Spanish,

Carmen responded:

²⁰³ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:21:22–[00:21:29).

²⁰⁴ From Eva’s post-camp interview ((00:21:41–00:21:58).

²⁰⁵ From Dayme’s post-camp interview (00:36:17–00:36:27).

²⁰⁶ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:36:58–00:37:05).

²⁰⁷ From Elvira’s post-camp interview (00:28:06–00:28:20).

²⁰⁸ From Carmen’s post-camp interview (00:38:20–00:38:24).

²⁰⁹ From Carmen’s post-camp interview (00:47:53–48:00).

Se me hace que me gustaría verlo más, porque así puedo aprender más. Y pues es diferente que vas a tener en una actividad que esté en español que en inglés... vas a tener más en común que... Tendría más en común con la gente que si solo voy a algo en inglés.²¹⁰

I think I would like to see it more, because that way, I can learn more. And also, it is different when you have an activity in Spanish than in English. You're going to have more in common with... I would have more in common with people than if I were to go to something only in English.

These insights confirm that there is a need for more activities where youth get to speak Spanish outside of their home in social gatherings—not just involving art, but also sports, music, and more—and to tangibly feel that their language is valued in the mesosystem of their communities. In fact, as exemplified in our dialogue below, Daymé said she felt a “sensation of power” when she spoke Spanish during our camp as she felt it was such a rare opportunity to speak her language.

Adriana: *¿Cómo te sentías hablando en español conmigo?*

Daymé: *Bien. Me encanta hablar en español y yo no hablo español con mucha gente, so.*

Adriana: *¿Sí? ¿Y qué tal, hablando en español con el grupo?*

Daymé: *Bien.*

Adriana: *Y ¿por qué te sentías bien hablando en español con otros jóvenes?*

Daymé: *Cuando hablas otro idioma en este país te da como una sensación de poder. Me gusta.*

Adriana: *Háblame más de eso.*

Daymé: *Porque aquí, aquí todo el mundo habla—la mayoría de la gente, algunos hablan francés, ¿no?—pero aquí la mayoría habla sólo un idioma. Y cuando puedes hablar más de uno, te sientes mejor. Y más cuando puedes hablar un idioma que no es tan común dónde estoy, te sientes bien.²¹¹*

Adriana: How did you feel speaking in Spanish with me?

Daymé: Good. I love to speak Spanish, and I don't get to speak Spanish with many people, so.

Adriana: Yes? And what about speaking Spanish with the group?

Daymé: Good.

Adriana: And why did you feel good speaking in Spanish with other youth?

Daymé: When you speak another language in this country, it gives you a sensation of power. I like it.

Adriana: Talk to me more about that.

Daymé: Because here, here everyone—the majority of people, some people speak French, no?—but here the majority of people only speak one language. And when you know how to speak more than one, you feel better. And even more when you can speak a language that is not as common where you live. You feel good.

²¹⁰ From Carmen's post-camp interview (00:49:20–50:00).

²¹¹ From Daymé's post-camp interview (00:24:42–00:25:35).

Despite the devaluing of her HL in her school,²¹² Daymé felt it was paramount to keep speaking Spanish through community activities, such as our camp. Eva echoed this feeling of empowerment, and said that she would love the opportunity to keep practicing speaking Spanish in other camps and community settings:

I think if any more Spanish camps were available, that would be a huge help. Or even finding people in my Spanish-speaking community. Just like reaching out to them, either through Instagram or through just like other connections, because I have friends who know friends who speak Spanish, and so kind of crossing that bridge.²¹³

Other immersive Spanish camps for youth might include a Spanish music camp, soccer camp, improv camp, dance camp, anime camp, hiking camp, or any theme or topic that might interest adolescents. The key is to build in space for opportunities for youth to feel the authentic need to interact in their HL and articulate their feelings, thoughts, identities, and ideas with other youth. This *Spanish Art Camp* case study, being the first of its kind in Canada to address youth HLDM from an arts-based perspective, can provide inspiration for many other immersive HL experiences to emerge, organized by individuals, community HL schools, city arts and cultural organizations, and more. See Chapter 8, the section on *Considerations* for some ideas.

Indeed, this arts-based curriculum built in many opportunities for the youth to feel the authentic *need* to use their speaking skills: in the individual art sessions (one-on-one with me), group art sessions (with all other youth and me), and breakout rooms during the group sessions (with 1–2 other youth, without me). The low-stakes environment of the individual art sessions and breakout rooms provided a unique opportunity for youth to take risks in oral expression. Manuel mentioned that “*hablando one-on-one fue muy benefical*”²¹⁴ (speaking one-on-one was very

²¹² This is discussed at length in the section on *Freedom of self-expression in the HL*.

²¹³ From Eva’s post-camp interview (01:06:59–01:07:37).

²¹⁴ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:32:39–00:32:41).

beneficial) because of the instant feedback. Abina felt more confident in breakout sessions than with the whole group: “I felt a little more confident about my Spanish... Because I would talk to—either fewer or a couple of people.”²¹⁵ Put simply, as she explained, “it’s a two-people conversation or three people conversation rather than a ten-people conversation.”²¹⁶ Breakout rooms were also helpful for community-building for Abina: “I connected more with other participants.”²¹⁷ Abina’s Spanish speaking skills noticeably improved as the camp progressed and she took more risks with expressing herself, including making mistakes and using the online dictionary *WordReference* to look up a word on her screen. She recognized it, too, saying “I noticed that I can speak more sentences fluently”²¹⁸ and “I was speaking even more Spanish”²¹⁹ by the end of the camp.

Although the collected data regarding the “digital” aspect of the camp experience was beyond the scope of these research questions, there were both benefits and drawbacks to the camp being transported online due to the COVID-pandemic. One of those benefits, as previously mentioned, was the opportunity for more one-on-one conversations, which many of the camp participants appreciated. However, it is also important to note that Abina and Daymé believed that there could have been even *more* opportunities to speak in Spanish if the camp had been in person rather than online. Daymé said, “*creo que hasta en persona, hubiéramos hablado más, pero como estábamos hablando constantemente, eso te ayuda.*”²²⁰ (I think that in person, we would have spoken even more, but because we were speaking constantly, that does help). Daymé also thought that she would have made better friends in person: “*creo que hubiéramos sido mejores amistades si fuera más en persona*”²²¹). She felt that “*en el Internet estás muy, como, detached de las otras*

²¹⁵ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:24:12–00:24:27).

²¹⁶ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:25:59–00:26:06).

²¹⁷ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:25:16–00:25:19).

²¹⁸ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:33:30–00:33:36).

²¹⁹ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:34:09–00:34:11).

²²⁰ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:36:58–00:37:20).

²²¹ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:29:46–00:30:04).

personas. No es igual cuando estás en un lugar donde todo el mundo está ahí, alrededor tuyo.”²²²

(because on the Internet, you’re more, like, detached from other people. It’s not the same as when you’re in a place where everyone is there, around you). According to Daymé, a major challenge for speaking is “*cuando estás online, no sabes si cuando hablas, vas a hablar arriba de otra gente*”²²³ (when you’re online, you don’t know when you talk, whether you will talk over other people). Likewise, Abina said that if the camp would have taken place in person, “it’s more spatial and physical. There’s more people talking to each other, rather than a certain limited time of talking.”²²⁴ Indeed, the spatial and physical benefits of an in-person camp cannot be disputed. For instance, spontaneously turning to the person next to you and speaking *only* to them cannot be accomplished in an online setting, unless participants used the direct chat feature on *Zoom* or *Slack*, which practices writing rather than speaking skill. However, it is also important to note that Manuel, Marisol, and Elvira preferred for the camp to be online and likely would not have participated if the camp had been in person. In Manuel’s words: “*creo que online fue mucho más fácil que sería en persona*”²²⁵ (I think online was easier than it would have been in person) for the convenience and comfort of practicing Spanish from their own home. Future research should examine online versus in-person HL programming for youth to examine the affordances and challenges that arise from each medium, especially in connection to friendship building for youth HLDM.

Writing. Most young HL learners are exposed to their language through the aural medium in a family context and often “miss the chance to learn formal registers along with the vocabulary and complex structures that are typical of written language” (Montrul, 2015, p. 11). Perhaps unsurprisingly, for the group of HL youth participating in the *Spanish Art Camp*, writing was the

²²² From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:30:16–00:30:30).

²²³ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:23:52–00:23:57).

²²⁴ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:20:11–00:20:20).

²²⁵ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:08:39–00:08:49).

skill in which they had the least practice. All except for one youth—Marisol, who regularly did writing exercises at her Spanish HL Saturday school—told me that they almost never had the chance to write in Spanish and did not feel confident in their writing skills. Fifteen-year-old Carmen confessed in her pre-camp interview: “*la verdad es que no sé como escribir en español todavía*”²²⁶ (to be honest, I don’t know how to write in Spanish yet), because “*nunca me enseñaron cómo escribir en español*”²²⁷ (no one has taught me how to write). Her sister Laura mirrored this, saying, “*nunca he tenido que escribir en español, entonces no he escrito*”²²⁸ (I have never had to write in Spanish, so I’ve never written), highlighting a lack of authentic need thus far. In a similar vein, Daymé mentioned: “*casi nunca escribo en español a no ser que sea mensajes—es cuando escribo en español. Pero practicar escritura, para nada. Yo siempre escribo en inglés*”²²⁹ (I almost never write in Spanish, unless I’m writing messages. That’s when I write in Spanish. But to practice writing, not at all. I always write in English). Manuel, who lamented that he had limited chances to write in Spanish; “when I’m texting my mom, family members, responding to your emails”²³⁰; wished he could improve his fluency: “I wish I could write a little better. It’s a little slow when I write. I have to think about it more than English.”²³¹ Writing *better*, *faster*, and *longer* than mere text messages was also important for Eva and Ximena. Eva, who took a Spanish FL course at her school, but did not have the chance to write a lot, conveyed:

I do feel like writing would come in handy in the long run just because I have never written anything super long, so I feel like that would be a good thing to accomplish, you know? To be able to write longer.²³²

²²⁶ From Carmen’s pre-camp interview (00:17:25–00:17:28).

²²⁷ From Carmen’s post-camp interview (00:18:19–00:18:20).

²²⁸ From Laura’s pre-camp interview (01:31:04–01:31:10).

²²⁹ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:39:53–00:40:08).

²³⁰ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:26:48–00:26:52).

²³¹ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:32:17–00:32:23).

²³² From Eva’s pre-camp interview (01:45:09–01:45:25).

Therefore, the youth had never experienced an *authentic need* for developing their writing skills in their HL. Since the majority of them set goals to practice their writing, I incorporated regular practice into our emergent arts curriculum through poetry, freewriting, inkshedding, brainstorming lists, artist statements, note-taking, and writing posts and comments on *Slack*. In the following sections, I will unpack the youths' insights regarding what *they* thought was most helpful in the camp to support their writing aspirations.

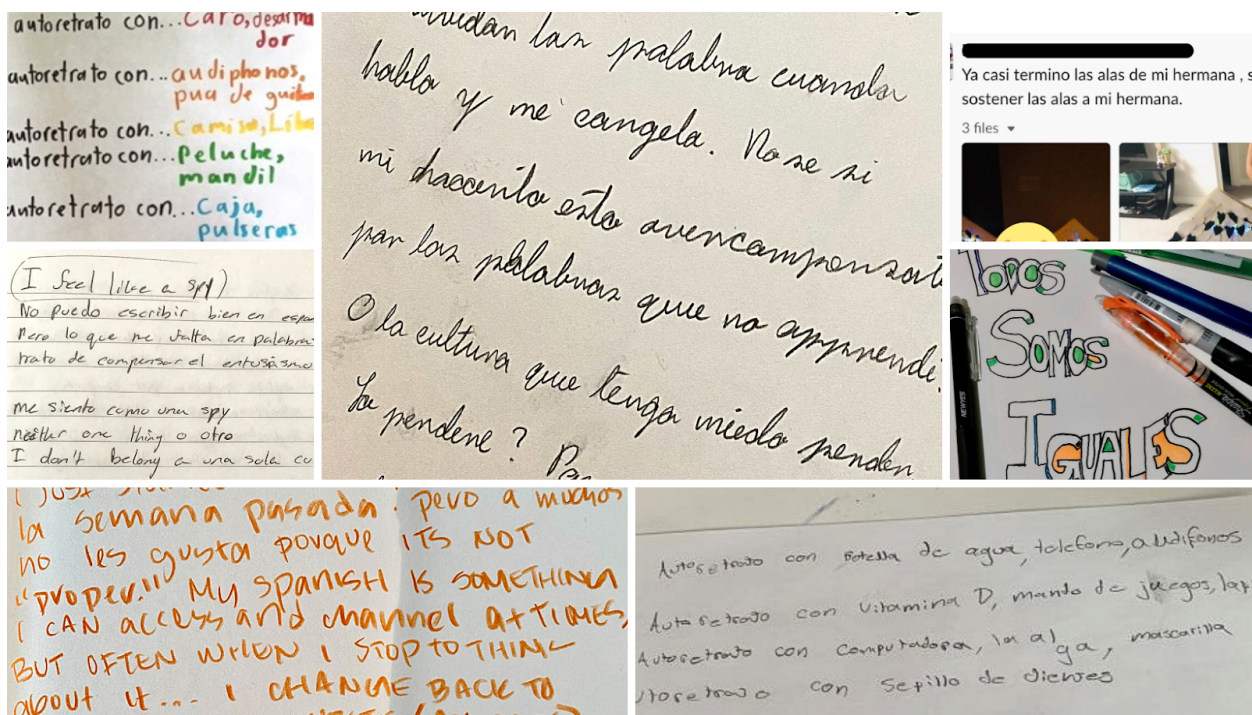


Figure 75: Collage of some of the writing practice in the *Spanish Art Camp* which included poetry, inkshedding, posting on *Slack*, word art, and artist statements.

All but one²³³ of the youth shared that the camp benefitted their writing skills, including their fluency, vocabulary growth, spelling, and metalinguistic awareness. For Laura, the camp was “*la primera vez que he escrito en español en un buen rato*”²³⁴ (the first time I have written in Spanish in quite a while), therefore, the most useful part of our camp was “*los poemas porque yo*

²³³ Manuel, remarked that the writing activities in the camp were not “dense” enough for significant writing practice: “*No creo que fue muy dense para aprender.*” (I don’t think it was dense enough to learn). However, I should note that he missed the bilingual poetry workshop that focused on writing.

²³⁴ From Laura’s post-camp interview (00:19:38–00:19:48).

*normalmente no escribo mucho en español...normalmente escribo en inglés*²³⁵ (the poems because I do not write much in Spanish...I normally write in English). Writing in her HL made her more aware of the language that she thinks in, highlighting the role of writing in consciousness-raising. Laura admitted that *“fue un poco difícil describir mis pensamientos en español porque normalmente pienso en inglés, entonces tenía que, como, cambiarlo al español y luego escribirlo”*²³⁶ (it was a bit hard to describe my thoughts in Spanish because normally I think in English, so I had to, like, change it to Spanish and then write it). She found that the camp helped her most with *“fluidez”* (fluency), revealing *“ahora escribo un poco más rápido”*²³⁷ (now I write a bit faster). With more practice, she felt that her writing became more automatic: *“ahora que escribo un poco más en español, ya se está volviendo un poco más fácil”*²³⁸ (now that I am writing a little more in Spanish, it’s becoming a little bit easier). Laura’s sister Carmen agreed: *“tuve más práctica por lo de escribir”*²³⁹ (I had the most practice with my writing), including the poetry and inkshedding (writing non stop for five minutes), which inched her closer to achieving her goals of improving her writing and spelling in Spanish. Since one of Carmen’s dreams is to write, illustrate, and publish comic books, she observed that she would be open to writing one in Spanish one day.

Ximena, when asked whether the camp helped with her writing skills, reflected that the continual process of having to find words to express herself, use resources, take notes, and learn and recall spelling helped her:

I think it helped me a lot, actually. Cause, well, I have to either—if I had to find a word or how to spell it, I would either, again, use *Google Translate* or my mom. And then I would

²³⁵ From Laura’s post-camp interview (00:19:00–00:19:28).

²³⁶ From Laura’s post-camp interview (00:20:43–00:20:58).

²³⁷ From Laura’s post-camp interview (00:21:50–00:21:54).

²³⁸ From Laura’s post-camp interview (00:22:05–00:22:14).

²³⁹ From Carmen’s post-camp interview (00:46:15–00:46:18).

have it in my phone because I was writing with my phone. And then I would type in the first few letters and then it would suggest it and I'll be like, "Oh, yeah, that's right. That's how I spell it!" and then I wouldn't use the, uh, what's it called, the automatic system."²⁴⁰

The activities that Ximena felt were the most beneficial for her writing were the artist statement that she wrote about her protest art in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement, and the "My Spanish is/My English is" inksheds and poems.²⁴¹ But even in her other art projects, such as her comics, Ximena began to experiment with writing more in Spanish: "I would write English and then Spanish at the bottom."²⁴² This was a noticeable change for Ximena, who had initially mentioned in her pre-camp interview that she wrote "*sólo en inglés*"²⁴³ (only in English) because writing in Spanish was too difficult. The arts-based curriculum opened a possibility for her to *try* writing in Spanish. To help her during this process, she even engaged her mother:

<p><i>No sabía cómo escribir, más o menos casi todo lo palabras. Entonces, lo poní que podía, como cría.. Like how I thought it should be, how it sounded. Y entonces, le dije a mi mama, "oye, ¿se ve esto perfecto?" y me dice, "¿por qué dices eso?" y lo cambió para que se escucha más mejor."</i>²⁴⁴</p>	<p>I did not know how to write, more or less, almost all the words. So, I put what I could, what I believed.. Like how I thought it should be, how it sounded. And then, I would say to my mom, "hey, does this look perfect?" and she says, "why do you say it like this?" and she changed it to sound better.</p>
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Ximena felt it was important to continue practicing her writing beyond the camp, because writing in Spanish helps her belong to a community. In her words: "because I am in groups like, for example, *Grupo de Latinas* in *Messenger*. And not only do I have to know what they're saying to me because sometimes they'll talk to me, but I also got to write back."²⁴⁵

²⁴⁰ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:24:53–00:25:24).

²⁴¹ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:36:07–00:36:19).

²⁴² From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:26:27–00:26:30).

²⁴³ From Ximena's second individual art session (00:11:44–00:11:51).

²⁴⁴ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:13:45–00:14:12).

²⁴⁵ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:29:55–00:30:14).

Likewise, Marisol felt the artist statement and poetry practice helped her improve her HL writing the most: “specifically, the group class where we were learning about poetry, the individual class where we were learning about poetry, how we wrote the descriptions for our art in Spanish.”²⁴⁶ The thirteen-year-old had an expansive view of writing, which included playing with language, personal meaning-making, and conveying different messages: “Poetry isn't just writing with rhymes. I think it's more about the meaning that you're trying to put into the poem. And, I guess you just send out a message that you're not saying it.”²⁴⁷ For this reason, Marisol said she was motivated to continue experimenting with Spanish through art:

I think this camp has really influenced me and other kids to use Spanish in our art. I think because there's a lot more that you can do in Spanish in art than you think, like poetry, like bilingual poetry.”²⁴⁸

In the section on *Self-confidence and pride*, I unpack how Marisol thought that writing poetry led to unexpected personal growth for her.

Similar to Marisol and Ximena, Eva remarked that “it helped me exercise [writing] a lot more when we did our poems and when we did our write-ups in Spanish, like on *Slack*.”²⁴⁹ Having the chance to write for longer stretches of text raised metalinguistic awareness for Eva. For example, during one of the freewriting activities—where she wrote non-stop for five minutes on any topic without taking her pen off the paper—Eva wrote:

<p><i>Hoy estoy escribiendo...escrito? escribo. No se de que voy a escribir. Idk my topic. Creo que voy a hablar de hoy. Mi mamá me va a take me a la casa de mi amiga para get.. confiscar? my book (libro) que I lent her. No se quando la voy a ver otra ves because of corona... no se que</i></p>	<p>Today I am writing...written? I write. I don't know what I am going to write. Idk my topic. I think I'm going to write about today. My mom will take me to my friend's house to get.. confiscate? my book (libro) that I lent her. I don't know when I will see her again because</p>
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²⁴⁶ From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:32:30–00:32:45).

²⁴⁷ From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:03:23–00:03:44).

²⁴⁸ From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:53:05–00:53:32).

²⁴⁹ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:40:35–00:40:47).

voy a escribir ahora... idk cause my mind is blank rn I just woke up. actually no... I woke up at 8! *no se porque tengo sueño... creo que necesito (need) regressar a la escuela haha.*

of corona... Idk what I should write now. Idk cause my mind is blank rn I just woke up. actually no... I woke up at 8! I don't know why I'm tired. I think I need to go back to school haha.

The *creative positive translanguaging space* (Bradley et al., 2018) that we fostered in our art camp encouraged risk-taking in writing. For instance, as we see above, Eva constantly code-switched while freewriting about her day, which allowed her to unblock her mind, get her unfiltered ideas out on the page, and test them. Guessing words like *confiscar* and *necesito* (necesito) and trying out tenses (*estoy escribiendo / escrito / escribo*) offered Eva the opportunity to monitor and investigate what she was unsure of when writing. If the instructions had been to try to write *only* in Spanish without code-switching at all, perhaps this metalinguistic awareness would have not taken place. As this example illustrates, fluency and accuracy can *both* take place with freewriting and inkshedding activities. In other words, *pushed output* in an arts-based curriculum can lead to *noticing* grammatical forms.

Both Abina and Elvira highlighted the *Autorretrato con* (Self-portrait with) poem as the most useful for their HL writing practice. For Elvira, this self-portrait activity “*fue buena práctica*” (it was good practice) because it opened up space for writing, an activity she deeply enjoys: “it kind of got me into writing after quarantine.”²⁵⁰ “*Hacer poemas con cosas de la casa*”²⁵¹ (creating poems with things around the house) challenged the teens to recall the words for these common objects in their HL. As discussed in the section on *Vocabulary development*, the youth could mostly remember the words in English, but not in Spanish. It was also an opportunity

²⁵⁰ From Elvira’s post-camp interview (00:28:45–00:28:56).

²⁵¹ From Elvira’s post-camp interview (00:31:45–00:31:46).

to practice spelling of these common words and receive instant feedback. Notice how Abina wrote the correct words “*chaqueta*” and “*toalla*” under the incorrect “*jackete*” and “*toila*” below.

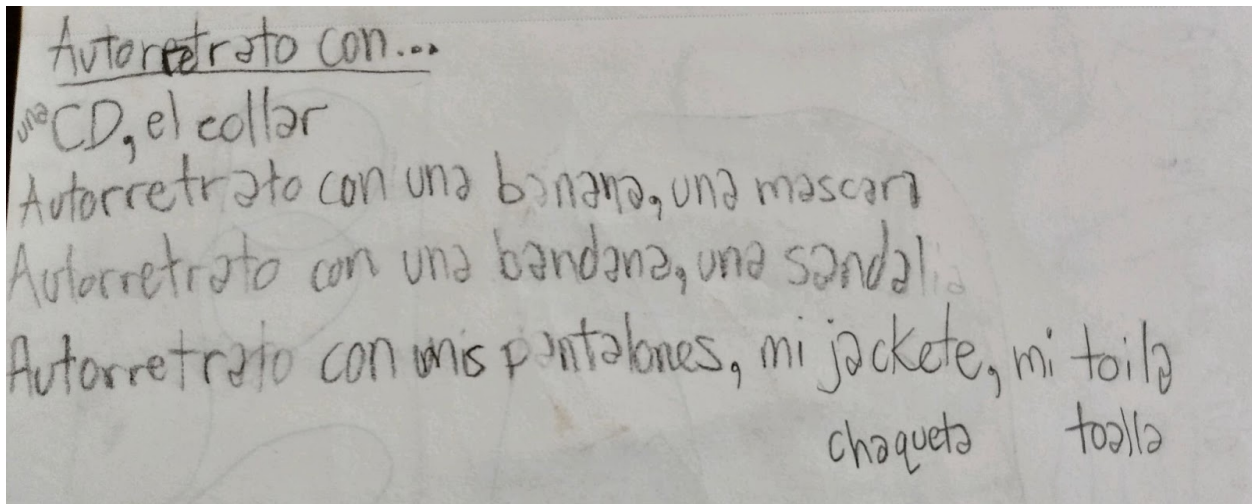


Figure 76: Abina’s “Autorretrato con” list poem

Abina noticed that writing got easier for her towards the end of the camp “because I had written in Spanish more and more as I went along.”²⁵² She also made frequent use of external resources like her mother and online translator tools for the writing activities: “I either asked my mom if she wasn't busy or I just searched in *WordReference*.”²⁵³

Finally, Daymé disclosed that writing artist statements about her protest art and landscape project was most useful. In her own words:

<p><i>Cuando escribimos sobre la pintura que hicimos, dos, ¿cuántas veces? Cuando escribimos, era el arte de protesta. Y también cuando hicimos tu y yo el proyecto de hacer la foto a la cual extendimos, también al lado yo pegué lo que escribí sobre eso. Todas esas cosas ayudan.</i>²⁵⁴</p>	<p>When we wrote about the paintings that we did, two times, how many times? When we wrote, it was for the protest art. And also, the project that you and I did to extend the photograph. I wrote something and glued it beside it. All of these things help.</p>
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The photograph project that Daymé refers to above was from one of her individual art sessions:

²⁵² From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:38:40–00:38:46).

²⁵³ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:39:01–00:39:07).

²⁵⁴ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:39:16–00:39:41),

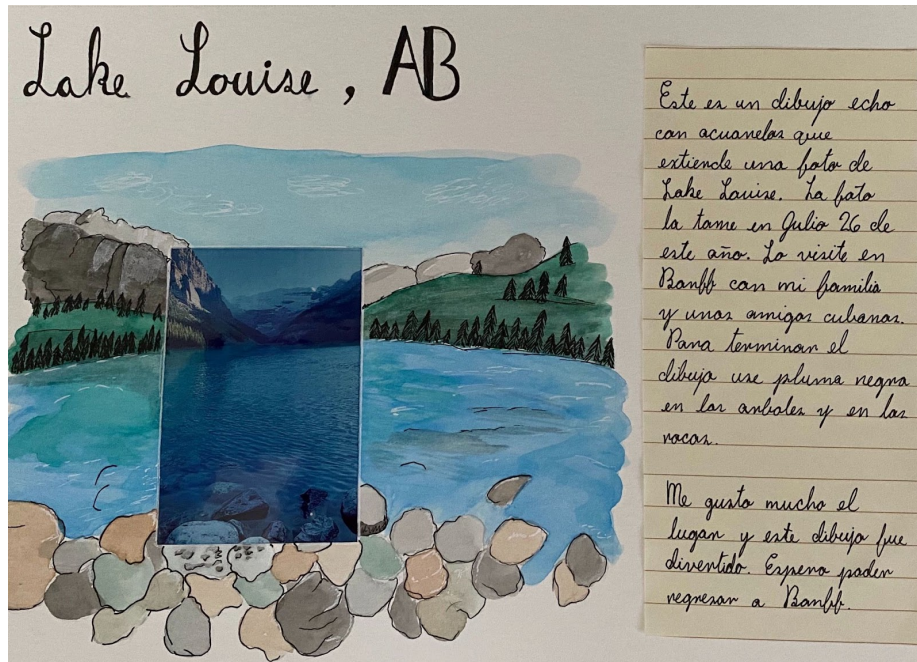


Figure 77: Daymé's mixed media drawing of Lake Louise and artist statement

Daymé printed a photograph of Lake Louise that she had taken that summer, extended the photo with paint, and wrote about her process in Spanish:

Este es un dibujo echo con acuarelas que extiende una foto de Lake Louise. La foto la tome en Julio 26 de este año. Lo visite en Banff con mi familia y unos amigos cubanos. Para terminar el dibujo, use pluma negra en los arboles y en las rocas. Me gusto mucho el lugar y este dibujo fue divertido. Espero poder regresar a Banff.

This is a drawing made with watercolours that extends a photo of Lake Louise. I took the photo on July 26th this year. I visited it with my family and some Cuban friends. To finish off the drawing, I used black pen on the trees and on the rocks. I like this place a lot, and this drawing was fun. I hope to go back to Banff.

Daymé was proud of her artist statements, like the one above, even though before the camp she confessed “*no me gusta escribir*”²⁵⁵ (I don't like to write). The free and creative orientation of arts-integrated writing may have led to her feeling of pride. In fact, Lee (2014) found that arts-integrated EFL teaching, such as first-person writing narratives with images, led to learners not seeing writing as a “burden,” but instead to “position themselves as thoughtful and creative

²⁵⁵ From Daymé's pre-camp interview (00:26:22–00:26:23).

authors” (p. 72). Similarly, in this study, HL learners also became creative authors and took pride in their writing projects, including their artist statements, poetry, inkshedding, and freewriting, which led to a more positive and expansive perception of writing in their HL. In the section on *Freedom of self-expression in the HL*, I will expand on the effects of artistic freedom on engagement and motivation in the *Spanish Art Camp*.

Vocabulary Development. A picture is worth a thousand words, but what happens when you are an HL learner at a loss for words? How might an arts-based curriculum help learners build their vocabulary? Regardless of their Spanish proficiency, all participants reflected on the frustration that they have felt grasping for words that were often out of reach:

Ximena: “I have trouble expressing myself in Spanish, so I was having trouble finding the words that I was looking for.”²⁵⁶

Eva: “I definitely feel like I could hold conversations, but when it comes to describing things in more detail...I have more difficulty with it.”²⁵⁷

Marisol: “I guess my main goal is to expand my vocabulary, because I guess I'm not that good with certain words. I don't know certain words.”²⁵⁸

Manuel: “I moved here at a young age, so it's not like I lost the vocabulary, it's more like I never picked up on it.”²⁵⁹

The unique vocabulary needs and experiences of HL learners are important to define. Therefore, before I explore findings related to how the *Spanish Art Camp* facilitated participants’ vocabulary *development*, it is crucial to understand how vocabulary *attrition or loss* impacts young learners and becomes one of their biggest obstacles to HLDM.

A lack of vocabulary in the HL can affect all four skills (speaking, listening, reading, writing) as well as self-confidence and motivation to keep using and practicing the HL. For example, when Carmen reads, she becomes demotivated because she does not recognize new words: “*Ha intentado, pero pues, hay unas palabras que todavía no conozco.*”²⁶⁰ (I have tried,

²⁵⁶ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:27:37–00:27:53).

²⁵⁷ From Eva’s pre-camp interview (00:39:53–00:40:07).

²⁵⁸ From Marisol’s pre-camp interview (00:39:53–00:40:07).

²⁵⁹ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:27:55–00:28:03).

²⁶⁰ From Carmen’s pre-camp interview (00:18:43–00:18:50).

but, well, there are words that I don't know yet). Daymé shares the same sentiment with reading: *“me empezó a costar trabajo leer las palabras. Lo leía muy lento y vi que leía más rápido en inglés, so leo los libros más en inglés”*²⁶¹ (It started to be very hard to read the words. I would read very slowly and I realized that I read faster in English, so now I read more in English). In the same vein, when Ximena writes a message to her mother in Spanish and she does not know how to say a word, she gets frustrated and switches to English: *“le voy a mandar un mensaje en español, y entonces cuando mi cabeza no sabe como decir un palabra en español, voy a borrar todo, y poner mi inglés”*²⁶² (I go to write a message to her in Spanish, and then when my head does not know how to say a word in Spanish, I delete everything and put it in English). Likewise, when speaking, Abina finds it difficult “remembering objects or names or places that are Spanish related... because I haven't been using it often.”²⁶³ Carmen also remarked that if she does not use Spanish regularly in her microsystem—such as when her family hosts exchange students and they use more English at home—she has trouble recalling words: *“pasa cuando no he hablado español por un rato. También pasa cuando no más estamos hablando de algo y no conozco la palabra”*²⁶⁴ (it happens when I have not been speaking Spanish for a while. It also happens when we're just talking about something and I don't know the word). Her sister Laura also shifts to English *“si no me puedo acordar de una palabra”*²⁶⁵ (if I cannot remember a word).

Indeed, when the youth have trouble accessing words in Spanish, they tend to shift to English or mix the two languages. Ximena expressed:

<i>Si estoy hablando español y, como, no sé un palabra, voy a hablar en inglés y entonces a español otra vez. Cuando estamos comprando</i>	If I am speaking in Spanish and I don't know a word, I will speak in English, and then in Spanish again. When we go shopping and there
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²⁶¹ From Daymé's pre-camp interview (00:27:12–00:27:20).

²⁶² From Ximena's pre-camp interview (00:20:57–00:21:17).

²⁶³ From Abina's pre-camp interview (01:06:50–01:07:19).

²⁶⁴ From Carmen's pre-camp interview (00:38:45–00:38:54).

²⁶⁵ From Laura's pre-camp interview (01:33:39–01:33:42).

<p><i>y hay un.. estamos hablando español, "okay, yo voy a agarrar huevos, milk, esto y esto y esto," a tiempos vamos a hablar en inglés y español.²⁶⁶</i></p>	<p>is a.. we are speaking Spanish, “okay, I will get <i>huevos</i>, milk, this, this, and this”: sometimes we speak in English and Spanish.</p>
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Manuel noted that he code-switches for both lack of vocabulary and cultural reasons: “I think because I don't know some words in Spanish or there aren't some words in Spanish, like 7-11, franchise chains, and stuff like that.”²⁶⁷ Meanwhile, Daymé sometimes invents new hybrid words when she cannot recall Spanish words:

<p><i>Yo creo que es porque no me acuerdo de la palabra. Porque a veces yo hasta mezclo dos palabras, una en español como la palabra impresora, y printer en ingles, y yo le digo "printadora." Y yo los mezclo asi. Yo no sabía que eran diferentes hasta que llegué a Cuba y le dije a mi tía que la foto los está printando en una printadora, y mi tía me miró, ¿qué es una printadora?²⁶⁸</i></p>	<p>I think it's because I can't remember the word. Because sometimes, I combine words: one in Spanish like the word <i>impresora</i> and <i>printer</i> in English, and I call it <i>printadora</i>. And I combine them like that. I didn't know that they were different until I arrived in Cuba and I said to my aunt that the photos are printing in a <i>printadora</i> and my aunt looked at me like “<i>what is a printadora?</i>”</p>
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The above example shows just how creative HL learners can be when they are faced with vocabulary attrition—especially when they have already acquired morphological features (word structures) of their HL—like the common noun ending “-or/-ora” in *impresora*, allowing Daymé to invent *printadora*.

Beneath this inventiveness, however, are often deep-rooted emotional stories of language loss and its effects on identity and belonging. For example, Elvira started first noticing vocabulary attrition when she was in Grade 5 (three years after moving to Canada).

<p><i>Creo que en grado 5 es cuando cuando me empezó el 'no me salen las palabras'. Y yo siempre he tenido mucho ashame de ser</i></p>	<p>I think I was in Grade 5 when the ‘words are not coming out’ phase started. And I was always very ashamed of being Spanish. I don't</p>
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²⁶⁶ From Ximena's pre-camp interview 00:55:44–00:56:11).

²⁶⁷ From Manuel's pre-camp interview (00:29:02–00:29:13).

²⁶⁸ From Daymé's pre-camp interview (0:39:52–00:40:27).

española. No sé por por qué. No me gustaba mi acento, así que siempre intenté pararlo y no tengo acento ahora. Casi nada. Bueno, algunas veces si, me dicen mis amigos 'por qué has dicho eso así?' yo digo 'no sé, lo siento,' Pero yo estaba muy ashamed, y ahora estoy como ¿por qué?²⁶⁹

know why. I did not like my accent, so I tried to make it disappear and I don't have an accent now. Almost none. Well, sometimes, yes. My friends say "why did you say that like that?" and I say "I don't know, I'm sorry." But I was so ashamed, and now I'm like, why?

This feeling of shame led to a conscious shedding of being Spanish and speaking Spanish.

Expanding more on her experiences as a young child in Edmonton, Elvira said: *"la cultura es diferente aquí. Así que no ser completamente fluente en inglés era como raro. Eras una rarita. Y entonces no quería ser la rarita, así que me puse al modo inglés"*²⁷⁰ (the culture is different here.

So not being completely fluent in English was weird. You were a weirdo. I did not want to be a weirdo, so I switched to English mode). The thirteen-year-old's powerful words reveal how expectations of linguistic and cultural homogeneity are so deeply embedded into the *habitus* of Canadian culture that they leave no choice but to assimilate unless you want to stand out as a "rarita" or "weirdo." Children especially pick up on assimilatory pressures in their environment. Ximena faced bullying because of her language and culture as early as kindergarten. When asked whether she has had more helpful or hindering experiences with maintaining her language, including her vocabulary, she shared:

I have more hindering. I have more bad experiences like, for example, kindergarten or actually more present, too—all throughout my life, I've been called Dora, because sometimes, one time, I would cut my hair short, and because it was the same colour as Dora, and I was a small little baby, and I can speak Spanish, it's like all those factors. Dora. So all through my life, "hey Dora!" No, that's not my name... I felt like they were calling me dumb, because looking back now, Dora would be like, "where is the ocean?" as it's,

²⁶⁹ From Elvira's pre-camp interview [00:55:49–00:56:10).

²⁷⁰ From Elvira's pre-camp interview 00:56:35–00:56:54).

like, right behind her. So, I feel like they're making fun of me. But now I see it as a compliment, like, "Yes, I am Dora, I am Spanish. I speak more languages than you. I am smarter, not dumb."²⁷¹

Fortunately, this shift in perspective happened, where Ximena was able to flip the Dora stereotype on its head and reclaim her power and pride in speaking Spanish. This is akin to Elvira's questioning of her past shame, and Daymé's recognition of the "*sensación de poder*" (sensation of power) that she had through using Spanish in our camp, despite her linguistic and racist microaggression experiences at school.

Eva had similar stories to Elvira about the first time she felt vocabulary attrition at the age of twelve and consciously refused to speak Spanish at home after:

When we visit Mexico, which I haven't in a long time, but I remember going when I was around twelve, and I realized I had lost a lot of the language when I couldn't communicate as well with the rest of my family, because they would assume I was fluent because my mom would speak to me in Spanish at home. I started, like, refusing to speak Spanish at home. Only English... I feel like that happened when I realized I couldn't communicate as fluently because I became kind of embarrassed actually to try and speak back because I didn't have the accent anymore. It just felt kind of weird."²⁷²

Thus, Spanish HL learners face unique challenges and emotions when it comes to vocabulary learning and attrition in Alberta (e.g., embarrassment, shame, doubt, pride, creativity, reclamation). Vocabulary learning/loss also happens within an intricate, entangled web of factors at the *individual* level (e.g., feelings related to attrition or changing accent), in the *microsystem* (e.g., family support or judgment; relations with peers), *mesosystem* (e.g., school culture,

²⁷¹ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:57:39–00:58:09).

²⁷² From Eva's pre-camp interview (00:40:52–43:30)

bullying), *exosystem* (e.g., language policies) and *macrosystem* (e.g., habitus, cultural and societal attitudes). The *Spanish Art Camp* not only allowed but encouraged these multilayered experiences and emotions to be explored and expressed. It is against this backdrop of complex stories and feelings that I wish to share insights into how our camp helped the youth meet their own vocabulary goals and aspirations.

The visual art that the youth made and viewed/experienced in the camp—including photographs, paintings, drawings, digital illustrations, videos, animations, and comics—acted as stimuli and mnemonic devices for vocabulary learning and retention through context and culture. Of course, using images to improve the learning and teaching of vocabulary is not new (Bush, 2007). Articulating a theory of visual aids for language teaching, Corder (1963) spoke about how visuals are an excellent way to avoid “resorting to translation” (p. 85), and provide context and meaning to language learning. Distinguishing between visual material for talking *about* and visual material for talking *with*, he made the case that actual “making gives a wonderful opportunity for ‘situational teaching’” (p. 86). In the case of our *Spanish Art Camp*, where the youth talked *with* the art they made and the art of others, old and new vocabulary was elicited in creative ways that raised awareness about their gaps in lexicon. For example, in the context of creating the “Self-portrait with” drawings and accompanying poems, the youth needed vocabulary help with most of the objects that they chose to represent themselves. As illustrated below, Elvira initially wrote her list mostly in English (e.g. pencil case, water bottle, crochet hook, make-up) and then translated the words to Spanish for her poem:

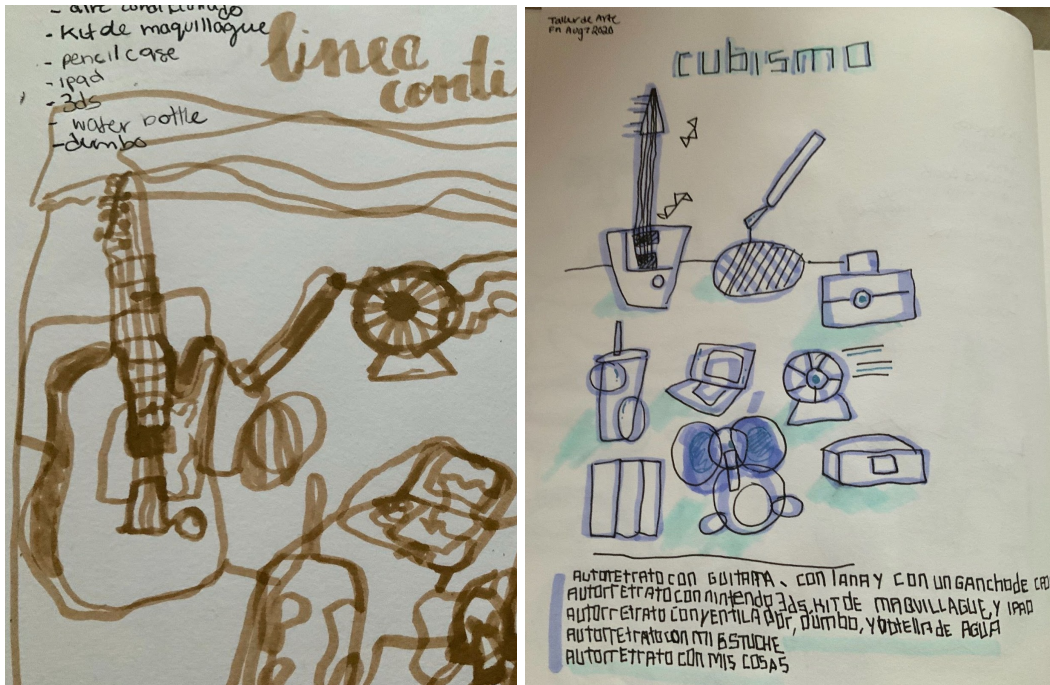


Figure 78: Elvira's *Autorretrato con* drawings and poem

Ximena also needed help with most of her objects, including *caja* (box), *guantes* (gloves), *clavel* (carnation), *pinel* (paintbrush), *novela gráfica* (graphic novel), and *bolígrafos de gel* (gel pens). Even though these are words of things that she sees around their house and/or uses regularly, she did not know how to say them in her HL. The combination of drawing the objects and writing the words in a poem helped her solidify the words. In the post-camp interview, Ximena shared that the camp “definitely” helped her move closer to her goal of improving her Spanish: “I had to learn different words. I had to find ways to express myself better.”²⁷³ Vocabulary is one of the main areas where she noticed improvement, not just refreshing words that she already knew, but also bringing new words into her working memory:

I've had “main Spanish words” in the front of my brain, but I have old Spanish words in the back. And thanks to Spanish camp, there's some words that I didn't even know I knew that just “woop!” (*motions to the front of her head*).²⁷⁴

²⁷³ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:22:43–00:22:49).

²⁷⁴ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:23:10–00:23:22).

Part of Ximena’s vocabulary development was due to the fact that she was diligent about writing down the new words she learned in Spanish throughout our art conversations: “Every single individual session, you would write them down. And I would make sure to either bring my sketchbook or a notebook and I would write them down.”²⁷⁵ Off the top of her head, Ximena recalled that she learned words for fabric and costume: “*La tela, el disfrazo*. I remember that, too. I remember that I jammed it into my brain. Like I’m going to say these words later, so better remember them now!”²⁷⁶ Indeed, Ximena did end up saying those words later and even using them on *Slack* when she described a costume that she made for her sister. Eva also remembered writing down new words: “*cuando tenemos* our individual calls, you would write them in the chat, and I’d write them in my sketchbook.”²⁷⁷ Marisol, whose “main goal [was] to expand [her] vocabulary” took notes as well and reported: “I did learn new words through art... specifically through poetry.”²⁷⁸ As discussed in the section on *Speaking*, the *Zoom* platform facilitated this vocabulary acquisition through screen-share of the multimodal (text/image) *Prezis* and the chat feature where I could write down the Spanish words when participants shifted to English. Daymé appreciated the *Zoom/Prezi* combination, as well, because that is how she learned new vocabulary of other Spanish varieties: “*cómo eran de otros países, aprendes, ‘ah, esta palabra o no lo uso mucho porque soy cubana,’ pero ellos lo usan y ya sé lo que quiere decir*”²⁷⁹ (since they were from other countries, you learn, “ah, I don’t use this word a lot because I am Cuban,” but they use it, and now I know what it means).

One of the most common misconceptions I come across is that only “art vocabulary” is learned in an arts-based language course (e.g., art history, techniques, materials, genres, subjects).

²⁷⁵ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:23:36–00:23:45).

²⁷⁶ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:24:03–00:24:16).

²⁷⁷ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:41:58–00:42:06).

²⁷⁸ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:55:41–00:55:49).

²⁷⁹ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:37:56–00:38:20).

En realidad, art is the medium through which we can learn vocabulary about a large variety of topics that are meaningful and relevant to our lives, from climate catastrophe and consumerism to emotional well-being and hobbies. That is why in Chapter 1, I defined *arts-based curricula* as a pedagogical practice where language is taught through the social process of engaging with art (both art-making and art-experiencing) in a community of practice. Since we listen, read, write, and speak about the lives of others to make sense of our own, this social and interactive approach to vocabulary learning was engaging to the teens. For example, in our camp, Carmen said that she learned “*palabras nuevas de los paisajes y de las cosas naturales*”²⁸⁰ (new words about landscapes and natural things). This was part of our first group art session (described in the section called *Nuestros paisajes / Our landscapes*), where we looked at *paisajes* kaleidoscopically—reviewing nature vocabulary through photographs of diverse landscapes in Latin America and Spain; exploring a series of landscape paintings by Pedro Figari, Pablo Picasso, Frida Kahlo, Oswaldo Guayasamin, and Salvador Dalí; discussing my Edmonton Arts Council-funded landscape painting en plein air project; sharing our own favourite landscapes throughout the world using the screen-sharing feature of *Zoom*. Many of the cognate landscape words were known to the teens (e.g., *el desierto, las islas, el lago, el volcán, las rocas, las montañas*), but others were more difficult to learn or recall (e.g., *el acantilado, la llanura, las cataratas*). Carmen appreciated the explicit vocabulary focus throughout the individual and group art sessions. So did Abina, who noted a “change in [her] ability to have proper vocabulary”²⁸¹ because of the image/word/action pairing, which is the way that her own mother teaches her Spanish: “when my mom would teach me the name of objects or items, she'd always point to it or action a verb out physically while saying it...sometimes she'd write it out.”²⁸²

²⁸⁰ From Carmen’s post-camp interview (00:39:40–00:39:49).

²⁸¹ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:35:52–00:36:03).

²⁸² From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:27:40–00:28:03).

Explicit vocabulary instruction is not at odds with an immersive arts-based pedagogy and curriculum. In fact, for HL learners, explicit vocabulary (and grammar) instruction can make the learning experience even more personalized and meaningful by helping them reach their own goals, thus aligning with an immersive TMP (*Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy*) and MLI (*Meaningful Literacy Instruction*) pedagogy. Eva said one of the most beneficial parts of the whole camp for her was:

When we went over emotions, because we kind of put a picture to the word, which helped me memorize a lot better... I remember you would, you would tell us the emotion and you'd give us like a certain time we to express that as well as we could.²⁸³

This timed emotions drawing challenge is described in detail in the section on *Los personajes y las emociones / Characters and emotions*. Eva also appreciated the vocabulary game with animated character *Homer Simpson* in different emotions: “In the presentation, you would give us examples of that emotion, but you didn't tell us the emotion we had to guess it,”²⁸⁴ adding, “I'm pretty, like, a visual person, and so it always helps me learn better,”²⁸⁵ and “it helps a lot to actually see how the word is written out, while you're saying it.”²⁸⁶

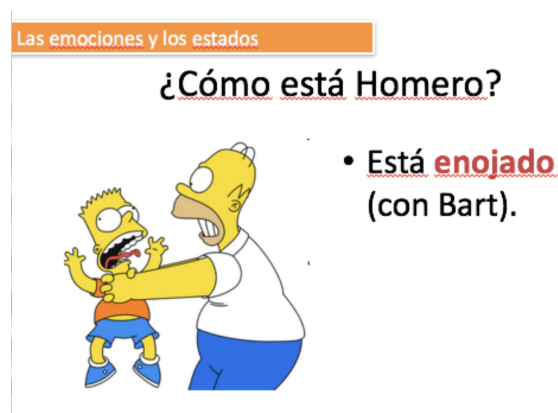


Figure 79: Screenshot of vocabulary game with cartoon character Homer Simpson

²⁸³ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:50:39–00:51:25).

²⁸⁴ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:51:41–00:51:57).

²⁸⁵ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:45:19–00:45:24).

²⁸⁶ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:44:53–00:45:03).

Hearing, seeing, decoding, understanding, and meaning-making through art added many layers to the HL vocabulary learning process. Expanding on the benefit of HL learning through visuals, Abina felt that the pictures in the *Prezis* were appealing and helped tremendously with learning new words “because it was an image with the word, so you get the connection more,”²⁸⁷ and went back to review the *Prezis* on her own time after our live lessons. Ximena believed that they were useful to strengthen sound and meaning: “not only would I read along with you, but I would listen to you. Because reading and listening, to me, that's the way to get it fully through.”²⁸⁸

It was not just visual art that elicited vocabulary of emotions. In our last group workshop, *Pintando la música / Painting music*, we recalled Spanish words and phrases to express emotions that we had previously learned/reviewed, but we did so through painting to music. Many camp participants referred to this group session as most enjoyable and worthwhile in terms of Spanish vocabulary practice. Manuel specifically connected to this project “*porque podría ser abstract y tener que ver mucho con, como, los sentimientos—cómo te sentías cuando escuchando música*”²⁸⁹ (because it could be abstract and it had to do with, like, emotions—how you feel when you’re listening to music). Abina, who defines herself as “very musical,”²⁹⁰ enjoyed learning and reviewing vocabulary through music and said that the “feelings [she] got when [she] listened to music” came out in “Spanish first.”²⁹¹ Meanwhile, Laura talked about the double learning of culture and vocabulary through music:

Estoy aprendiendo más el lenguaje del arte, relacionado con el arte... como con la música española y eso... como las canciones en español porque sí son diferentes a los que están en

I am learning more about the language of art, related to art... like music in Spanish... like the songs in Spanish, because they are different than those in English... it feels as if they are different styles.

²⁸⁷ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:27:04–00:27:08).

²⁸⁸ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:31:38–00:31:56).

²⁸⁹ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:12:45–00:12:53).

²⁹⁰ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:15:00–00:15:05).

²⁹¹ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:40:16–00:41:09).

<i>inglés...se siente como si, son como estilos diferentes.</i> ²⁹²	
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In sum, for HL learners who have either suffered language attrition or have never had the chance to learn vocabulary in their HL, explicit vocabulary instruction is necessary. Art can elicit a wide range of vocabulary in cultural contexts that youth find interesting and engaging, from paintings to animations to music. Teaching through open-ended discussion questions such as “What do you see/hear?”, “What does it remind you of?”, “What is the story or message of this work?”, or “What makes you say that?” deepens the opportunities for youth to expand their vocabulary through art prompts on any subject, not just art-related themes.

Language Awareness. The art-making process in our camp amplified self-reflection and consciousness, which increased language awareness among the participating youth and led to some personal change and transformation. In her post-camp interview, Eva shared:

I feel like the interviews really allowed for me to think about stuff and question things that I usually wouldn't, like, think about... I think questions on, you know, relationships with the language or analysis, in general, of Spanish. I feel like it was helpful and it also is something that I probably wouldn't have done as soon as I did, if I didn't have that push to really think about it.²⁹³

As Eva suggests, perhaps the youth would not have come to these questions in their adolescence were it not for this art camp that purposefully made space for thinking critically about language and culture. In order for me to answer my second research question (*How might arts-based practices support Spanish HL youth learners' language and literacy experiences and aspirations?*), the youth themselves had to become more self-aware of their own language and literacy experiences and aspirations, in order to share them with me. And since this study has

²⁹² From Laura's post-camp interview (00:16:00–00:16:30).

²⁹³ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:59:32–01:00:24).

theoretical commitments to *Sociocultural Theory*, the youth and I would often converse about their language in relation to the social contexts of their family, school, community, society, nation, and even globe. For many, this was the first time they ever responded to questions about their cultural identity, community belonging, or how their *habitus* (or environment, community, city, country) might impact their Spanish language use or loss (see Appendix E). They used phrases like “I realized,” or “Thinking back,” or “I think,” “I feel,” and “I have a theory as to” to show their ideas and changes in thinking. For instance, both Laura and Ximena realized through our camp that they do not *think* in Spanish. In Ximena’s words:

I think in English rather than Spanish, and I *want* to think in Spanish to help me, you know, keep it, but for some reason I don't think it. I don't think in Spanish and I have a theory as to why that is. It's more that I'm hindered. As in school, I have to speak English. And the more I'm used to speaking in English, the more I'm used to, in here, too (points to her head), because it's infecting my brain, if you know what I mean. And I spend, like, at least half the rest of the day at home, which I also speak some English in, so I don't have time to speak in Spanish or think it... There's more English speaking people I know of, like school, and they don't really—and whenever I speak Spanish, they'll be like, "English, please!" And I'll be like, "no, but I want to practice some Spanish!" I want to.. I want to say stuff in Spanish. And they're like, "No!"²⁹⁴

These realizations led to more and more stories from Ximena’s childhood that painted a picture of a *habitus* that did not always support her Spanish²⁹⁵:

Sometimes I accidentally switch to Spanish and then people were like "English, please, I don't understand." I have in the past, I believe in pre-school, from what I've heard, I have

²⁹⁴ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:52:28–00:55:16)

²⁹⁵ Similar encounters with linguistic bullying, linguisticism, and prejudice in our Anglocentric *habitus* of Alberta were shared in the section on *Vocabulary development*, and will also be touched upon in the section on *Freedom of self-expression in the HL*.

been bullied for it. Because I was.. When I was in pre-school, I was mixing up Spanish and English, so it'd be a mix of words like, I don't know, let's say a table, or, no, cup. Taza and cup. And I would like, mix it into some weird mutant English/Spanish thing.²⁹⁶

Part of Ximena's transformation included realizing the importance of a Spanish-speaking community for her HLDM:

There's church programs and there's also, like... My mom has a Latina group that sometimes they go... We go to a party. We act like this little mini community. We all stick together. So that helps. And also Spanish art camps like this.²⁹⁷

Similarly to Ximena, thirteen-year-old Marisol also picked up on this “English, please” underlying expectation of society and reflected: “I think because we're in this environment that doesn't—not necessarily pressure because pressure is not the right word—but tell us to speak in Spanish,”²⁹⁸ adding “I think English kind of overpowers all the other languages.”²⁹⁹ A shift in awareness happened for Marisol, as she realized that even if the environment does not *tell* you to speak in Spanish, and even if English overpowers all other languages, you can still make space for your Heritage Language in and outside of your home. And as Daymé powerfully reflected, it is empowering when you speak another tongue: “*Cuando hablas otro idioma en este país te da como una sensación de poder. Me gusta.*”³⁰⁰ (When you speak another language in this country, it gives you a sensation of power. I like it).

The role of awareness in art-making is extremely important. We make art to become *aware* of what we do, think, feel, and *why*. Similarly, the power of ABR lies in its capaciousness and capacity to turn “learners, teachers, and researchers to their emotions, senses, intuition,

²⁹⁶ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:55:24–00:55:59).

²⁹⁷ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:53:48– 00:54:09).

²⁹⁸ From Marisol's post-camp interview (01:09:18–01:09:30).

²⁹⁹ From Marisol's post-camp interview (01:12:59–01:13:11).

³⁰⁰ From Daymé's post-camp interview (00:24:42–00:25:35).

imagination, and feeling, aspects of humanity that reveal our relational coexistence in an interconnected world” (Fidyk, 2015, p. 33). I am reminded of McDermott (2010) who looks at the success of ABR research in terms of the transformation it provokes, asking whom and what purpose does a work serve, and whether it contributes to change. If this study was successful, it is because the nine HL learners tuned into their own emotions, senses, intuition, imagination, and feeling, which all contributed to raising their awareness of language and power.

ABC Can Facilitate Identity Exploration and Relationship Building in the HL

As I conveyed in Chapter 5: Participant Portraits, each youth in this study felt that being able to express themselves in their Heritage Language was important in their identity development. In this section, I would like to explore this further through their artworks and poetry created in the digital *Spanish Art Camp*. Through their research with HL learners in Britain, Anderson, Chung and Macleroy (2018) showed that art and digital storytelling “not only engaged students with language learning but also provided a new basis for the construction of ‘possible selves’” (p. 204). Likewise, in this study, art facilitated personal and social identity exploration at the intersection of language, culture, and belonging. In the following sections, I will share findings related to participants creating *identity texts* (e.g. language portraits, bilingual video poems), expressing their hybrid identities through Spanglish, and engaging with the arts for social justice and critical literacy.

Creating Meaningful Identity Texts. Working in and through creative media such as poetry or video does not reproduce shallow, surface-level engagements with identity, language, and culture. Instead, it allows for a profound examination of the complex and sometimes contradictory stories we tell ourselves about who we are, and how they shape our ways of seeing, being, and relating in the world. This is at the heart of a *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009) which “enables students to construct knowledge, create literature and art, and

act on social realities through dialogue and critical inquiry” (p. 51) through the creation of *identity texts*. *Identity texts* can be “written, spoken, visual, musical, dramatic, or combinations in multimodal form” (p. 52) and they always involve identity negotiation (Cummins, 2006). In this study, I put Cummins’s words into intentional and conscious practice. It could be argued that most of the projects in our camp were *identity texts* because through creating them, the youth were faced with negotiating their “possible selves” and articulating their feelings, thoughts, and ideas in their Heritage Language. For example, the *language portraits* that I presented in Chapter 5: Participant Portraits revealed the youths’ perceptions, emotions, histories, and relationships with (and between) their languages through colour, shape, line, and texture. This symbolic and imaginal representation allowed the youth to think and *feel* through different aspects of their identities that words alone may not have exposed, which is a key facet of ABR.

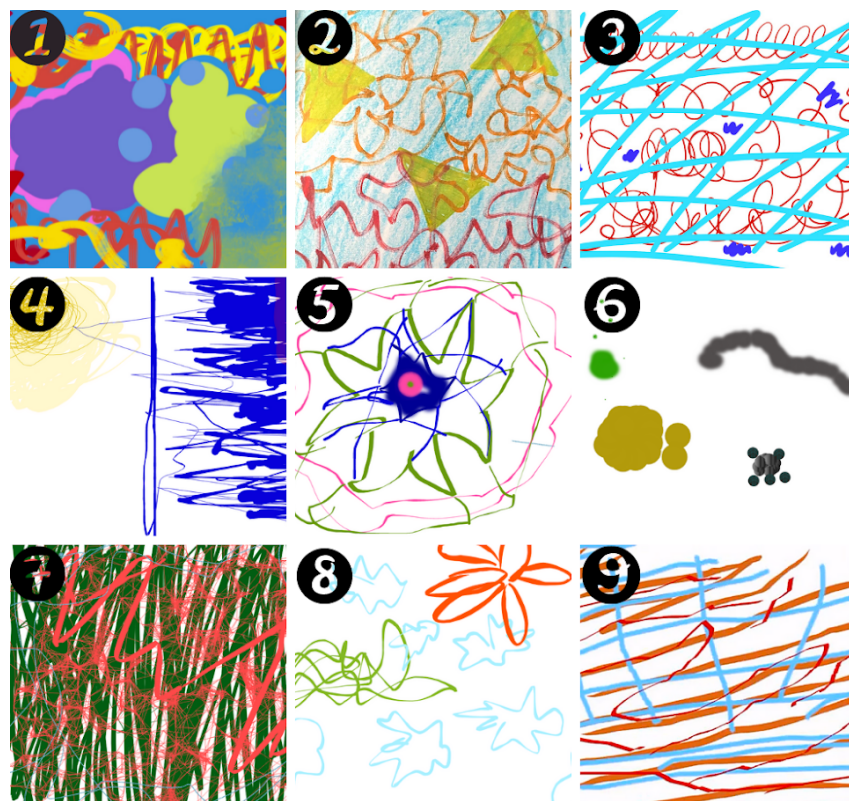


Figure 80: A collage of the youths’ language portraits: (1) Elvira, (2) Eva, (3) Daymé, (4) Manuel, (5) Laura, (6) Abina, (7) Carmen, (8) Ximena, and (9) Marisol.

While narrating and drawing their language portraits live on *Sketchpad*, the youth offered a rich glimpse into their inner and social worlds as *they* saw them, including the *microsystem* they inhabit (e.g., family stories; home language habits), *mesosystem* (e.g., school experiences; community belonging), *exosystem* (e.g., how languages are valued through laws or policies), and *macrosystem* (e.g., societal attitudes towards Spanish). The older teen participants including Daymé, Elvira, Ximena, Carmen, and Eva proved to be hyper aware of the power and status struggles between their languages not only in society but within their own bodies and minds. Though their personal stories varied widely (e.g., when, why, and how they arrived in Canada), they all seemed to have one thing in common: all nine youth in the study expressed that English is their dominant language. Some were fearful of losing their HL (and therefore their link to their family, culture, and identity). These feelings were explored through projects such as the bilingual video poems.

Daymé, who had depicted English as “trying to cover the mother tongue” in her language portrait, continued to express this idea in her video poem. In the following excerpt of her poem in Spanish, she contemplated the fear of losing her Cuban culture and first language:

<p><i>Mi memoria coge momentos reales y sueños y los mezcla making me guess which ones are valid. Se me olvidan las palabras y me congelo. No sé si mi acento cubano está overcompensating por la cultura que temo perder. ¿La perderé? Mi inglés domina mientras que mi español se faja por sobrevivir.</i></p>	<p>My memory takes real moments and dreams and mixes them, making me guess which ones are valid. I forget words and I freeze. I don't know if my Cuban accent is overcompensating for the culture I fear I will lose. Will I lose it? My English dominates while my Spanish fights to survive.</p>
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In her video poem, where she narrated this poem and illustrated it with short montaged videos, Daymé filmed a candle being blown out for the last two lines (*Mi inglés domina mientras que mi*

español se faja por sobrevivir / My English dominates while my Spanish fights to survive)—a powerful metaphor of the fear of her Heritage Language being extinguished over time.



Figure 81: Screenshots of Daymé’s video poem

Daymé’s vulnerability, questions, and worries about her Spanish language and culture fighting to survive may not have surfaced without poetry and art—these sensorial, symbolic, and imaginal ways of coming to know can be a great source of introspection and emotional exploration.

Indeed, a poem is a tangible and visceral map of our feelings. A poem can emerge from our bodies in one, two, or more languages. Therefore, *identity texts* for Spanish HL learners do not necessarily have to be only in Spanish. In this next poem, Elvira explores how she feels about her Spanish, but in English:

My Spanish is kinda dumb because I cannot understand myself.
 My Spanish is someone who just learned how to read
 and is now reading Shakespeare.
 Sometimes it comes to me easily.
 Sometimes it doesn’t.
 My Spanish is my family, my old life.
 That’s isn’t bad. It’s cherishable.
 My Spanish is people thinking I’m “exotic.”
 My Spanish is a way to amuse white moms.
 My Spanish is an icebreaker when I introduce myself at camp.
 My Spanish is why my substitute teachers like me.
 “Say something in Spanish.”
 “*Tu culo huele mal.*”
 “What did you say?”
 “I said you’re a really good friend.”
 My Spanish is like an old tin can in a dump.
 It’s rusty and crusty and breaking apart.
 My Spanish loves to taunt me.

As we see, Elvira describes her Spanish with decaying words like *rusty* and *crusty*. It is *breaking apart* and *taunting her* in the process of breaking. But she also deems it *cherishable*—something to protect and treat with tender affection—as it connects her to *family* and her *old life*. In her new country, the thirteen-year-old reveals, in a sardonic tone, how other people view her Spanish (*a way to amuse white moms; an icebreaker; why substitute teachers like me*). She also subtly resists reductive and performative portrayals of her identity, translating incorrectly and humorously “*tu culo huele mal*” (your butt stinks). After she read this poem to me, she elaborated, “people romanticize me being Spanish,”³⁰¹ for instance her friends’ moms: “*si estoy hablando con una madre de una amiga o algo asi, dicen*, (if I am speaking with a friend’s mom, they say) ‘I went to Spain!...Oh my God, tell me about it! It’s such a romantic language! It’s so beautiful!’”³⁰² In addition, according to Elvira, Anglophones in Edmonton hold misconceptions about her heritage, for instance, assuming that she is from Mexico because she speaks Spanish, or that she is “oppressed” because she is an immigrant, which she was baffled by, as a white European:

People, when I say Spanish, they think Mexico. And they’re like “wow that’s so weird. You’re so different.” I’m like, no I’m white. I’m European. I just hear “Oh, so you’re not like *us*. You’re, like, exotic.” No, I’m white, I’m from Spain...Just because I’m from Spain doesn’t mean that I change as a person randomly, or I’m this oppressed person.³⁰³

Elvira points out that when people find out that she speaks Spanish in Edmonton, they treat her differently, using her Spanish language and culture to make assumptions about her racial and class identity. She clarifies:

I haven’t been ever oppressed because of my being from Spain, because Spain is in Europe. It’s not like I could ever understand what someone else has gone through with

³⁰¹ From Elvira’s fourth individual art session (1:00:55–1:00:57).

³⁰² From Elvira’s fourth individual art session (1:00:01–1:00:30).

³⁰³ From Elvira’s fourth individual art session (1:02:18–1:04:24).

people thinking they're different in the sense of what they look like or what they sound like because they have an accent.³⁰⁴

Despite being a white European, people use words like *weird*, *different*, *exotic*, and *not like us* to describe Elvira, which points to the deeply-ingrained Anglocentric monolingual/monocultural “norm” that has a hegemonic hold in the macrosystem and bleeds down into her mesosystem.

As if to describe and assert her *own* English, and her own hybrid identity, through the pen, Elvira wrote the following poem in just five minutes of inkshedding:

My English is blue *labadeelabada*.
 My English is *haha I made a funny*.
 My English is *frog lmao*.
 Friends be like “wow that’s crazy you speaking in tongues”
 when I use higher vocabulary.
 They think “damn she think she’s better
 than me because she speaks in thesaurus.”
 My English is the opposite too.
 My English is pronouncing very like berry
 and berry like very.
 “Haha you said a word weird
 it’s shrimp not shrump.”
 My English will go fast like a race car and
 then crash into the pole and then back into
 the road like nothing happened.
 My English will be me having fun and
 an intellectual thinking I’m dumb.
 My English is dumb. My English is douchie.
 My English is “you can’t have fun and act like you don’t know anything
 because that makes it true. And you’re inferior.”
 My English is sighing at dumbness.
 My English is sighing at smartness.
 My English is tubular.
 My English is astronomical.
 It’s groovy
 and it’s mind-boggling.
 It’s sick
 and it’s wicked.

³⁰⁴ From Elvira’s fourth individual art session (1:02:18–1:04:24).

Collaging such fascinating adjectives (*douchie, astronomical*), images (*race car, tubular*), phrases (“*haha you said a word weird*”), and popular culture references (Eiffel 65’s “Blue” song), Elvira’s poem is the perfect example of how identity is made up of juxtapositions, paradoxes, ambiguities, and tensions. Our languages, under different situations, make us feel both dumb and smart, both eloquent and insufficient, grasping for words. As a Spanish speaker, Elvira is also well aware that she is creating an English of her own: tubular, astronomical, groovy, sick, and wicked. In fact, it was these last lines of her inkshed that she chose to convert into a video poem, with a surprising and unexpected montage of images. Though Elvira is mindful that other people judge her for the way she speaks both languages, she has no intention of changing who she is or how she speaks.

Another example of fascinating paradoxes and tensions lies in Ximena’s *identity texts*, such as the following two poems reflecting on her relationship to Spanish and English:

My Spanish

My Spanish is... all over the place
 neither here or there, but rather everywhere
 My Spanish is fueled by love, places, feeling
 My Spanish is tired and yet hyper
 My Spanish is calm, always setting like the sun
 always used at the end to add one last
 “Horay” at the end of the day, or perhaps
 it’s beauty is so emens, that it’s saved for last.
 My Spanish is, and forever will be, a part of me.
 My Spanish has certain colours and smells
 along with feelings. It’s sacred to me because
 as I write, it’s more than just a laugh, a
 joke, a food, a spice, music, and a place.

My English

My English is stuck, trying to move
 around but stuck in dirty mud, cleaning it
 it with new words and phrases to make it
 seem clean and RICH doesn’t help.
 My English is broken yet complete
 it wears a mask to hide its inscurities.

My English struggles to tie loose ends
 and keep me fed with knowledge.
 Despite my English struggling before and
 now, what it lacks in words and
 understanding, it makes up with
 feelings and emotions so strong, anything
 is possible.
 My English is insecure, no doubt
 but it'll find a way out.

In these poems, we see the complexities and contradictions of how languages live within us. Upon first glance, we see Ximena describing her Heritage Language with words like *love, feeling, calm, beauty, and sacred*, meanwhile her English is *stuck, dirty, broken, mask, struggling, and insecure*, which undoubtedly points to an inner tension between her two tongues. But reading closer, we see that her English is *broken yet complete* and her Spanish is *tired and yet hyper and all over the place*. The capaciousness of poetry is that it can house these paradoxes (this *yet* also *this*). It can also house linguistic experimentation perhaps better than any other literary genre or art medium, sometimes blurring boundaries between languages themselves. In this vein, next, I will share insight related to Spanglish, code-switching, and identity creation in the youths' creative production.

Spanglish: Un Puré De Impurezas. In their pre-camp interviews, five of the nine teens disclosed that they expressed themselves in “Spanglish” in their households (Elvira, Daymé, Eva, Abina, and Ximena). Elvira called Spanglish her home language, declaring “*con mis padres hablo Spanglish*”³⁰⁵ (I speak Spanglish with my parents). Likewise, Eva mentioned, “I try to communicate back and forth in Spanglish to my mom.”³⁰⁶ When I asked Abina why she and her mother use Spanglish, she said “creativity.”³⁰⁷ Similarly, Ximena said that she speaks Spanglish

³⁰⁵ From Elvira's pre-camp interview (00:26:16–00:26:20).

³⁰⁶ From Eva's pre-camp interview (00:24:32–00:24:35).

³⁰⁷ From Abina's pre-camp interview (01:09:09–01:09:20).

because it is “part of [her] personality.”³⁰⁸ Daymé shared: “*yo pienso en Spanglish*”³⁰⁹ (I think in Spanglish). These five participants and others in the study, created artworks and *identity texts* that incorporated Spanglish. But what exactly is Spanglish, and how might it impact youths’ Spanish HLDM in Alberta and their identity development?

According to Mexican-American cultural theorist Ilan Stavans (2003), Spanglish is “the verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano civilizations” (p. 21). Stavans cautions that Spanglish is not a purely linguistic phenomenon (that is, code-switching), nor is it limited to the United States: “*se habla el espanglés* everywhere these days” (p. 5). In fact, there are many varieties of Spanglish, as there are speakers and communities in and outside of Latin America who contend with “English as a merciless global force” (p. 5). Throughout Stavans’ influential work, he has shown that Spanglish is a creative collage of two languages representing a mishmash or fusion of two identities. In other words, what you speak is what you *are*. But Spanglish continues to be quite controversial. There are many prominent researchers and literary figures who feel that Spanglish is linguistically “impure”—a bastard jargon spoken (or broken) by those, who are no longer fluent in the language of Cervantes, and have not yet mastered that of Shakespeare . Stavans shows how Spanglish has been denigrated as a shameful phenomenon unworthy of study, a sign of lack of education, class, and integration—an obstacle for Latinx people on the road to learning English or retaining their native Spanish. Even revered Nobel-winning poet Octavio Paz said Spanglish “*ni es bueno ni es malo, sino abominable*” (is neither good nor bad, but abominable) (as cited in Stavans, 2003, p. 4³¹⁰). But the truth is that millions of people use varieties of Spanglish daily and code-switch effortlessly as part of their identity and lived realities, sometimes regardless of their language proficiencies in English or Spanish. In Edmonton’s Latinx

³⁰⁸ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (00:56:56–00:57:00).

³⁰⁹ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:18:41–00:18:42)

³¹⁰ Ilan Stavans does not cite a date for when Octavio Paz said this to reporters.

communities, varieties of Spanglish are widely heard and spoken in *espacios híbridos* (hybrid spaces) where English and Spanish come into contact. Thus, any study on youth Spanish HLDM should also take into account how Spanglish plays a role in bridging the gap between youths' cultures and languages and constructing their identities. For example, in Ximena's poem, "I feel like a spy" she chose to express herself in Spanglish:

<p>I feel like a spy</p> <p>No puedo escribir bien en español pero lo que me falta en palabras, trato de compensar el entusiasmo.</p> <p>me siento como una spy neither one thing o otro I don't belong a una sola cultura.</p>	<p>I feel like a spy</p> <p>I can't write well in Spanish but what I lack in words I compensate with enthusiasm.</p> <p>I feel like a spy neither one thing or another I don't belong to only one culture.</p>
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Similar to the bilingual feel and playful tone of Tato Laviera's (1979) poem "my graduation speech—where he divulges, "i think in spanish / i write in english... *tengo las venas aculturadas / escribo en spanglish*" (p. 17)—Ximena says she does not wholly belong to one culture and feels like a "spy." This poem provides evidence for Guardado's (2010) idea that HL learners, like Generation 1.5 and Third Culture Kids, are effortlessly "able to move across generational, cultural, and linguistic boundaries in their social lives" (p. 332). As Guardado puts it,

Their ability to function and feel comfortable in different physical and symbolic spaces is related to their greater adaptability, transnational experiences, and cosmopolitanism as evidenced by their creativity and ability to simultaneously identify with both their ethnic past and their adopted society. (p. 332)

Ximena was quite enthusiastic when speaking about feeling like a "spy," which she also called "secret agent" and "double agent," as if she had a special superpower within each culture: "when

I'm in Mexico, I feel a part of the crowd. I blend in. I feel like everyone else. I feel like a secret agent.”³¹¹ A spy is also someone on a *mission*, always aware and on the lookout for something hidden or secret with her two selves and two cultures. A spy lives at the intersections of worlds. A poet is a spy because she also secretly collects and reports information. In this vein, Ximena’s poem code-switches much like a spy would speak in a code that only a select few can detect. She was inspired by bilingual poets like Laviera, who uses Spanglish in his poetic works for personal as well as political and cultural reasons, to show how languages are not static, but ever evolving, mixing, colliding, clashing, and of course, creating. As Ilan Stavans (2003) says, Spanglish should not be a binary question of either/or (either you speak Spanish or you speak Spanglish): “to study Spanglish isn’t to endorse its future, thus undermining el español... on the contrary, to scrutinize is to better understand where we come from and who we are” (p. 50). Likewise, researchers and educators interested in Spanish HLDM need not look upon the use of Spanglish in a deficit way, as a sign of failure, impurity, laziness, or linguistic chaos, because language is always messy, “*un puré de impurezas*” (a purée of impurity), and identity is equally messy: un “*ajiaco de contradicciones*” (a stew of contradictions), as Gustavo Perez Firmat (1995) depicts it in his poem “Bilingual Blues.” Thus, studying Spanglish or “allowing” it in an HL classroom becomes an axiological (ethical) question: What knowledge is worth knowing about ourselves and the world? Which linguistic modes of expressions are allowed to count as legitimate?

If HL learners use Spanglish, they should not be shamed, but encouraged to explore the how/why/when of their use in a *creative translanguaging space* (Bradley et. al, 2018) that does not denigrate their identities in the quest of “proper” Spanish HLDM. Moreover, making space for creative expression in English also proved to be fruitful for HL learners in this study in their quest

³¹¹ From Ximena’s pre-camp interview (00:25:05–00:25:17).

of exploring who they are through metaphor, simile, and imagery. In Laura's poem below, we see more of these complex relationships come to life:

My Spanish is dusty like every single dress that I own.
 My Spanish helps with French.
 My Spanish has limited vocabulary like my sister has a limited ability to not annoy me.
 My Spanish is lacking, like my ideas at the moment.
 My Spanish has too much fancy wording and too many accents.
 My Spanish is like me, running out of ideas.

In a typical Spanish FL, SL, or even HL language class, experimental poems like these would not usually be encouraged. This would limit both learners and educators from experimenting and exploring their developing identities and relationships to the language. Teaching and learning language through the arts does not aim at reductive views of language, culture, and identity but expands them. Inkshedding and poetry, regardless of whether they emerge in Spanish (like Daymé's poem), English (Elvira, Laura), or Spanglish (Ximena), offer valuable strategies for symbolic creativity, "not because it *improves* learning but because it *is* learning" (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 227, emphasis in original).

Art, Identity, Social Justice, and Critical Literacy. The nine participating HL youths' identity explorations also included a commitment to social justice issues. They felt a strong need to "act on [their] social realities through dialogue and critical inquiry" (Cummins, 2009, p. 51), which is a principle of TMP, and they often had not had the chance to express themselves on these issues in Spanish. As presented in the section on *Freedom of self-expression in the HL*, when given the opportunity to discuss and brainstorm issues that they were passionate enough about to protest through art, the youth came up with over thirty causes related to social and environmental injustice, from human trafficking to police brutality, from systemic racism to how fast fashion destroys both human lives and the environment. Art and activism seemed to go hand in hand: as

Manuel said, “if you wanted to make a statement, ideally, you'd do it through art,”³¹² and as Ximena powerfully remarked, “I have a feeling that this generation is done feeling helpless.”³¹³ Even those who did not identify as “activists,” such as thirteen-year-old Elvira, were still exceptionally passionate and knowledgeable about a variety of causes, from corporate crime in environmental pollution to tangible actions in mental health:

<p><i>Una activista es una cosa muy allá, pero.. A mi me encanta como.. tengo una causa muy grande, como por el environment y la naturaleza, porque si yo estoy contra muchas corporaciones grandes y no me gusta nada lo que hacen. Yo intento get the message out there, que si no paramos nos vamos a morir todos.</i>³¹⁴</p> <p><i>Y todo el mundo está diciendo como a, "hablamos mucho de esto, estamos muy con esto," pero después no hacen nada. Es mucho hablar y no hacen nada. Especially el problema mayoría con lo de mental health advocacy, porque siempre es advocacy, pero después, cuando tienes que hacer algo para ayudar a otras personas, no hacen nada.</i>³¹⁵</p>	<p>An activist is a very out-there thing, but I love how.. I have a very big cause, like for the environment and nature, because I am very much against big corporations and I don't like anything they do. I try to get the message out there, that if we don't stop we are all going to die.</p> <p>And everyone is saying “we talk a lot about that, we stand with you,” but after, they do not do anything. It's all talk, no action. Especially with the major problem of mental health advocacy, because it's always advocacy, but after, when you have to do things to help other people, they don't do anything.</p>
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Making, experiencing, and discussing art proved to be important for youths' critical literacy, or interpreting their complex social realities through a critical lens. As Eva described the process:

I think it's very crucial, actually. Because media right now is very like black and white, you know? You'll see really graphic images and you'll see really graphic write-ups or descriptions, but I feel like you also need interpretation that I feel art really allows a person to express themselves a lot better.³¹⁶

³¹² From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:57:45–00:57:54).

³¹³ From Ximena's post-camp interview (01:05:39–01:05:46).

³¹⁴ From Elvira's third individual art session (00:15:53–00:16:25).

³¹⁵ From Elvira's third individual art session (01:15:16–01:15:38).

³¹⁶ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:58:24–00:58:57).

Art particularly allows for these gray and ambiguous areas to be explored, including cultural references and messages that are intended or unintended by the artist, because “*que está pasando en el mundo se va a transfer a tu arte*” (what is happening in the world will transfer to your art), in Ximena’s words:

<p><i>Arte siempre va a tener un mensaje, si quieres o no. Como, si lo quieres como secretos—sí puede hacer eso. Pero si no lo estás haciendo, alguien va a encontrar algo adentro, un secreto que tú no sabis.. tú no sabiste, pero como es tu arte, estás proyectando tú en tu arte. Lo vas a encontrar. No necesitas ser un activista porque que está pasando en el mundo se va a transfer a tu arte.</i>³¹⁷</p>	<p>Art is always going to have a message, whether you like it or not. Like, if you want to make it a secret, you can do that. But if you don’t do that, someone is going to find something inside, a secret that you didn’t know about, but because it is your art, you are projecting yourself in it. You will find it. You don’t have to be an activist because what is happening in the world will transfer to your art.</p>
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Fascinatingly, the teens made artworks not always directly related to their own identities, but in solidarity with others. For instance, Ximena created an artwork in solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement that was gaining momentum in the summer of 2020, when our camp took place. When I asked her why she chose that topic, she spoke of BLM in terms of solidarity between communities:

*Porque ellos, Black lives, no son tan diferente de Asians o Chinese, o mexicanos, o italianos. (Because they, Black lives, are not that different from Asians or Chinese or Mexicans or Italians). We're all the same people. We all have the same heart. And the fact that they're being treated differently just because they look different, and think different, and act different, is just wrong.*³¹⁸

Ximena also spoke passionately about LGBTQ issues. When I inquired as to why she was so passionate about these issues, she replied:

³¹⁷ From Ximena’s third individual art session (00:35:24–00:35:56).

³¹⁸ From Ximena’s third individual art session (00:51:35–00:51:53).

<p><i>Bueno, porque tengo amigas que también que son de LGBTQ, y como yo soy su amiga, le quiero ayudar mucho. Y cuando pienso de LGBTQ, pienso de mi amigas y cuando pienso de mi amigas, yo pienso todo en esos, en el LGBTQ community son como mi amigos. Todos son muy loving.³¹⁹</i></p>	<p>Well, because I have friends who are LGBTQ, and because I am their friend, I would like to help them a lot. And when I think of LGBTQ people, I think of my friends and when I think of my friends, I think of the whole LGBTQ community, who are all my friends. They are all very loving.</p>
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Daymé and Carmen also spoke fervently about LGBTQ struggles, such as societal acceptance, transgender healthcare, and disappointment in beloved children’s author J.K. Rowling’s transphobic views. Daymé even made an art project titled “¿Por qué? / Why?” standing in allyship with the LGBTQ community, and in retrospect, that was her favourite art project “*porque dicen muchas cosas. Es un arte que tiene un, un como, un purpose. No sé cómo se dice.*”³²⁰ (because it says a lot of things. It’s a type of art that has, like, a purpose. I don’t know how to say that). In this sense, the young artists are working with and through a “creative solidarity” (Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2012) and “the possibility of new ways of making, of feeling, of creating, of loving” (p. 58).

But despite their passion for social issues, while we were making art and chatting together, Ximena claimed that her generation, Gen Z, was always framed in a bad light:

<p><i>Yo no sé si ves, pero las noticias están diciendo que Gen Z y todo esto que, que estamos malos y que estamos quebrando cosas. Y parte de nosotros.. hay personas que sí están quebrando cosas, pero no son como Gen Z. Que estamos, estamos todos juntos y estamos tratando a fix everything. Pero como lo adultos que están, creen que somos kids. Que, no creen que lo podemos hacer y vamos a quebrar cosas. Nos están pintando malo.³²¹</i></p>	<p>I don’t know if you see it, but the news are saying that Gen Z and everyone, that we are bad and breaking things. And some of us.. There are people who are breaking things, but they’re not Gen Z. We are all together, trying to fix everything. But the adults that are around, they believe we’re kids. They think that we cannot do it and that we will break things. They are painting us in a bad light.</p>
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³¹⁹ From Ximena’s third individual art session (00:51:02–00:51:23).

³²⁰ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:22:09–00:22:18).

³²¹ From Ximena’s third individual art session (01:02:25–01:03:04)

The fifteen-year-old followed up this observation with an incredibly wise and insightful narrative anecdote on how we all play a role, big or small, in anti-racism and social justice issues:

<p><i>Hablé con una amiga, Delia. Es mi neighbour. Y fui a su casa—mi hermana está jugando con la más chiquita hermana—y estaba en su cuarto y estamos hablando de esto. Que estamos, que todos, cuando ves de los videos que personas están protesting y ves que están peleando para rights y todo esto, y te sientes malo porque estás en tu casa, estás safe, y todo esto, y te sientes malo. You feel guilty. Pero me recordé que we all have a role. Whether it's big or small. Whether it's being in the front lines, or donating.³²²</i></p>	<p>I was talking with a friend, Delia. She is my neighbour. And I went to her house—my sister is playing with her younger sister—and I was in her bedroom and we were talking about this: that we are, that all of us, when you see videos of others protesting and you see that they're fighting for rights and everything, and you feel bad because you're in your house, you're safe and everything, and you feel bad. But I remembered that we all have a role. Whether it's big or small. Whether it's being in the front lines, or donating.</p>
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In sum, HL learners have a wealth of passions, knowledge, and insights on social justice issues.

However, these insights are not often taken into consideration in their HL education. An arts-based language pedagogy honours HL learners' thoughts, dreams, fears, and passions and promotes critical literacy and anti-racism. I will expand on the importance of this in the upcoming section on *Freedom of self-expression in the HL*.

Intergenerational Relationship Building. Arts-based curricula helped build stronger intergenerational relationships in the microsystem, which had positive effects on the youths' HL development and maintenance. For example, because of the *Spanish Art Camp*, Eva said she changed her habits of speaking to her family: "I've started speaking more Spanish with my mom. I've become less, like, scared or embarrassed and she's been really understanding and supportive throughout the whole art camp process. She's just happy that I want to continue learning it."³²³ Eva frequently sought help from her mother, especially with the writing activities in our camp: "She's

³²² From Ximena's third individual art session (01:04:28–01:05:07).

³²³ From Eva's post-camp interview (01:04:51–01:05:13).

been a great proofreader for me. I'll read it out to her and then she'll be like, oh, maybe use this word instead or, you know, with spelling as well.”³²⁴ Not only did the camp help meet Eva's aspirations of speaking more Spanish with her mother, but it also helped her begin to overcome fear and embarrassment when it came to expressing herself in the HL. Eva, whose first spoken words to me on Zoom were “*mi español no está tan bueno*” (My Spanish is not that good), and who wanted to do her pre-camp interview in English, felt her confidence and agency grow throughout the camp; in fact, she chose to do her post-camp interview mostly in Spanish. Moreover, she became more self-aware towards the end of the camp about the importance of her family to her Spanish development: “I think having healthy relationships with friends or family can really benefit you when you're trying to practice your language. It's kind of about feeling safe in that environment.”³²⁵ Family love and support can disrupt fear, shame, and other assimilatory pressures that impact HLDM. Specifically, the teens reported that their mothers and grandmothers provided tremendous encouragement, increasing their desire to learn and maintain their HL. This bond was especially strong for Abina, Eva, Marisol, Daymé, and Ximena—who frequently referenced their *mamá* or *abuela*—but this was also true for Manuel, Elvira, Laura, and Carmen (after all, it was their mothers who found out about this *Spanish Art Camp* and enrolled them).

Marisol's main HL goal was also to maintain her Spanish speaking skills to communicate as much as possible at home with her parents, sister, and grandmother: “I think I've only ever had one goal and that goal has been to speak as much as I can with my family.”³²⁶ She expressed that the camp helped achieve her goal of speaking more with family because the immersive and supportive nature of the camp helped create an environment conducive to Spanish speaking:

³²⁴ From Eva's post-camp interview (01:05:24–01:05:54).

³²⁵ From Eva's post-camp interview (01:02:31–01:03:01).

³²⁶ From Marisol's post-camp interview (01:08:09–01:08:17).

the whole camp was in a Spanish atmosphere. You were talking Spanish, and you would recommend that everyone else talk Spanish and how you would, if someone said an English word, you would put the translation in Spanish and, it kind of, like, pushes into using more Spanish in the camp. I guess that influenced me, and everyone else, to use Spanish.³²⁷

Similarly, Ximena said that she is “definitely” more motivated to speak in Spanish to family after the camp,³²⁸ recognizing that her family is crucial in maintaining her Spanish: “what can help me keep my language is my family. Speaking more to them in Spanish and saying, ‘hey, how do you say this word in Spanish again?’ And learning it.”³²⁹ The intergenerational relationship building that ABC allowed sometimes also involved younger siblings. Ximena would share costumes she would make for her little sister, whom she involved in her art projects, on *Slack* (See the section on *Feeling inspired in a community*). If the study would have taken place in person at the Art Gallery of Alberta, and not online due to the COVID-19 pandemic (See the section on *How COVID-19 impacted this study*), I believe that the youths’ families could have been even more involved in the *Spanish Art Camp*. Future research should definitely investigate how youth and their parents, grandparents, and siblings could all participate in immersive HL family arts programming together, which I speak to more in the section on *Considerations*.

This study’s participants all had the desire to increase their HLDM and intergenerational communication, but many worried about losing their language unless they actively found consistent chances to interact with Spanish-speakers in their mesosystem, such as in this *Spanish Art Camp*. Using Fishman’s (1991) *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (GIDS) terminology, they were worried that their own range of Spanish use would remain at Stage 7 (used

³²⁷ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:30:33–00:31:00).

³²⁸ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:52:06– 00:52:07).

³²⁹ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:51:41–00:51:54).

for modest intergenerational communication in the home) and never become more robust across different domains of their lives such as in interfamily interactions (Stage 6), school and community (Stage 4 and 5), workplaces (Stage 3), or their future occupation and post-secondary studies (Stages 2 and 1).

ABC Can Boost HL Learner Engagement and Motivation

Having Fun in the HL. Having fun is an important emotional hook when motivating adolescents to develop, practice, and maintain their Heritage Languages. During the *Spanish Art Camp*, I observed frequent laughter and smiles, and the youth stated on several occasions *que se divertieron* (that they had fun) practicing their language through the art instruction, activities, and projects. In their own words:

Abina: “It was very fun. I got to do a lot of art.”³³⁰

Marisol: “I think overall it was just very, very fun. I learned a lot.”³³¹

Daymé: “*Fue divertido.*”³³²; “*Me divertí mucho con usted.*”³³³ (“It was fun” ; “I had a lot of fun with you.”)

Eva: “*Estaba divertido haciendo cosas sobre arte con personas que nunca ha conocido before.*”³³⁴ (“It was fun making art things with people I had never met before.”)

Interestingly, Abina reflected that learning Spanish through art is “fun, but it's difficult, which makes it more fun.”³³⁵ The first *fun* may mean “enjoying yourself,” but the second “fun” refers to a feeling of accomplishment that comes with becoming more self-aware of one’s language needs, experiences, and aspirations. Besides the word “fun,” participants used mostly positive emotions when describing how they felt during the camp, including happy / *feliz*, good, calm, comfortable, *creativa* / creative, or *liberante* / freeing:

Abina: “I felt happy and good...Because I got to do my art behind the scenes.”³³⁶

³³⁰ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:04:01–00:04:16).

³³¹ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:02:31–00:02:38).

³³² From Daymé’s post-camp interview (01:03:41–01:03:42).

³³³ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:22:52–00:22:55).

³³⁴ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:07:19–00:07:23).

³³⁵ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:42:43–00:42:51).

³³⁶ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:17:30–00:17:43).

Eva: “*Me sentí feliz, y que podía expresar creatividad.*”³³⁷ (I felt happy, and that I was able to express my creativity.) ; “Sentí comfortable. Podía ask you questions if I didn't know anything. I enjoyed it.”³³⁸

Marisol: “I felt calm. I think that you're you're very, very kind person and that you're always trying to make everyone feel comfortable. So I think I also felt very comfortable.”³³⁹

Elvira: “*Ha sido una experiencia muy interesante, muy creativa. Creativamente liberada... liberante. He aprendido más terminology española. Y si. Ha sido muy guay.*”³⁴⁰ (It was a very interesting experience, very creative. Creatively freeing...liberating. I learned more Spanish terminology. And yes. It was very cool.)

Other expressions and enjoyment included a frequent use of the phrase “*me gustó*” (I liked) or “*me encantó*” (I loved) when discussing their Spanish practice through art. To showcase just a few examples:

Eva: “*Me gustó que yo podía practicar mi español y también hacer arte sobre los tópicos que, or los—¿cómo se dice topics?*”³⁴¹ (“I liked that I could practice my Spanish and also make art about topics that... how do you say topics in Spanish?”)

Elvira: “*Me gustó poder hacer arte con un purpose.*”³⁴² (I liked making art with a purpose).

Daymé: “*A mi me gustó mucho porque a mi me encanta—yo no tengo muchos chances de hablar español fuera de la casa.*” (I liked very much because I love—I don’t have many chances to speak Spanish outside of my home).

Manuel: “*Me gustó hacer arte porque a veces no tengo, como, un incentive para hacerlo.*”³⁴³ (I liked making art because sometimes I don’t have an incentive to do it).

One of the best ways to tell whether youth enjoyed something is to ask them if they would voluntarily do it again. When asked whether they would participate in this *Spanish Art Camp* again next year, seven out of the nine youth wholeheartedly expressed that they would. Manuel said he would definitely do it again next summer “*porque fue benefical para mí. Creo que me gustó hablar en español*”³⁴⁴ (because it was beneficial for me. I think I liked speaking in Spanish).

Abina would repeat the experience because “it was pretty fun learning Spanish through art,

³³⁷ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:06:33–00:06:46).

³³⁸ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:21:22–00:21:29).

³³⁹ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:03:53–00:04:08).

³⁴⁰ From Elvira’s post-camp interview (00:03:08–00:03:27).

³⁴¹ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:05:23–00:06:01).

³⁴² From Elvira’s post-camp interview (00:04:10–00:04:15).

³⁴³ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:03:41–00:03:52).

³⁴⁴ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:41:22–00:41:28).

because I get to express myself through art—and there's Spanish.”³⁴⁵ Marisol would also redo it because she felt like we were just getting started, that “there's still a lot left to learn and I could still get to know these people.”³⁴⁶ Daymé was very keen on participating in the camp again because “*fue divertido*”³⁴⁷ (it was fun), but she was worried that she would turn seventeen soon and she would not be eligible because of her age: “*Sí. Yo lo haría de nuevo. Lo que, cumpla 17 el abril que viene, so no me queda mucho tiempo.*”³⁴⁸ Even before I asked Eva whether she would participate in this camp again, she said, “I think the camp was an awesome experience and you know, it was for research and stuff, but, you know, if you ever decided to continue doing more art camps, I'd be down.”³⁴⁹ She especially liked the *Zoom* calls: “*A mi me gustó los Zoom calls de grupo, where everyone was there... Creo que me gustó porque fueron muchas personas de diferentes ages, y también, todos teníamos diferentes personalities. I like that.*”³⁵⁰ (I liked the *Zoom* group calls where everyone was there... I think I liked it because we all had different ages and personalities. I liked that.) Carmen is motivated to continue practicing Spanish through art because “*sería divertido*”³⁵¹ (it would be fun) and “*se me hace interesante ver cómo interpretan los otros personas el arte*”³⁵² (it is interesting to see how others interpret art). Elvira reflected that she would be motivated to continue learning Spanish through art by herself in the future, because “it just seems like a way to kill two birds with one stone,”³⁵³ but she would not join an online group as she prefers to make art alone. Laura was similar in that, as an introvert, she prefers to make art alone and keep it to herself or a close group: “I don't really share a lot with other people,

³⁴⁵ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:39:41–00:39:54).

³⁴⁶ From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:49:38–00:49:46).

³⁴⁷ From Daymé's post-camp interview (01:03:41–01:03:54).

³⁴⁸ From Daymé's post-camp interview (01:03:25–01:03:32).

³⁴⁹ From Eva's post-camp interview (01:13:20–01:13:36).

³⁵⁰ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:14:49–00:15:45).

³⁵¹ From Carmen's post-camp interview (00:47:16–00:47:18).

³⁵² From Carmen's post-camp interview (00:47:29–00:47:39).

³⁵³ From Elvira's post-camp interview (00:36:13–00:36:14).

I mostly just keep it to myself and my friends,”³⁵⁴ but she found the camp useful in terms of maintaining her Spanish skills and gaining confidence.

What contributed to youth having fun in the online *Spanish Art Camp*? Findings suggest that the well-researched and differentiated “curriculum-as-plan,” coupled with the emergent and responsive “curriculum-as-lived” helped meet the aspirations and interests of the youth in the camp, which sparked interest and engagement. For example, when asked about their favourite individual and group art sessions, each youth responded with a different combination of preferences. Their favourite one-on-one workshops ranged from the bilingual video-poems (Abina, Elvira, Eva), to protest art (Carmen, Daymé, Laura), photography (Marisol), illustration (Ximena), and song-creation (Manuel). Their favourite group workshops ranged from painting to music (Abina, Eva, Manuel), to characters and emotions (Elvira, Ximena, Laura), to landscapes (Daymé), and animation (Carmen, Marisol). These preferences were often directly related to the interests and goals that each teen articulated in their pre-camp interviews and first art sessions, where, for example, Manuel said he was interested in making music and Elvira said she wanted to improve her character-drawing skills. But some favourite projects were unexpected, such as Marisol’s newfound love of photography, Abina’s excitement about code-switching video-poems, or Daymé’s experiments with blending landscape photography and painting.

Indeed, some of the enjoyable and fun parts of the camp seemed to have come as a surprise to the youth, but they were a result of the careful pedagogical choices that took place even prior to meeting them—where I planned and prepared for both language use and creative self-expression. For example, when asked about their favourite part of the *entire* camp, the youth responded with sharing or seeing others’ art on *Slack* (Abina, Daymé, Marisol), being taught with *Prezis* with flexible themes and projects (Eva), having the chance to draw characters (Carmen, Ximena),

³⁵⁴ From Laura’s post-camp interview (00:33:19–00:33:29).

receiving instructions on what kind of art to make (Laura), making a variety of art projects (Manuel), and making art with a purpose and being part of a research study (Elvira). This variety of favourite experiences reported by the youth suggests that a learner-centred pedagogy for HLDM is essential. However, this learner-centredness must not succumb to what educational philosopher Gert Biesta (2014) has called *learnification* of education, or the “very concrete and practical concern about the disappearance of teaching and the demise of the role of the teacher as someone who has something to say and something to bring” (p. 54). Having an educator, as not just a “facilitator of learning” or a “fellow learner,” but someone who “brings something new to the educational situation, something that was not already there” (p. 44) seemed to be important to the youth. When asked whether they would have preferred an informal Spanish art-club instead of an instructor-led workshop, the majority (Eva, Marisol, Daymé, Manuel, and Ximena) said no because they enjoyed the structure, direction, and consistency that the teaching brought. The fact that they were challenged to speak more and for longer stretches of time (as discussed in the section on *Speaking*) meant that they felt an authentic need to express themselves and improve their Spanish. Carmen was unsure about whether she would have preferred an online art club, but she enjoyed how the teaching “*era muy interactivo*”³⁵⁵ (was very interactive). Abina said she would have liked a more informal art-club gathering, but she also felt that she benefited from the explicit Spanish instruction. Elvira mentioned she would not have enjoyed an art club structure per se, but she would have liked to do more of her own projects within the context of our art camp.

As Biesta (2014) noted, “teaching is something that comes from the outside and *adds* rather than that it just confirms what is already there” (p. 48). Many of the students’ fun and positive experiences with the *Spanish Art Camp* seemed to be directly linked to the planning and

³⁵⁵ From Carmen’s post-camp interview (0:1:02:57–0:1:02:59).

preparation cycles of the emergent curriculum. As artist-pedagogue-researcher, I was not seeking to simply validate what students *already* knew or wanted, but to experiment with pushing the boundaries of what language and art can *do* for them, and what caring relationships and joyful community-building can look like online. In the following sections, I will expand on one factor that would motivate most of these youth to take this opportunity again—that of feeling inspired and nurtured within a community.

Feeling Inspired in a Community. Overlooked in research on Heritage Language Development and Maintenance is the concept of *inspiration*. The etymological roots of *inspirare* reminds us that our languages do not stay alive in our bodies unless we *breathe life into them*. Perhaps rather than always asking what *motivates* youth to practice a language in terms of extrinsic or intrinsic factors, we should also ask: What *inspires* them to breathe life into their language? How can art facilitate a regular daily practice of inspiration and enjoyment and nurture it within a community? In this section, I will explore discoveries of this arts-based case study related to inspiration—what lives *between* art and language—and how community was key to sparking inspiration.

Slack was presented to the youth as an online space where we could all share our art, resources, and interact with each other asynchronously. One of the most surprising findings of this study was that *Slack* ended up being a favourite part of the camp for several participants, who returned again and again for inspiration and community. One of the first things Daymé shared in our post-camp interview was: “*lo que más me gustó fue tener el app ese, Slack, donde puedes compartir las cosas. Eso me gustó mucho.*”³⁵⁶ (what I liked the most was having that app, *Slack*, where you can share things. I liked that a lot). *Slack* quickly became a place that Daymé would check regularly, “*ver lo que la gente compartía, darle like, eso. Me gustaba mucho ver que habían*

³⁵⁶From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:04:23–00:04:31).

cosas que me inspiraban”³⁵⁷ (to see what people would share, add likes. I really liked to see things that inspired me.) Daymé often pointed to artworks that other youth shared that inspired her, and she also appreciated having a concrete place where she could share her own art:

<p><i>Me gustó mucho todo lo que hizo Eva. Me encantó. Me inspiró mucho. Pero me gustó poder poner el arte, porque nunca pongo mi arte en ninguna parte, ni lo comparto, ni nada. So, poder ponerla en un lugar, que tuviera un lugar para ir, me gustó.</i>”³⁵⁸</p>	<p>I really liked everything that Eva made. I loved it. It inspired me so much. But I also liked being able to post my art, because I never post my own art anywhere. I don’t share it or anything. So, being able to put it somewhere, having a place to go: I liked that.</p>
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On *Slack*, Dayme often chose to share her own creations, unprompted, with others who “reacted” and commented in Spanish. For instance, she shared the drawing below with a caption that says “*Pequeño sketch que hice durante el meeting pasado. Tengo que aprender a dibujar ojos,*” (“small sketch that I did in our last meeting. I need to learn how to draw eyes”), followed by a laughing emoji.

³⁵⁷From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:05:23–00:05:31)

³⁵⁸From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:05:59–00:06:18)

August 16th, 2020 ▾



Pequeño sketch que hice durante el meeting pasado. Tengo que aprender a dibujar ojos 😂

Image from iOS ▾



2 replies Last reply 10 months ago

Figure 82: Screenshot of Daymé's character drawing post on Slack

Two people reacted to Daymé's post with a thumbs up emoji, two with a heart emoji, and one with a heart-eyes emoji. I asked her a follow up question about whether she was drawing someone in particular, and she replied, "*no, sólo estaba practicando creo voy a usarla a ella como OC para practicar más*" (no, I was only practicing I think I will use her for an OC to practice more). Then, in a separate post, Daymé shared with the group an animation that she had made during and after our group animation session. A translation of her caption reads "here is my digital animation. It's the first animation I've ever done in my life! I used as a reference a photo of Celeste from Pinterest," followed by an upside down smile emoji.



Figure 83: Screenshot of Daymé’s animation post on *Slack*

Three people reacted with heart-face emojis, and two people commented. I said, in Spanish, “I can’t believe that this is your first animation! It turned out so beautiful and professional, what program did you use?” to which she responded “Thank you, I used procreate.” A youth exclaimed, “This is INCREDIBLE!!!!” to which Daymé replied “Thank you :) !!!”

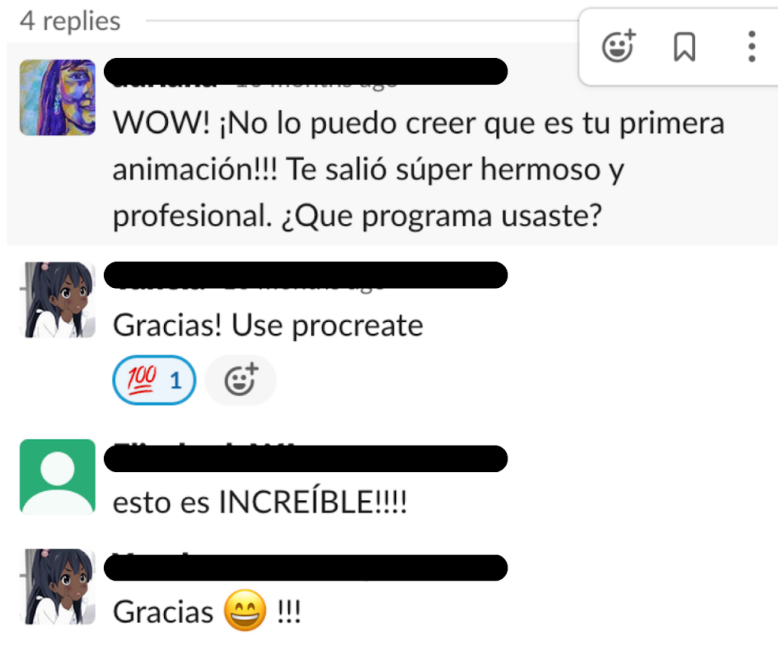


Figure 84: Screenshot of comments underneath Daymé's animation post

There were more positive interactions in Spanish between the youth as they inspired and supported each other through their art on *Slack*. For example, Ximena greatly enjoyed *Slack* for the same reason as Daymé: having a place to share her art with others. Unprompted, Ximena posted updates on *Slack* about her own projects, such as the costume below that she had made for her little sister.



Figure 85: Screenshot of Ximena's costume design post on *Slack*, with the identities of her and her sister covered

When I asked Ximena why she posted the above photos and description, she said, “those are my favourite projects: crafting, hot gluing, all those kind of stuff. I would be so proud of it, and only be able to show my mom or dad, and a little bit of my sister.”³⁵⁹ Therefore, having access to a space like *Slack* to share her art with other youth—for the first time ever—was an aspect that Ximena greatly valued. In her post-camp interview, she reflected more on the value of *Slack*:

<p><i>Me gustó mucho. Podía ver que todos estaban haciendo. Me ayudó a saber más español. A leer más mejor, porque necesitaba saber que estaban diciendo. Y también, que me gustó a tener.. que podía hablar con todos.</i>³⁶⁰</p>	<p>I liked it a lot. I could see what others were doing. It helped me to learn more Spanish. To read more, because I had to read what others were saying. And also, I liked having.. that I could speak with everyone.</p>
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An important part of Ximena’s comment above is that *Slack* was not only enjoyable to use, but it also helped her “learn more Spanish.” This asynchronous app added valuable reading and writing opportunities for her and others, which is discussed in the section on *Writing*.

Seeing the older youths’ creations on *Slack* had a positive impact on two of the younger campers, Abina and Marisol. In fact, what fourteen-year-old Abina enjoyed the most about the camp was “seeing everyone else’s art”³⁶¹ because even though she sometimes feels “insecure” about her own art projects, “connecting on *Slack* and seeing others’ work”³⁶² was a highlight for her. Thirteen-year-old Marisol also indicated that the best part of the camp for her was “seeing everybody’s work on *Slack*,” adding, “I think it really opens up, like, the inspiration and it’s very nice.”³⁶³ Witnessing and learning from other youths’ artworks seemed to impact both Abina and Marisol on a different level than, say, seeing famous artists’ artworks. For instance, Marisol really enjoyed seeing Carmen’s drawings: “it’s really creative. I like the art style that she draws in... it’s

³⁵⁹ From Ximena’s post-camp interview (00:09:47–00:10:02).

³⁶⁰ From Ximena’s post-camp interview 00:08:22–00:08:34.

³⁶¹ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:06:41–00:06:43).

³⁶² From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:18:14–00:18:20).

³⁶³ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:13:02–00:13:12).

really nice. Well done.”³⁶⁴ She also loved Daymé’s owl animation of Celeste from *Animal Crossing*: “It’s very cute. Very smooth as well. And I guess I have a personal connection to it because the owl is my favourite character from the series that it’s from.”³⁶⁵ For Marisol, “opening up the inspiration” meant both connecting to things she already knew and learning brand new ideas and concepts, which I discuss more in the section on *Self-confidence and pride*. Eva also reported that she enjoyed seeing and sharing things on *Slack* between the face-to-face art sessions.

*También me gustó Slack porque puedes compartir cosas que, pues, you can't really show in person. Pero you can post stuff easier, you know? And, like, more at once.*³⁶⁶

I liked *Slack* because you can share things that, well, you can’t really show in person. But you can post stuff easier, you know? And, like, more at once.

For instance, Eva adored the art wall that Elvira shared. In her post, Elvira wrote, “*Quería compartir mi nueva adición a mi muro de arte*” (“I wanted to share my new addition to my art wall”). Four people reacted with a “heart” emoji and Eva commented, “*Me gusta tus dibujos, me encanta la película “Juno”!!!*” (I like your drawings, I love the film Juno), later correcting her own grammar to say “gustan.” Elvira replied, “*Muchas gracias! Sii Juno es una película muy buena :)*” (Thank you, Yes, Juno is a very good movie :))

³⁶⁴ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:27:47–00:27:56).

³⁶⁵ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:28:23–00:28:44).

³⁶⁶ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:14:49–00:15:14).



Figure 86: Screenshot of Elvira’s art wall with Eva’s comments

Later, Eva shared in her post-camp interview that she loved Elvira’s art wall because she also has an art wall in her room: “*A mi me gustó eso porque I have one, too.*”³⁶⁷ (I liked that because I have one, too). Being able to easily interact in this way with each other revealed to be important to Eva: “I liked how it was like Instagram, but it was a lot more personal because it was such a small community.”³⁶⁸ Eva’s enthusiasm for *Slack* led her to post, react, and comment in Spanish several times throughout the week on others’ work

These findings on the benefits of *Slack* add to recent research by Palladino and Guardado (2017) on asynchronous tools. When exploring two HL community schools in the Edmonton region in relation to the use of asynchronous digital tools, the researchers found that “both teachers and students perceived many benefits associated with the use of these technologies, and discussed their experiences with enthusiasm” (p. 15). Digital tools such as wikis and blogs were used in these two community schools “to extend the HL classroom and to generate engagement and motivation in a multimodal learning environment” (p. 16). Not only did these tools promote autonomous learning with more HL learning opportunities between sessions, but with these tools, in person class-time was liberated for more interaction and more active learning such as

³⁶⁷ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:27:22–0:27:25).

³⁶⁸ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:29:24–00:29:28).

one-to-one work and group work. Similarly, because of the blog-like features of *Slack*, youth in the *Spanish Art Camp* had more opportunities to extend their HL practice through the videos, articles, music, *Prezis*, and other links that were posted. The youth commented on the variety of resources that they found on *Slack*. For example, Marisol revealed:

I think *Slack* really exceeded my expectations. It had more than I thought it would have had...Because I thought that *Slack* was just going to be a place where you, like, post all the Zoom calls and something like that, but no, you put a lot of other information there that was really, really interesting.”³⁶⁹

Some specific examples of the type of information that Marisol references above included: posts about current Spanish-language exhibits in Edmonton (such as Michelle Campos Castillo’s exhibition at Latitude 53 art gallery), social media handles of the artist we looked at in our workshops, videos by Spanish-speaking Edmonton artists I solicited or curated for them to practice their listening skills, or articles I found for them to extend their reading practice.

Although not all youth took advantage of the extra resources on the *Slack* app, some were very inspired by the content they found. As Daymé said: “*pusistes una foto de una artista que está en Instagram, y ahora yo la sigo porque hace watercolour. Me encantó cuando lo vi ahí*”³⁷⁰ (You put a picture of an artist who is on Instagram and now I follow her because she does watercolour. I love it when I see her there). The artist that Daymé is referring to is Alicia Aradilla, a young artist from Extremadura, Spain. I introduced her work on *Zoom* to some youth individually, and on *Slack* after Ximena had shared some similar landscape paintings that inspired her in the #inspireate *Slack* channel:

³⁶⁹From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:43:11–00:43:36).

³⁷⁰From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:08:09–00:08:19).

#inspirearte Comparte artistas y obras que te inspiran 10

August 13th, 2020

Estas pinturas muestran líneas que no son rectas. Este tipo de arte me inspira, porque se siente nostálgico y alejado de la gente.

2 files



adriana 9:15 PM

mi también me gustan y me hacen pensar en los paisajes de Alicia Aradilla.... como de Los Valles Pasiegos de Cantabria en España (edited)

Screen Shot 2020-08-13 at 21.14.25.png



Figure 87: A screenshot of Ximena's inspirational pieces.

In the caption above, Ximena says “*Estas pinturas muestran líneas que no son rectas. Este tipo de arte me inspira, porque se siente nostálgico y alejado de la gente.*” (These paintings show lines that are not straight. This type of art inspires me because it feels nostalgic and far away from people). I responded with “*a mi también me gustan y me hacen pensar en los paisajes de Alicia Aradilla.. como de los Valles Pasiegos de Cantabria en España*” (I like these too and they remind me of Alicia Aradilla's landscapes...like the Valles Pasiegos in Cantabria in Spain). I also added more information on Aradilla and posted a link to one of her recent *YouTube* videos.

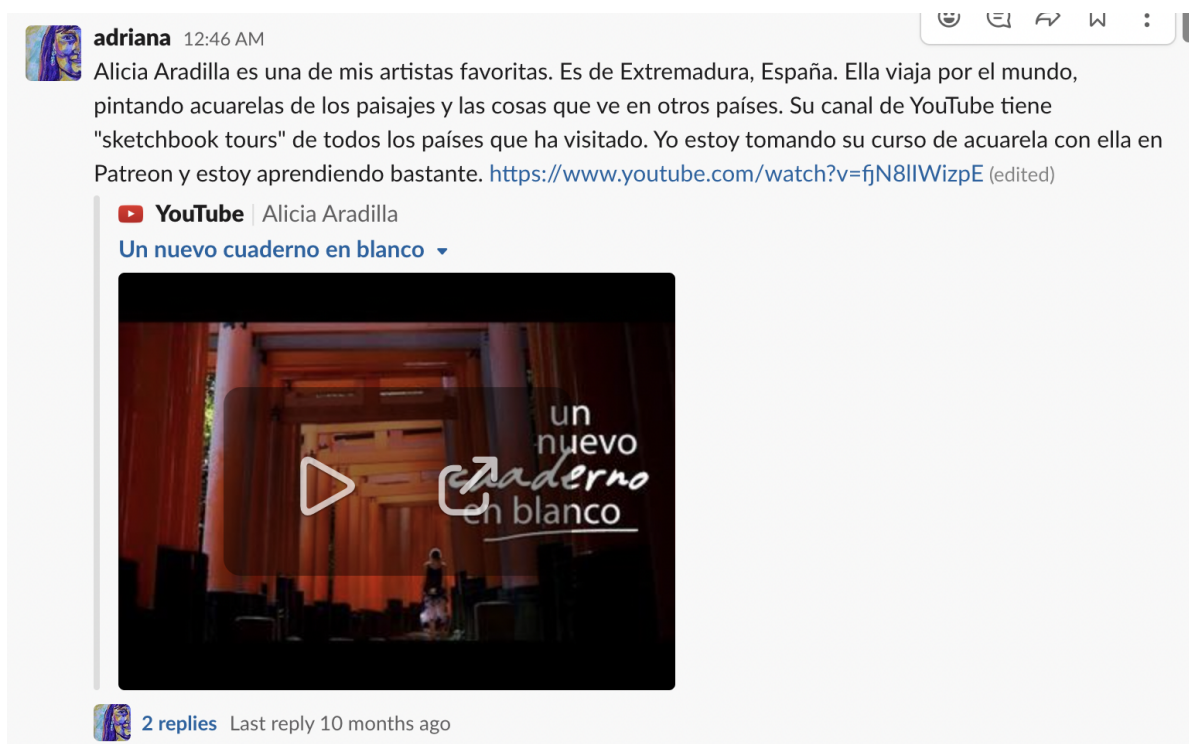


Figure 88: Screenshot of my post on Alicia Aradilla on *Slack*

In this way, *Slack* opened up space for being inspired through art *directly* in Spanish. When youth like Daymé chose to follow these artists on *Instagram*, it increased their exposure and input to their HL on a daily basis. *Slack*, as a medium, offered visually interesting and stimulating chances for asynchronous language practice to happen throughout the camp.

However, it is important to also note that one youth did not use *Slack* that much or enjoy it. Manuel said, “*a mi no me gustó mucho. A lo mejor podíamos usar Google Classroom, algo que es, no sé, que fue más familiar. No sé si los otros han usado Slack antes, pero yo nunca he oído de ese programa.*”³⁷¹ (I did not like it very much. We could have maybe used Google Classroom, something that is, I don’t know, more familiar. I don’t know if the others have used *Slack* before, but I had never used this program). Indeed, I had considered *Google Classroom* for the camp, but

³⁷¹From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:23:36–00:23:50).

in the end, I opted for *Slack*. I made this decision so that the participants would not feel like they were at school, with assignments that they had to complete and hand in, but so that they would feel like they were in a summer camp, and enjoy themselves. Put simply, I believed that *Slack* would increase intrinsic motivation and participation in an HL community because of its social-media-like features. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to use *Google Classroom* in a future iteration of the camp to observe potential differences in campers' participation and interaction. Manuel chose to keep *Slack* notifications off and he only posted his music once because of technical difficulties with downloading and uploading music files. However, when he had a chance to look at *Slack* throughout the week and in our art sessions, he said “*mucho del arte fue muy bueno. Me gustó.*”³⁷² (a lot of the art was very good. I liked it). When it comes to inspiration, the most intriguing part of the camp for him were the *Prezi* presentations: “*me gustaron mucho las presentaciones,*”³⁷³ adding, “*me gusta tener algo para mirar y visualizar cuando estoy haciendo arte. Para inspiración,*”³⁷⁴ (I like to have something to look at and visualize when I'm making art, for inspiration) and “I learned a lot about art and artists. I enjoyed that.”³⁷⁵

One myth about inspiration is that you have to wait for it to come. But as any artist knows, the ideal conditions never materialize. Cultivating inspiration to either make art or maintain a language requires effort and daily practice. As Chilean writer Isabel Allende said, “show up, show up, show up, and after a while the muse shows up, too.” (Maran, 2013, p. 6). The practice of “showing up” online, either on *Slack* or *Zoom*, seemed to nourish the youths' inspiration in both artistic and linguistic ways. On these platforms, they had regular opportunities to offer their thoughts and feelings on a wide variety of issues through art, which in turn had a positive effect on

³⁷² From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:22:19–00:22:22).

³⁷³ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:36:06–00:36:08).

³⁷⁴ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:36:13–00:36:20).

³⁷⁵ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:56:51–00:56:51).

their engagement and motivation to use their HL. These opportunities—as I discovered and will elaborate on in the next section—were unfortunately rare in many of the youths’ school experiences.

Freedom of Self-Expression in the HL. Viewing, making, and sharing art in the *Spanish Art Camp* afforded youth the freedom to express themselves in their HL on real-world issues and current events that they deeply care about. These youth produced artworks that were often radical and resistant—from incendiary critiques of schools’ mental health policies or COVID-19 plans, to expressions of solidarity with Black or LGBTQ+ communities. In this section, I make a case that arts-based curricula for HLDM are at their best when they provide a space for this free, critical, meaningful literacy to happen, involving both the creation and the sharing or discussion of youths’ artworks in the HL.

Many youth in the camp brought up the word “freedom” or “libertad” in relation to our art camp, the projects, or art in general. They felt free / *libres* in the camp to talk and express their emotions and opinions. Sometimes, this freedom was contrasted to school, where they felt very limited, muted, or restricted (Marisol, Elvira), with very few chances to interact with others (Laura, Carmen, Eva), or they felt like they had to regurgitate what teachers wanted to hear and did not have space for imagination, critical thinking, or freedom of expression (Ximena, Daymé). For Daymé, school requires regurgitation for survival, but in our *Spanish Art Camp*, she felt the freedom to express herself:

Social Studies es otro lugar negativo. Muy negativo porque cuando estás haciendo arte de protesta, es tu haciendo tu arte y puedes pensar lo que tú quieras, pero en clase de Social estás más expresando lo que el maestro quiere escuchar.

Social Studies is another negative place. Very negative. Because when you’re making your protest art, it’s you making your art and you can think whatever you want, but in Social class, you’re only expressing what the teacher wants to hear.

Making art in her HL opened up opportunities for Daymé to express herself on many topics. For example, below is Daymé’s artwork in solidarity and allyship with LGBTQ+ communities.



Figure 89: Daymé’s protest artwork titled “Why/Por qué”

In her artist statement, Daymé wrote the following in Spanish:

Esta obra se llama “Por Qué”. Es un dibujo echo con acuarela, marcador y pluma. Se trata de la comunidad LGBTQ y el trabajo que pasaron y todavía pasan para ser aceptados a la comunidad. Quise demostrar como tuvieron que “caminar por fuego” y muchos no llegaron al otro lado. Pienso que es importante porque la obra nos invita a pensar por qué? ¿Por qué tuvieron y tiene que pasar tanto trabajo? La obra también invita a pedir disculpa por la ignorancia de los humanos.

This artwork is called “Why.” It is a drawing made with watercolour, markers, and pen. It is about the LGBTQ community and the work that they have done, and continue to do, to be accepted in our community. I wanted to show how they ‘walked through fire’ and many did not make it to the other side. I think it is important because this artwork invites us to think about ‘why.’ Why did they have to work so hard and continue to work so hard? The artwork also invites us to apologize for the ignorance of humans.

Daymé would not have shared this artwork in school. For Daymé, school is an oppressive place where she often experienced racist and linguistic microaggressions from teachers and students.

For instance, almost nobody calls her by her real name. They use a shortened made-up version of her name because they claim they cannot pronounce her real name. “*Me borraron cuántas letras del nombre*” (they erased so many letters from my name), she laments. Then, despite Daymé’s objections, teachers defended using the n-word in teaching literature. In one instance, as Daymé describes: “*lo dijo tan fluente, como que no es la primera vez que lo dijo. Y ese libro no es primera vez que lo enseña. So, imagino cuantas generaciones estarán dando esto*” (he said it so fluently, as if it wasn’t the first time he said it. And that’s not the first time he taught that book. So imagine how many generations heard that). A similar situation in a substitute teacher’s class led Daymé to physically walk out of the classroom after the teacher said the n-word: “*cuando él dijo, ‘voy a leer esto.’ Y ‘antes las cosas se podían decir’... Y ‘ahora a ustedes todo les afectan.’ Yo me fui de la clase.*” (When he said, “I will read this.” And “before, you could say things”...And “now you all are affected by everything,” I walked out). Every time she would talk to teachers or the principal about this, they would disagree with her and insist that it is okay to say the n-word in literature.

But the core of these issues is rooted deeper and extend farther than name erasure or teachers insisting on using the n-word when discussing literature in school. For example, Daymé shared that teachers have always addressed her classes as if everyone was White European: “*¿Por que le address todo el mundo como White European? Primeramente, ¿qué tengo yo de blanca?*” (Why do they address everyone as if we were White European. First of all, what part of me is white?) Our education system seems to center whiteness without even realizing it is a facet of the hegemonic hold of whiteness. As Owen (2007) notes, “we are immersed in whiteness, as fish are immersed in water, and we breathe it in with every breath” (p. 214). And as Hawkman (2020) adds, “white folks often choose not to see whiteness, but it surrounds them, and they struggle to

live beyond it. Yet, for Black, Indigenous, and People/Person(s) of Color (BIPOC), whiteness is a visible and ever-present challenge to their humanity” (p. 2).

One of the most poignant moments from our art sessions and interviews was when Daymé told me that students at her school asked her “do you speak White?” In Canada, whiteness and the English language are often conflated in harmful and denigrating ways—ways that silence and erase languages *other* than English from curricula and classrooms. Daymé recalled on several occasions how a teacher scolded her for speaking in Spanish with a friend in the hallway. “Speak English in Canada” is a phrase that she has heard “*varias veces*” (many times). This harkens back to Gloria Anzaldúa’s *autohistorias, donde cuenta* how she was punished at recess for speaking Spanish, chastised for her “accent” in English, and ridiculed for speaking a “deficient” or “mutilated” Chicano Spanglish.

This is just the tip of the iceberg. These racist and linguicist attitudes have been constant and have resulted in Daymé feeling defeated and demotivated, saying things such as, “*al final de la historia lo que me voy a sacar de esa escuela es mi nota. No me voy a sacar lo que aprendí. Voy a sacar la nota.*”³⁷⁶ (at the end of the day, what I’m going to get out of that school is my grades. I will not take away what I learned. I’m only going to get the grade). She has stopped speaking about these issues and stopped protesting at school, because, in her words: “unless I want to get bullied for the next three years, no. Not really. *Yo no hablo mucho de eso.*”³⁷⁷ (I don’t speak a lot about it). In contrast, Daymé felt the freedom to not only express herself in Spanish in our camp, but also speak on topics that she did not feel welcomed or comfortable to speak about at school. According to her, it was the nature of the instruction and the environment created for freedom of expression in the camp that fostered these feelings of safety and comfort:

³⁷⁶ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (01:18:58 - 01:19:16).

³⁷⁷ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (01:08:26–01:08:33).

Tus puntos de vista tienen bastante que ver con mis puntos de vista, y eso me hace sentir mejor porque yo no tengo a nadie así, que puedo hablar tanto así de, pero sí, me gustó mucho el taller y el arte de protesta que hicimos porque tenías el freedom de protestar lo que tú quisieras... Por eso, me tomé tanto tiempo escoger. Y cuando tú dijiste—cuando hicimos la lista—dijiste "Wow, tienes muchas cosas," porque bueno, tanto tiempo sin poder decir nada, que yo quería hacerlo todo, en una sola página.

Your points of view are similar to mine, and that makes me feel better because I don't have anyone like that, with whom I can talk so much about these things. But yes, I liked the camp very much and the protest art that we did because we had the freedom to protest whatever we wanted. That's why I took so long to choose. When we did the list and you said, "wow you have so many things," it's because I went so long without being able to say anything. I wanted to do everything on one page.

Going "so long without being able to say anything" and "not having anyone" with whom to talk about things that mattered to her had taken a toll on Daymé, which is why the protest art project in our camp particularly appealed to her. The list that Daymé references above is a sprint brainstorming list from our individual art sessions, where I gave each youth three minutes to write down things they would protest through art (either silly or serious). Daymé "took so long to choose" a topic because of the abundance of topics that she had come up with. When given the opportunity to express herself, her ideas exploded on paper, all at once. This abundance was not just true for Daymé. The other eight teens also yielded long lists of local and global issues about which they felt passionate and knowledgeable enough to create a protest art piece. In order to share everyone's list with the whole group, discuss, and practice vocabulary, I compiled their issues in the graphic below:



Figure 90: Compilation of the brainstorming list of causes of all nine youth

What did these 13–17-year-olds want to protest through their art? The list seems never-ending: racism, inequality, police brutality, climate change, consumerism, human trafficking, fast fashion, government corruption, government response to COVID-19, opening up schools during the pandemic, “Karens,” veganism, transphobia, LGBT rights, mental health, race and class divisions, gun violence, toxicity of social media, sexual abuse, anti-abortion sentiments, anti-maskers, anti-vaxxers, immigrant discrimination, plastic pollution and massive corporations. Their final products, some of which are showcased below, were as diverse in their chosen topics as in their media (collage, drawing, digital art, photography).



Figure 91: Some protest art pieces made during the *Spanish Art Camp*

I was blown away by each of the participants’ art expressions, their personal commitments to social, environmental, and racial justice, their passion, and their eloquence in speaking about these topics.³⁷⁸ This energy was evident in Ximena’s invigorating quote: “I have a feeling that this generation is done feeling helpless.”³⁷⁹ Even though her generation has a bad reputation, Ximena said, “Gen Z and Millennials, we’re all trying to change that. And when our time comes, to take over—take over as in become the adults—we’ll try to do better.”³⁸⁰ My conversations with the youth led to some profound transformational changes for me as a researcher, which I discussed in Chapter 4, in the section on *Ethical Considerations*.

Besides the focus on protest art, the youth expressed that freedom was also embedded into the curriculum and teaching through an emphasis on choice and having fun. In Marisol’s words:

³⁷⁸ Their protest art pieces and artist statements were discussed at more length in the section on *Art, Identity, Social Justice, and Critical Literacy*.

³⁷⁹ From Ximena’s third individual art session (01:05:39–01:05:46).

³⁸⁰ From Ximena’s third individual art session (00:58:41–00:58:57).

I think that you weren't necessarily so strict on everyone, I think that you decided to let a little loose and just have fun with the whole program. And you just you didn't really ask for something specific from someone, you just, you let them have more freedom.³⁸¹

It was for this reason that photography was Marisol's favourite session: "because of the amount of freedom you gave me and the way that you assigned the program and made it feel like a scavenger hunt, and that was fun."³⁸²



Figure 92: A few of Marisol's photographs from her favourite session

The freedom-infused structure of the program was something that Ximena and Manuel also commented on. When asked whether she would have preferred a camp in which she only made the art that she wanted, Ximena said:

I think you already accomplished that because it didn't feel like it was really structured. It was more flowy and free. Because for "Sharing your art" channel, you could show off your art, you could talk with other people.³⁸³

Manuel echoed that saying, "*los topics fueron flexible enough para que podíamos hacer lo que queríamos*"³⁸⁴ (the topics were flexible enough so we could make whatever we wanted to make).

He particularly loved the freedom in the painting to music project: "*me gustó dibujar lo que me sentía cuando escuchando música...porque podría ser abstract y tener que ver mucho con, cómo*

³⁸¹ From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:04:22–00:04:44).

³⁸² From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:07:13–00:07:23).

³⁸³ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:44:45–00:45:04).

³⁸⁴ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:18:50–00:18:53).

los sentimientos—cómo te sentías cuando escuchando música.”³⁸⁵ (I liked to draw what I was feeling while listening to music...because I could be abstract and it’s all about emotions, like how you are feeling when you listen). Manuel also really enjoyed the freedom of protest art, saying that art allows for anti-racism and social justice issues to be expressed easier: “I think that if you wanted to make a statement, ideally, you'd do it through art. Most people do, I think.”³⁸⁶

In sum, the *Spanish Art Camp* curriculum showed that multilingual, multimodal, and meaningful literacies (Hanauer, 2012) are necessary if we are to challenge coercive relations of power (Cummins, 2009) in classrooms and communities. Arts-based curricula create space for HL learners to freely take risks and explore meaningful topics that matter to their lived experiences. Racism, linguisticism, climate change, LGBTQ rights, and pandemic-related worries were only a few of the topics that were explored by the youth through discussing art and making their own creations. In the following section, I will share insights about how the *Spanish Art Camp* helped boost engagement and motivation through combating COVID-19 related apathy and anxiety.

Coping with the COVID-19 Pandemic. The camp took place during an unprecedented context, that of the COVID-19 health crisis, which also transported our camp from in-person at the Art Gallery of Alberta to online (see section on *How COVID-19 impacted this study*). Throughout the six weeks during which I was fortunate to make art alongside the youth in my camp, I realized that their physical, mental, social, and emotional well-being had all been affected—to varying degrees—by the pandemic and quarantine. Because of the vulnerable nature of art-making and sharing, I witnessed them cycle through uncomfortable feelings of fear, anxiety, grief, boredom, sadness, anger, loneliness, and apathy, as well as more positive emotions such as excitement, inspiration, comfort, and calm. During the post-camp interviews, I was curious to find

³⁸⁵ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:12:18–00:12:53).

³⁸⁶ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:57:45–00:57:48).

out the youths' perceptions of how the camp may have impacted them during this time. What follows is some interesting *data* (gifts) from the youth regarding how an online digital camp with a double focus (language and art) helped engage them and cope with the pandemic, home confinement, and the stresses of returning to school during the health crisis.

“I feel like it came at a good time,”³⁸⁷ Eva said in our last interview. “*No más porque estar en la casa por, como, seis meses y no poder visitar o ver amigos o estar en una clase de arte. Estaba divertido haciendo cosas sobre arte con personas que nunca ha conocido before.*”³⁸⁸ (Because being at home for, like, six months and not being able to see friends or be in an art class. It was fun to make art with people I had never met before). Home confinement seemed to be a significant source of stress for some of the adolescents in this study, especially as they were unable to see their friends or take part in group activities, work, volunteering, and more. Daymé shared:

<p><i>Me ayudó porque yo no he podido hacer mucho más en toda la pandemia. Este verano, ni he podido salir a ninguna parte. No sé, me ayudó y me entretuvo. Que iba a hacer, jugar en el Nintendo todo el día de todas maneras.</i>³⁸⁹</p>	<p>It helped me because I have not been able to do much more in this whole pandemic. This summer, I have not been able to go anywhere. I don't know. It helped me and it kept me engaged. What was I going to do, play Nintendo all day anyway.</p>
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This sentiment was echoed in Manuel's experience. He was grateful for the camp to combat boredom through engagement in something fun: “*Me gustó. Me dio algo para hacer en la cuarentena.*”³⁹⁰ (I liked it. It gave me something to do during quarantine), adding “*fue muy boring a veces, la cuarentena.*”³⁹¹ (The quarantine was very boring at times.) Similarly, the camp gave Elvira something to do, though she had not really struggled with being at home: “*Ser más*

³⁸⁷ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:06:48–00:06:52).

³⁸⁸ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:06:57–00:07:23).

³⁸⁹ From Daymé's post-camp interview (00:53:57–00:54:11).

³⁹⁰ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:03:29–00:03:36).

³⁹¹ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:40:02–00:40:11).

*productiva, pero yo con cuarentena, no he tenido ningún problema. He estado bastante bien*³⁹²
 (To be more productive. But with quarantine, I haven't had any problems. I've been doing quite well). Carmen was happy that she joined the camp, recognizing "*fue una experiencia interesante porque...estaba haciendo algo diferente de lo que estoy haciendo ahora en la cuarentena*"³⁹³ (it was an interesting experience because...I was doing something different than what I am doing now in quarantine).

For Ximena, the camp helped calm and inspire her, which helped her cope with the pandemic. In her words:

It definitely helped deal with COVID, like the pandemic. Yeah. Because, like, I don't want to say that I forgot about it entirely because it was always at the back of our mind, but it helped calm me down in a way. Helped inspire me instead of being afraid, like, 'Oh no, oh no, oh no!'³⁹⁴

Countering fear through art-making was also what Marisol did: "I think the art that I made, it liberated me a little bit, but I still feel very nervous. It's a very, very scary thing."³⁹⁵ Indeed, several youth were afraid and anxious about going back to school in person during the pandemic. One of the teens made an art project specifically about the anxiety of returning to school in the fall, but they did not give me the permission to share the artwork in this study because of how personal and emotional the piece was. However, other youth enjoyed and related to that piece. Laura said, "I think it does a good job at doing a visual representation of what fear can be like... How the person looks like they aren't receiving any actual knowledge or anything."³⁹⁶

³⁹² From Elvira's post-camp interview (00:33:40–00:33:48).

³⁹³ From Carmen's post-camp interview (00:51:34–00:52:00).

³⁹⁴ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:37:40–00:38:01).

³⁹⁵ From Marisol's post-camp interview (00:59:23–00:59:34).

³⁹⁶ From Laura's post-camp interview (1:37:17–1:37:26).

These pandemic experiences and emotions relate to the youths' Spanish language maintenance in both direct and indirect ways. For instance, it was because of home confinement that the youth and their parents were searching for engaging activities to do online. The teens were very keen on interacting with people outside of the microsystem of their families. The fact that the art camp was in Spanish was important to them. As Eva said, "that was basically the main reason why I applied."³⁹⁷ In almost every art session and interview, Daymé spoke about how valuable it was to be able to speak Spanish outside of her home and with her parents, especially during quarantine: "*me motivó mucho, porque, bueno, tener con quien hablar español me ayudó*"³⁹⁸ (it motivated me so much because, well, having people to speak Spanish with helped me). Manuel realized "*hacer clases así*"³⁹⁹ (doing classes like this) would be crucial if he wanted to maintain his Spanish in the future. When Ximena's math teacher forwarded information about this camp, she jumped at the opportunity because it was two things she loved: art and Spanish. In her second individual art workshop, Ximena reflected on our first group session together in terms of how rare it was to meet other youth during quarantine, who are Mexican and like art:

<p>Yo creo que era muy chido a ver toda la personas y puedo poner caras a lo arte. Como yo sé como se ven, y como se escuchan, que su nombre es, y como el arte es. Me gusta a ver que, como.. Donde yo estoy, especialmente 'cause of quarantine, no puedo encontrar personas que son mexicano y más grande y le gustan arte. Como, gustan gustan, como tener un passion, a burning passion for art.⁴⁰⁰</p>	<p>I think it was so cool to see everyone and put faces to their art. Like, I know how they look, how they sound, what their names are, what their art is like. I like to see how.. Where I am, especially 'cause of quarantine, I can't find people who are Mexican, older than me, or like art. Like <i>like</i>, have a passion, a burning passion for art.</p>
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As witnessed throughout these quotes, the youth were craving connection during quarantine.

Having the opportunity to speak with me and other youth in Spanish helped combat boredom,

³⁹⁷ From Eva's post-camp interview (00:38:45–00:38:48).

³⁹⁸ From Daymé's post-camp interview (01:01:56–01:02:03).

³⁹⁹ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:49:32–00:49:36).

⁴⁰⁰ From Ximena's second individual art session (01:04:37–01:05:09).

loneliness, and apathy, and helped them maintain their Spanish language beyond their families in this prolonged period of isolation. In the following section on *Self-confidence and pride*, I will continue to unpack how the camp motivated the youth to practice their HL inside and outside of their home.

Self-confidence and Pride. There was evidence of transformational changes that occurred during the camp for some youth with regards to increased self-confidence with Spanish and pride, which led to personal growth. *Por ejemplo*, Ximena indicated that the *Spanish Art Camp* experience helped her gain confidence in her linguistic skills: “I thought it was the lowest. Like the lowest of the low, before. But it's boosted some of my confidence in Spanish a little bit, although I still think it could use some work.”⁴⁰¹ When I asked for a specific example of how the camp boosted her self-confidence, Ximena pointed out that she gained courage in terms of pronunciation and vocabulary:

It helped with being more confident on how I say things. Because sometimes, I would say words como “tela”—I would say, for example, “tela,” I would say it differently, like “tila” o algo como asi. So I would feel more confident because before I would be like, “tela, tila” and I would be more low. But now that I'm more confident, I'm not afraid to say it. And someone says, “oh, it's this way,” and I'd be like, “oh, thank you,” instead of being scared, like, “oh, sorry, sorry, sorry.”⁴⁰²

I also observed this change in Ximena. In our first couple of art sessions, she would hesitate and code-switch to English as soon as she was unsure of a Spanish word or its pronunciation. For instance, when she was describing a costume that she had made for her sister in her second art session with me, she stopped herself when she could not remember how to pronounce “*poderes*”

⁴⁰¹ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:03:21–00:03:35).

⁴⁰² From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:35:13–00:35:44).

(powers)—mistakenly saying “poredes”—after which she made the conscious decision to switch to English because it was easier to describe:

<p>Y como es un swan, entonces lo que.. El show.. Es que tienen poredes.. superpowers. Lo voy a decir inglés, porque ya se como decirlo más mejor en inglés. So they have superpowers. And they have like "ultimate moves," like, for example, Ladybug has her lucky charm.⁴⁰³</p>	<p>And it's like a swan, so the.. The show.. They have super.. super powers. I am going to say it in English because I know how to say it better in English. So they have superpowers. And they like 'ultimate moves,' like, for example Ladybug has her lucky charm.</p>
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In later sessions, she was not as thrown off by not knowing a word in Spanish, or how to pronounce a word. She took more risks to speak longer stretches in Spanish, and took vocabulary notes in her notebooks of words that she later referred back to. As she indicated in her reflection above, Ximena gained courage and confidence to not be afraid to just say a word, and if she was corrected or reminded of the correct word, it was not a big deal and it did not impact her fluency by the end of our camp.

Laura and Manuel reported that their self-confidence in Spanish grew during the camp, as well. For Laura, her confidence grew because she “learned more about Spanish artists,”⁴⁰⁴ and increased her Spanish writing fluency. Meanwhile Manuel confirmed that he felt his confidence boosted in his speaking skills in the camp, and thus he was motivated to keep learning Spanish through the arts “*porque me gustaría quedarme con un segundo idioma y poder hablar con mis padres*”⁴⁰⁵ (because I want to have a second language and be able to speak with my parents).

Abina also felt that her linguistic confidence gradually increased throughout the camp. She affirmed: “I was getting more confident in speaking Spanish, day by day,”⁴⁰⁶ reporting a “change in my ability to have proper vocabulary and writing, and grammar”⁴⁰⁷ I, too, noted this change in

⁴⁰³ From Ximena’s second individual art session (00:06:18–00:06:31).

⁴⁰⁴ From Laura’s post-camp interview (00:28:15–00:28:19).

⁴⁰⁵ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:38:52–00:38:55).

⁴⁰⁶ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:34:28–00:34:33).

⁴⁰⁷ From Abina’s post-camp interview (00:35:52–00:36:04).

Abina's confidence. In our first two individual art sessions, Abina often responded with one-word answers or brief sentences, but in the last two art sessions, she was taking the risk to say more words for longer stretches of time, and seamlessly using Word Reference to improve her fluency when she did not know a word. Abina felt particularly confident in the individual art sessions, "because I knew I had help if I'm having trouble with my Spanish."⁴⁰⁸ Abina also felt that her artistic confidence and pride soared in the camp. She did not shy away from the challenge of combining art and Spanish, two things that often made her "nervous." Trying things she had never done before led to personal growth for her, or as she put it: "It reminds me of what I'm working towards in my life—art skills."⁴⁰⁹ For instance, she shared, "I made a really good animation and I'm very proud of that."⁴¹⁰ She was also very proud of her video-poem, because "it was in Spanish"⁴¹¹ and painting to music "because I'm very musical and I like music a lot."⁴¹² Throughout the camp, she did not only learn more about herself, but also about others: "because it was art and expression of people's thoughts, I got to understand people more."⁴¹³ Indeed, one of the major benefits of art-making is understanding both your own and other people's thoughts and emotions through creative expressions. According to Abina, learning Spanish through art is "fun, but it's difficult, which makes it more fun."⁴¹⁴ Being open to the creative combination of art and language is what in turn opened up these possibilities for Abina to grow in her confidence, pride, and in understanding others better.

The camp also fostered personal growth for Eva. She especially enjoyed the "My English is" and "My Spanish is" poem prompts for the chance of self-reflection, or in her words: "porque fue a lot of introspection, which I enjoyed. Just like really trying to understand yourself in a

⁴⁰⁸ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:21:33–00:21:50).

⁴⁰⁹ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:52:06–00:52:22).

⁴¹⁰ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:16:25–00:16:31).

⁴¹¹ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:12:34–00:12:36).

⁴¹² From Abina's post-camp interview (00:15:00–00:15:05).

⁴¹³ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:55:28–00:55:35).

⁴¹⁴ From Abina's post-camp interview (00:42:43–00:42:51).

way.”⁴¹⁵ Writing and art-making are one of the ways to access what we think, feel, believe, and value. Sometimes, in the process of making art, we become *wide awake* to connections that we “wouldn’t come to by another route” (Stewart, 2012, p. 51). Eva said the whole camp experience was “eye opening”:

<p>Fue muy, como, eye opening porque yo nunca ha ido como en un campo, virtual primero, y también con personas que son del mismo age as me almost. So, eso fue.. Like, that was awesome. Y también me gustó que yo podía practicar mi español y también hacer arte sobre los topicos que, or los... como se dice topics?...los temas que nos daste⁴¹⁶</p>	<p>It was very, like, eye opening because I have never been to a camp, virtual first, and also with people who are the same age as me, almost. So that was... Like, that was awesome. And also, I liked that I could practice Spanish and also make art about topics that... how do you say topics?... The themes that you gave us.</p>
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Marisol shared that some of the art projects that she made were transformational for her: “I think they did change me. I think they made me think a lot about about different things, about what, what I’m capable of through art.”⁴¹⁷ She often spoke about being pushed to think deeper and broader: “I learned a lot... I learned that there’s a lot of depth to certain things, like we learned about poetry and about photography. And there’s like a lot more to it than what meets the eye, I think.”⁴¹⁸ Marisol mentioned that she learned a lot of “unexpected things” such as animation, poetry, and photography. “I think it just opens me up to a lot more opportunity. It’s just there’s a lot more out there than what you think.”⁴¹⁹

Daymé often spoke about what made her “grow”: “*me gustó porque me hizo, como, crecer. Me ayudó a pintar más. Una cosa bonita.*”⁴²⁰ (I liked it because it made me, like, grow. It helped me paint more. A beautiful thing.). The animation project also pushed her to grow, to take her

⁴¹⁵ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:19:52–00:20:06).

⁴¹⁶ From Eva’s post-camp interview (00:05:23–00:06:11).

⁴¹⁷ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (01:00:23–01:00:38).

⁴¹⁸ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:02:39–00:02:51).

⁴¹⁹ From Marisol’s post-camp interview (00:16:12–00:16:22).

⁴²⁰ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:06:51–00:06:59).

time in developing a different skill which “*tomó bastante tiempo. Eso fue bastante challenging porque nunca lo había hecho anterior.*”⁴²¹ (it took a lot of time. It was pretty challenging because I had never done it before).⁴²² But despite the time-consuming and challenging project, she enjoyed the process and felt pride at her creations: “*me encantó mucho hacerlo y creo que para la próxima lo que lo hago con hasta mas layers para que sea más lento.*”⁴²³ (I really loved making it, and I think the next time I will make it with even more layers so that it is slower).

In conclusion, several of the youth campers reported that their linguistic confidence grew because of the *Spanish Art Camp*, including Ximena, Manuel, Laura, Abina, and Eva. In addition to gaining confidence, the *Spanish Art Camp* was an eye-opening experience that fostered personal growth, pride, and learning within a community for campers like Daymé, Marisol, Eva, and Abina, including learning new art skills, being pushed to think deeper and broader about the world, and understanding oneself and others better.

Weaving it All Together

This chapter interpreted the contributions of ABC to HLDM, as revealed by the nine Spanish HL adolescent participants’ interviews, artworks, and interactions with each other and myself as artist-pedagogue-researcher. Three major themes emerged from the data, or the gifts, of this study: (1) that ABC can support the *language and literacy development* of HL youth; (2) that ABC can facilitate *identity exploration and relationship building* in the HL; and (3) that ABC can boost HL *learner engagement and motivation*. *Cada tema* was further elaborated into subthemes. For instance, under theme one, I discussed how the *Spanish Art Camp* led to improvements in the youths’ speaking skills (especially fluency and discourse competence), writing skills, vocabulary development, and language awareness. *En la segunda sección*, I explored how the youth created

⁴²¹ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:16:45–00:16:46).

⁴²² From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:16:43–00:16:46).

⁴²³ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (00:17:29–00:17:39).

meaningful *identity texts* (Cummins, 2009) that opened up sensorial, symbolic, emotional, and imaginal ways of coming to know. Bilingual poetry using Spanglish and protest art highlighted how ABC supports critical literacy and expressions of social justice—important principles of *Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009). Equally important, *en la tercera sección*, the HL learners' engagement and motivation to learn their language was boosted because of ABC. *Específicamente*, having fun in the HL and feeling inspired in a community not only helped with the youths' HLDM by boosting their self-confidence and pride, but also helped cope with the COVID-19 pandemic and build stronger intergenerational relationships with their family in their HL.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

Summary

Este estudio was the first of its kind in Canada to investigate how an arts-based curriculum might contribute to youth HL development and maintenance. Though children and adolescents are often excluded from definitions of HL learners (see Montrul, 2010), this study suggests that young people also wish to develop, maintain, and improve their current level of HL proficiency, and should be given the chance to do so through both formal and informal educational opportunities. The study constitutes a unique contribution to language education research, not only in its kaleidoscopic view of HLDM using Bronfenbrenner's (1979) *Ecological Systems Theory*, but also in its ABR paradigm which is rarely used in the field. *En este sentido*, with this study, language education research is stretched ontologically to consider how all humans are creative and aesthetic beings, epistemologically in valuing multiple ways of coming to know through creating, embodiment, sensations, affects, intuition, and spirit; axiologically in the ethics of honouring relations (both human and more-than-human), collective meaning-making, and anti-oppression; and methodologically in the primacy that is given to interacting with and making art.

This research project required several layers of underpaintings because the exploration of ABC for HLDM through an ABR paradigm and methodology had never been attempted before. I began this research with a poetic | artistic autoethnography in Chapter 1, where I told the story of losing my HL of Romanian upon moving to *amiskwacîwâskahikan* (Edmonton) as a child, and gradually reclaiming it through poetry and art. *Haciendo eso*, I sought to locate myself, a non-Indigenous immigrant *româncă* within the settler colonial context of Canada, and also locate myself as artist-pedagogue-researcher in this inquiry, providing context for how I arrived at my two research questions: (RQ1) *What contributions might arts-based curricula make to our understanding of HL development and maintenance in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada?* and (RQ2)

How might arts-based practices support Spanish HL youth learners' language and literacy experiences and aspirations? I conveyed the significance of this study with statistics and stories of intergenerational HL loss in Edmonton and Canada, and made a case for the relevance of this research topic in education. I concluded Chapter 1 by defining key terms for this inquiry, including Heritage Language, Heritage Language Learner, Heritage Language development and maintenance, the arts, and arts-based curricula.

In Chapter 2, I shared the *Theoretical Underpainting* of this study, first situating language and literacy learning as a social practice of multimodal meaning-making through *Sociocultural Theory* and *Multiliteracies Theory*, then outlining a duo of pedagogical approaches—*Transformative Multiliteracies Pedagogy* (Cummins, 2009) and *Meaningful Literacy Instruction* (Hanauer, 2012)—which, together, built a strong framework for exploring the potential contributions of arts-based curricula for HL learners. I included a unique *Arts-Based Literature Review* of 96 academic texts that have engaged with language and literacy learning through the arts, revealing that the topic of HL learners developing or maintaining their languages through the arts is understudied overall, and has never been studied in Canada, thus positioning the study as an original contribution to both language education and arts-based research.

When working with HL learners, *Sociocultural Theory* emphasizes a deep understanding of their learning context. That is why in Chapter 3 I depicted the rich and complex *Contextual Underpainting* of this study, describing the social, historical, and cultural context of HLs in Canada. I used Bronfenbrenner's *Ecological Systems Theory* (1979) to conduct a sociocultural analysis of factors that have influenced HL maintenance in Canada throughout three chronosystems: Chronosystem 1 (1963–1982), Chronosystem 2 (1982–2000), and Chronosystem 3 (2000–2020). I considered how interacting factors within the *macrosystem*, *exosystem*, *mesosystem*, and *microsystem* (e.g., national Status Planning, Acquisition Planning and

language-in-education policies, immigration policies, media portrayal of HLs, etc.) have influenced intergenerational transmission of HLs, peoples' attitudes towards HLs, the perceived status of HLs, and current opportunities for HL use in communities, such as the availability of HL programs. This foundational chapter allowed me to deeply grasp the challenges and supports that my young participants may have encountered in Alberta. Documenting the *how* and *why* of declining HLDM among immigrants helped me make the invisible *visible*, especially the assimilatory pressures that exist in the Edmonton habitus. This was a crucial step before meeting and working with my participants.

In Chapter 4, I outlined my ABR paradigm, methodology, and methods. I provided a rationale for an *arts-based case study* and outlined my research procedure, participant selection methods, ethical considerations, and how COVID-19 transformed this study from a one-week *Spanish Art Camp* at the Art Gallery of Alberta to a month-long digital camp on *Zoom* and *Slack*. I presented my data collection methods, including individual interviews, observations, participant artworks, and online interactions, and my data analysis methods of *Motif Coding*, *Bidirectional Artifact Analysis*, and *Ecological Systems Theory*. Finally, I discussed strategies for trustworthiness, quality, credibility, and dependability, as well as the study's limitations.

In Chapter 5, I discussed my enactment of the ABR methodology to present in-depth, resonant portraits of the nine Spanish HL adolescent participants. I included a collage of their artworks, and narrated my first impressions, their cultural identity, language portrait, and Spanish aspirations. These portraits provided initial insights for my RQ2, particularly for getting to know the *Spanish HL youth learners' language and literacy experiences and aspirations*. I wanted to replicate my process of getting to know each participant in the *Spanish Art Camp* in Chapter 5, so I introduced the reader to each participant in a memorable way. Through their stories and artworks, *el lector pudo ver*—just as I was able to witness—the emotions and relationships with

(and between) the youths' languages and cultures through elements such as colour, word, shape, line, and texture. Their goals, struggles, and dreams unfolded through their creative self-expression, dialogue, and sharing. I hope, *drag cititor*; that you also came away with a resonance of my participants' worlds in Chapter 5, which was the foundation for the arts-based curriculum and investigation into RQ1.

In Chapter 6, I described the emergent and responsive *Spanish Art Camp* curriculum in detail, including the camp logistics and how the individual art sessions and group art sessions were planned with the participants' needs, interests, experiences, and aspirations in mind. The individual art sessions included self-portraiture, illustration, photography, protest art and bilingual video poems. The group art sessions included landscapes, storytelling through character and emotions, animation, and painting to music. I discussed the unique pedagogical intersections between art and language throughout Chapter 6, showing how the camp curriculum was constructed to facilitate dialogue in their HL, critical thinking, relationship-building, and multiliteracies development.

In Chapter 7, I turned to interpreting the study's data in relation to my research questions, first RQ1: *What contributions might arts-based curricula make to our understanding of HL development and maintenance in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada?* I responded to this question with three main themes that emerged from the data: (1) ABC can support the language and literacy development of HL youth, (2) ABC can facilitate identity exploration and relationship building in the HL, and (3) ABC can boost HL learner engagement and motivation through having fun in the HL. I continued to engage in arts-based practices to interpret the rich data of this study—including eighteen pre- and post-camp interviews, 38 *Zoom* art session recordings, numerous *Slack* interactions over a period of 6 weeks, dozens of artworks, and my own observations. *Haciendo eso*, I continued to respond to my second research question: *How might arts-based practices*

support Spanish HL youth learners' language and literacy experiences and aspirations? Under the three main themes listed above, I highlighted (1) how arts-based practices supported the youths' speaking and writing skills, vocabulary development, and language awareness; (2) how arts-based practices make space for youth to create meaningful identity texts, build intergenerational relationships, use Spanglish to translanguage, and explore the connections between art, identity, social justice, and critical literacy; and finally (3) how arts-based practices contributed to the youth feeling inspired in a community, feeling a freedom of self-expression in the HL, coping with the COVID-19 pandemic, and increasing self-confidence and pride.

Figure 93 below summarizes the major concerns of youth in this study with regards to their own HLDM aspirations (English dominance, lack of HL opportunities and programs, disconnect from the HL community, racist/linguicist microaggressions at school). These concerns confirm many of the macrosystem, exosystem, and mesosystem barriers and challenges presented in Chapter 3 that affect intergenerational language transmission (O'Bryan et al., 1976; Houle & Maheux, 2017, Lowe, 2005; Turcotte, 2006). Macrosystem issues such as global English dominance tend to seep down into the microsystem, where youth choose English over Spanish for interactions with their siblings and friends, as "the pressure to assimilate is an extremely powerful social force in North America, particularly for minority children" (Lowe, 2005, p. 59). Hindering factors in the exosystem, such as the general "failure to provide multiculturalism with a linguistic base" (Lupul, 1981, cited in Cummins & Danesi, 1990, p. 24) result in a lack of opportunities for Spanish HL programs in the youths' communities. And *irónicamente*, even when languages and cultures are seen in terms of neoliberal/economic profits by those who say that "multiculturalism is not about dancing, it is not about books. It is about turning Canadians into assets for Canada's balance sheet" (Mills, 1994, cited in Ryan, 2010, p. 78); neither legislation nor funding has materialized. *Por consiguiente*, this arts-based case study has considerations for stakeholders in

the *microsystem*, *mesosystem*, and *exosystem*, including HL youth, families, community HL schools, and city arts and cultural organizations. In closing, I would like to discuss some considerations that result from this study as well as opportunities for further research. Particularly, this doctoral project seeks to bring attention to the gap of creative HL programming in the mesosystem in the city of Edmonton, and hopes to contribute to a proliferation of even more innovative HLDM initiatives in the mesosystem.

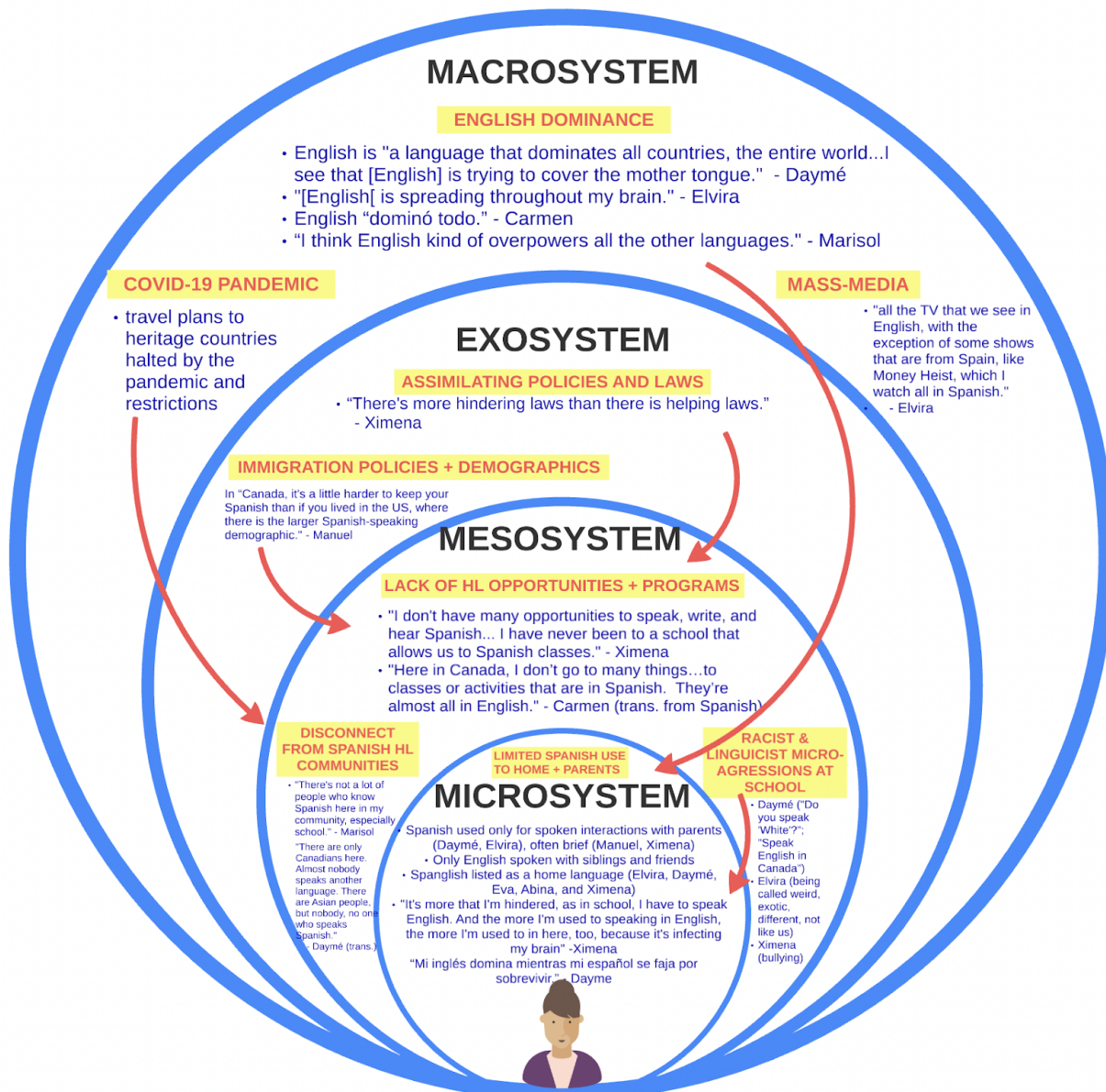


Figure 93: Visual summary of the main concerns of youth with regards to their own HLDM aspirations

Considerations

Youth

Heritage Language development and maintenance requires a certain amount of awareness and agency from youth themselves. The nine teens in this study had experienced Spanish language attrition and were aware—to varying degrees—that they were at risk of language loss in their lifetimes. Some teens pointed out that it was often not even Spanish language attrition that was the problem, but the lack of opportunities to have learned Spanish in the first place (“I moved here at a young age, so it's not like I lost the vocabulary, it's more like I never picked up on it.”⁴²⁴). *En todo caso*, they expressed a personal responsibility to seek out language activities, such as this *Spanish Art Camp*, and other opportunities to “*hablarlo con consistence*”⁴²⁵ (speak it consistently). They wished to communicate in Spanish not only in their microsystem (parents, siblings, extended family members), but beyond, and realized this required extra effort and research on their part. For example, Eva realized it was crucial to be active in finding new friends in her Spanish-speaking community: “reaching out to them, either through Instagram or through just like other connections, because I have friends who know friends who speak Spanish, and so kind of crossing that bridge.”⁴²⁶ Manuel realized that he needed to speak Spanish at least three hours a day to be able to understand and speak it: “*hablarlo todos los días, como tres horas, para poder entender y hablar ese idioma.*”⁴²⁷ (to speak it every day, like three hours, to be able to understand and speak the language). However, participants with brothers and sisters confessed that they spoke only English to their siblings, and that they often replied with one-word or

⁴²⁴ From Manuel’s pre-camp interview (00:27:55–00:28:03).

⁴²⁵ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:48:46–00:49:10).

⁴²⁶ From Eva’s post-camp interview (01:06:59–01:07:37).

⁴²⁷ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:48:46–00:49:10).

one-phrase answers to their parents. Therefore, I offer some questions and considerations to raise awareness and agency for *all* Spanish HL youth:

- Why is it important to make a consistent effort to speak Spanish to your siblings, parents, and other family members? What are some ways you might do that?
- What steps can you take to find activities in Spanish in your local community or “reach out” to make new Spanish-speaking friends?
- What kinds of supports do you need from your family, teachers, friends, or community to reach your Spanish learning goals or aspirations? How can you express and advocate for your needs?
- How can a creative arts-based practice and community support you in your aspirations?

Families

The microsystem is extremely important for HLDM. As presented in Chapter 3, research on HLDM suggested, “the extent to which a language is used in the home is most likely the best indicator of its vitality” (Prokop, 2000, para. 2). *Sin embargo*, due to powerful assimilatory pressures from the macrosystem and inconsistent funding and support in the exo- and mesosystems, more than one-third of children with an immigrant background in Canada speak *only* an official language at home (compared to only 10% of their parents) (Houle & Maheux, 2017) and “English is the predominant language in Alberta homes, even in those where it is not the mother tongue” (Alberta Learning, 2003, p. 5). In this study, seven of the nine youth reported Spanish as their “home language” (Daymé, Ximena, Marisol, Abina, Manuel, Carmen, and Laura), but they all recognized that they spoke English *con sus hermanos* (with their siblings). Therefore, in this case study, parents were the most important source of linguistic input and support (and in Daymé and Manuel’s cases, their only source). More specifically, the teens

reported that their mothers and grandmothers provided tremendous encouragement in their microsystem, increasing their desire to learn and maintain their HL in Alberta. This bond was especially strong for Abina, Eva, Marisol, Daymé, and Ximena—who frequently referenced their *mamá* or *abuela*—but this was also true for Manuel, Elvira, Laura, and Carmen (after all, it was their mothers who found out about this *Spanish Art Camp* and enrolled them). Future research might investigate the role that fathers have in HLDM, as well as explore ways to engage parents and other family members in arts-based HL projects alongside their kids to allow for more opportunities for intergenerational communication (see section on *Intergenerational relationship building*). Extended families also played an important role in the youths' Spanish HLDM, as most of the nine participants were *transnationals*, meaning they often traveled to the countries of their heritage such as El Salvador, Mexico, Cuba, or Spain, but over five months, the COVID-19 pandemic had limited their travel opportunities. Future studies might further investigate the role of extended family members, and if Web 2.0 tools and social networking technologies can help connect transnational youth with their family and friends in their heritage countries, since the research is still limited, as discussed in Chronosystem 3 of Chapter 3: Contextual Underpainting (Anderson et al., 2018; Cho, 2008; Szecsi & Szilagyi, 2012).

In contrast, the local organized Spanish or Latin American community did not seem to play a major role in most of the teens' HLDM, and future research might investigate the barriers that families may face in finding Spanish programming. For example, eight out of the nine participants did *not* participate in a HL community school or organized initiatives in Spanish. Future research might interview parents to discover: What factors influence parents to participate (or not) in a locally organized HL community or school offering Spanish courses, workshops, events, festivals, and other social gatherings? Other questions and considerations for Spanish HL families include:

- Do you have a *family language policy* when it comes to your HL?
- How might you become more aware of Spanish HL activities and resources in your local community?
- What kind of community supports might you need to promote and encourage Spanish at home? How can you advocate for these needs?
- How might the arts help with language development or maintenance in and outside of the home?

Community HL Schools

O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976) insisted that “the job of preserving language is quite possibly beyond [parents]” (p. 176), implying they needed public institutional support to combat rapid intergenerational loss of language (at the *mesosystem* and *exosystem* levels). The results of this study suggest a need for institutional support for HLDM. Only one participant (Marisol) participated in a locally-organized Spanish Heritage Language school in Edmonton. This community HL Saturday school included an arts-based program of music and dance. Marisol was very pleased with her experience, saying “ever since I joined Spanish school, I feel like I'm more open to Spanish, I'm more—I feel more connected to Spanish.”⁴²⁸ But she also shared some feedback in relation to their curriculum: “I like the different kinds of activities we do. Of course—it's not as varied when you get into the older grades—which is something that the school lacks.”⁴²⁹ Community HL schools might consider: How might you expand your arts-based curricula for older grades to maintain youth motivation and interest in maintaining their Spanish?

Other youth in this study—such as Abina, Carmen, Daymé, Eva, Manuel, and Ximena—strongly wished that they could have had opportunities to take Spanish courses and

⁴²⁸ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:30:36–00:31:20).

⁴²⁹ From Marisol's pre-camp interview (00:21:20–00:21:40).

workshops, and would gladly have taken the *Spanish Art Camp* or a similar opportunity again (see section on *Having fun in the HL*). Ximena, who lives on the outskirts of Edmonton, laments having limited access to Spanish opportunities in/out of school and feels disconnected from a Spanish HL community:

I don't have many opportunities to speak, write, and hear Spanish besides music, but writing, I have very rare chances. For example, I have never been to a school that allows us to take Spanish classes. A Catholic school nearby in Spruce Grove has...does teach Spanish, but all my schools teach French. And now this school that I'm at: French, Japanese and German, but no Spanish. There's the rare occasion that I would bump into a teacher, that's like, "oh, you speak Spanish? I speak a little bit of Spanish!" And I'd be like, "how are you?" And then she's like, "that's all I know, sorry!" And I'm like, "god dang it!" ...I would love to take either a history lesson of Spanish and learning Spanish because I would love to just—because I'm not in Mexico. I can't hear or see the history of Mexico or other places that speak Spanish. Besides the rare occasion in, like, Grade 7 Social Studies like the Spanish Inquisition, Aztecs. That's all I've been able to see.⁴³⁰

As explored in Chapter 7, Ximena said that the supports that exist *do* help her, for example “there's church programs and there's also, like...My mom has a Latina group that sometimes they go...We go to a party. We act like this little mini community. We all stick together. So that helps. And also Spanish art camps like this.”⁴³¹ Manuel also said that believes in order to maintain his Spanish, he needs to “*hacer clases así*”⁴³² (do classes like this one). When asked about community supports he would like to see, Manuel responded, “*una clase de español, porque muchas escuelas no tienen clase de español*”⁴³³ (a Spanish class, because many schools do not

⁴³⁰ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:59:46–01:01:10).

⁴³¹ From Ximena's post-camp interview (00:53:48– 00:54:09).

⁴³² From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:49:32–00:49:36).

⁴³³ From Manuel's post-camp interview (00:52:33–00:52:45).

have Spanish classes). He would prefer a class for heritage speakers “because it would be very boring if I went into a Spanish class and they taught me basic Spanish.”⁴³⁴ Community schools should continue to fill these programming gaps for adolescents.

One interesting thing to note is that more than half of the youth who participated in this *Spanish Art Camp* did so *because* it was online (no commute, more flexibility) and likely would not have participated if it had taken place in person as planned at the Art Gallery of Alberta.

Therefore, some considerations for community HL schools are:

- How might you expand your online programming to reach youth who may not be able to access in-person programming due to COVID-19 or distance factors?
- What have you been doing, and what more can be done to reach HL families and youth? (e.g., information nights for newcomers about the importance of HLDLM, social media campaigns about family language policy and planning, specific pandemic online programming for adolescents, etc.)
- This study showed how art can help youth articulate their own relationship, emotions, and aspirations with regards to their HL. How might you incorporate art in your curricula, not just for cultural transmission, but also for emotional self-expression in relation to the HL (and not just for younger grades but for teenagers as well)?

Public Schools

Drag cititor, you may recall from Chapter 1 that one of the critical incidents that led me to this research topic was hearing “Speak English, you’re in Canada” from one of my gym teachers. Fast forward twenty-two years and this is a phrase that Daymé said she has heard “*varias veces*” (many times) from teachers; *además*, she has been asked things such as “Do you speak White?”

⁴³⁴ From Manuel’s post-camp interview (00:53:37–00:53:40).

by other students, leading her to feel so defeated and demotivated that she said, “*al final de la historia lo que me voy a sacar de esa escuela es mi nota. No me voy a sacar lo que aprendí. Voy a sacar la nota.*”⁴³⁵ (at the end of the day, what I’m going to get out of that school is my grade. I will not take away what I learned. I’m only going to get the grade). *Entonces*, although this study’s research questions did not focus directly on K-12 public schooling, the stories and artworks shared by the nine teens frequently referenced their experiences at school, which constitutes an important discussion in the mesosystem. Thus, drawing especially on the experiences shared by Daymé, Ximena, and Elvira who described microaggressions and bullying incidents at school—a particularly pervasive mix of linguisticism and racism that seems to have contributed to their loss of Heritage Languages—we enter the realm of the mesosystem. Uninformed assumptions about HLs interfering with English language development persist, despite the fact that studies carried out in Canada and elsewhere suggest that students who maintain home use of their HL throughout their schooling perform better academically in English than those who give up speaking this language and switch to English exclusively (Cheng et al., 2013; Dolson, 1985; Jang et al., 2013). In addition, several youth shared that the freedom of expression they felt in the Spanish Art Camp was a contrast to their experiences at school, where they felt limited, muted, or restricted (Marisol, Elvira), with very few chances to interact with others (Laura, Carmen, Eva), or experienced an expectation to regurgitate what teachers wanted to hear without space for imagination or critical thinking (Ximena, Daymé). Accordingly, this offers several questions for teachers, educational leaders (e.g., school principals), and teacher educators to consider:

- How might teachers and principals work collectively with students to address the roots of linguisticist and racist microaggressions and bullying that some students

⁴³⁵ From Daymé’s post-camp interview (01:18:58 - 01:19:16).

experience? What policies and practices are needed for youth to feel their Heritage Languages are valued in school and in their education? How might schools promote Heritage Language development and maintenance in the classroom and beyond (e.g., involving families, raising awareness in the community about HL loss and shift, partnering with community organizations, etc.)?

- How might *all* educators, not just language or art teachers, use arts-based language practices to promote imagination, critical thinking, and creative self-expression as an alternative to content regurgitation?
- Knowing that research over the past 20 years in Canada and internationally, as cited in Chapter 2, has shown just how powerful it can be when individual teachers affirm student identities through multimodal and multilingual instructional strategies (e.g., writing dual language identity texts), how might teacher education programs better integrate and promote research and pedagogies that value, respect, and support students' creative expressions, languages, and cultures in schools and in subject area content learning?

City Arts and Cultural Organizations

In order to address what Hornberger (2003) described as “the erosion of community languages by dominant languages of wider communication such as English and French” (p. 300), strong efforts need to be made towards HLDM not just by minority cultural groups, but by the entire community. The City of Edmonton does exceptionally well at recognizing and celebrating *multiculturalism*. We have the world’s largest multicultural festival, the Servus Heritage Festival, showcasing over 100 countries and cultures at 71 pavilions, and attended by over 500,000 people in 2017 (Mertz, 2017). We also have numerous organizations devoted to promoting multicultural inclusion and facilitating newcomer integration, or the well-documented “readiness to become

Canadian” (Prokop, 2000) initiatives, such as the City of Edmonton Multicultural Relations Services, Edmonton Multicultural Coalition, ASSIST, Centre d’accueil et d’établissement, Millwoods Senior and Multicultural Centre, Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers, among many other programs, organizations, and initiatives. However, when it comes to celebrating *multilingualism* and fighting language loss in our diverse communities, we require more public awareness and proactive civic action to promote HL retention.

Through expanding City initiatives and partnering with arts and culture organizations, Edmonton could become a leader in promoting *language* alongside culture to reverse language shift and loss. The youth in this study felt that speaking Spanish offered them *una sensación de poder* (a sensation of power) or empowerment. The marriage of Spanish and art in this study supported youth HL development and maintenance through creative expression and sharing in a supportive *community*. I strongly believe that arts and cultural organizations have an important role to play in supporting creative and community-based HLDM. For example, the City of Edmonton could offer immersive activities and events at different authentic cultural venues for families to participate *in* their own heritage or mother languages. For example, families could attend free “language field-trips” together in Spanish, Arabic, or Tagalog, organized in-situ at popular city venues such as the Muttart Conservatory, Art Gallery of Alberta, City Hall, or Fort Edmonton Park, and led by enthusiastic language educators. I invite arts and cultural organizations to consider:

- What role do you play in raising awareness about Heritage Language loss, shift, and preservation, and in celebrating the importance of HLs in our city?
- How might your organization reach newcomer families to raise awareness that their HLs are important and should not be given up in an effort to help children integrate or assimilate?

- How can you incorporate HL programming into your existing programming, such as art gatherings, films, dances, concerts, poetry readings, etc.?

Future Research

The field of HLDM in Canada is still young, so the opportunities for future research are seemingly boundless. However, I have identified, in this dissertation, some areas of priority, both in terms of the fields of ABR and HLDM.

Arts-based Research and HLDM

As expressed in the section *ABR in Language Education Research*, arts-based research methodologies have rarely been applied in language education research, and are almost non-existent in HLDM. *Descubrimos en sección sobre Language and Literacy Learning through the Arts: A Literature Review*, (particularly the section *Very few studies employ ABR*) that only six of the ninety-six studies on FL, SL, and HL learning through the arts used arts-based methodologies. This was the first study in Canada that has undertaken ABR for HLDM. Language scholars might investigate the affordances of the making of art by both researchers and/or the individuals they involve in their studies as ways to widen and deepen the ways we understand, interpret, feel, and express our personally meaningful experiences within social settings (Hanauer, 2012). Future study participants might benefit from expressing their relationships to their languages, cultures, and identities through the body, through paint, through song, through video, through sculpture, or through other multimodal, sensory art pieces. Researchers might even think beyond “the arts,” which many believe is limited to those with special artistic “talent,” to include all forms of cultural production that is inherent to learning. As Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) suggests, “symbolic creativity—including perhaps those practices and processes that are sometimes associated with the concept of the arts—should be central to how we conceptualize

teaching and learning for all students, not because it *improves* learning but because it *is* learning.” (p. 227, emphasis in original).

Language Policy and Planning

This study confirms that more research is needed in the area of language policy and planning in Alberta and Canada. As Chapter 3 of this dissertation attempted to convey, a language’s status in a society is never neutral, natural, or unplanned. Nancy Hornberger succinctly said that “languages, like living species, evolve, grow, change, live, and die in relation to other languages and also in relation to their environment” (2003, p. 320). Scholars in *Language Policy and Planning* such as Hornberger (2005) have developed a framework for understanding the dimensions of language/literacy planning, including *Status Planning* (efforts directed toward increasing the recognition of the language by society and the functional uses of the language), *Corpus Planning* (efforts directed toward the adequacy of the form or structure of a language, such as developing the lexicon/orthography), and *Acquisition Planning* (efforts to influence the number of language users by creating opportunities and incentives to learn the language). Future research might build upon Chapter 3 of this study as well as Aberdeen’s (2016) significant work and continue to research how the Canadian government’s *Status*, *Corpus*, and *Acquisition Planning* (or lack thereof) has shaped how Indigenous, Official, and Heritage Languages are perceived and learned in Alberta and beyond.

Family Language Planning

Future studies on HLDM in Canada might interview both youth *and* parents to understand how *Family Language Planning* affects efforts in the home to “preserve the heritage language by modifying their children’s language development” (Spolsky, 2012, p. 7). In this study, seven out of the nine participants said Spanish was their home language, but none of the participants who had siblings spoke Spanish with them at home; they only spoke their HL with their parents. The

sociolinguistic ecology of the home might be explored more deeply and the perspectives of other family members (youth, mothers, fathers, grandmothers, grandfathers) taken into account, including how digital technologies and social networking technologies might connect youth to their families in Canada and abroad. As previously stated, *en este estudio, las madres y las abuelas* were reported by the youth to be significant sources of motivation for their HLDM. How might other family members become engaged in creating a robust *family language policy* or participating in arts-based practices to allow for consistent intergenerational communication? *Además*, scholars might research how family language planning in the microsystem is in constant interaction with the mesosystem and macrosystem in the *Canadian* context, as language maintenance scholar Aberdeen (2016) noted, “it is challenging to find research that is specific to Canada” (p. 418).

Race, Culture, and Language

Future research might explore how the intersections of race, culture, and language impact youth motivation to develop and maintain their HL. In this study, several participants referenced *race* in relation to their emotions, aspirations, and experiences and HLDM. *Por ejemplo*, Daymé was asked by classmates “Do you speak White?” instead of “Do you speak English?”; Eva hesitated to embrace her HL because she perceived herself as “whitewashed” because of the ways that others saw her, and Elvira shared that others treat her as “exotic” as soon as they find out Spanish is her HL even though she identifies as a White European. Research in HLDM should continue to tease apart HL ideologies and practices in relation to race relations and the macrosystem of settler-colonialism in Canada. Arts-based methodologies might be relevant and useful here, to explore the nature of the emotional bonds that tie individuals to their languages/cultures/races, and how these ties influence self-expression.

Inter-linguistic Solidarity

What is the future of HLDM in Canada? How can ABC continue to contribute to HLDM in ways that promote inter-linguistic solidarity? Throughout this dissertation, I have acknowledged how Indigenous linguicide and Heritage Language shift and loss have tragically different consequences (i.e. if Indigenous languages disappear from Canada, they vanish from the globe). *Sin embargo*, they also have similar roots: English and French settler colonialism, linguistic imperialism, assimilation, racism, and linguicism. These ideologies and practices are behind many historical pushes for the two colonizing groups to be viewed as the “two founding peoples” of Canada—as evidenced by the events and policies outlined in Chapter 3, including Lester B. Pearson’s *Royal Commission on Bilingualism & Biculturalism*, the *Official Languages Act*, *Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework* that reinforce a linguistic hierarchy privileging language rights for only two groups while claiming to value all cultural groups, and the *Language Education Policy for Alberta*, 1988. In 1971, after P. E. Trudeau proclaimed the policy of *Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework*, Robert Stanfield, the leader of the opposition, spoke a chilling truth: if the government’s subordinate treatment of Indigenous languages and cultures can be taken as any kind of an indication of what will happen to immigrants, “then there is not a great deal of hope for the various non-French and non-British ethnic groups within Canada” (1971, pp. 8546–8547). *Es verdad que* the treatment of Indigenous people in Canada has been the “bench-mark for the treatment of all other peoples of colour coming to this land” (Philip, 1993, p. 128). It is also true that *multicultural Canada* was established on a contradictory belief: that an ethnic group’s “collective will to exist” or belong to Canada does not necessarily include language. But language is arguably the most salient part of culture and identity. However, contrary to Stanfield’s position, there might be hope for HLDM and ILDM in the imagination or transformation that arts-based practices and curricula foster. Similar to learning a language,

making art is “a significant, potentially life-changing, event...that involves the whole human being, beyond just intellectual abilities” (Hanauer, 2012, p. 105).

My own art practice and my observations of the HL youths’ processes have taught me that although this research focused on Heritage Language development and maintenance, and more specifically, the HLDM of Spanish-speaking youth, language loss and assimilation affects all human beings. Art awakens us to this crosslinguistic solidarity and helps us reimagine ourselves within our imagined communities (Anderson, 1983). As Ojibwe author Richard Wagamese (2011) describes in *One Story, One Song*:

When you lose your original language, your identity is altered. You feel clumsy walking around in your own skin. That’s true not just for Indians but for immigrants, anyone who has sought another shore in pursuit of a dream. Society asks everyone who’s been displaced to surrender parts of themselves in order to be accepted, and language is often the first thing to go. Reclaiming your language is like coming home. (p. 178)

Continuing to explore the *whys* and *hows* of this linguistic “surrendering”—and offering creative ways of resistance, allyship, and accompaniment for “coming home”—will be important for future research and art-making. As Bilash (2012) notes, “the issues in minority language communities are similar: English threatens all levels of second language ability. However, able community leaders who are willing to work together can work toward change” (p. 315). How might immigrants, refugees, settlers, and Indigenous peoples work together to create change and fight assimilatory attitudes and practices? How can we increase opportunities in our communities for languages other than Canada’s two colonial and colonizing languages to be used robustly? How might we reframe *all* language learning from neoliberal terms of profit or trade to include their human, personal, emotional, spiritual, familial, or cultural value? As with any research project, I finish this work with more questions than answers, and a lifelong commitment to exploring how

an *Arts-Based Language Pedagogy* (Oniță, 2022) might play a role in refuting and resisting assimilatory practices that have affected all people in Canada.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATION LETTER & PARENTAL CONSENT FORM (14 and under)

Study Title: Arts-based Curricula for Heritage Language Maintenance

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Background

I am inviting 13-18-year-old youth with Spanish as their heritage language to participate in a study for my PhD research. I am seeking your parental or guardian consent for your child to participate in my study. The study includes his/her/their participation in an online *Spanish Art Camp*, a one-on-one interview before the camp, and a one-on-one interview after the camp. I am interested in how Spanish can be learned, taught, and maintained through the arts. I will use data and results from this study for my PhD dissertation. Before you make a decision about your child's participation, I will go over this form with you. You and your child are encouraged to ask questions if you feel anything needs to be made clearer. Please keep a copy of this form for your records.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore how arts-based curricula may help us better understand how to teach, learn, and maintain Heritage Languages among youth in Alberta. I am interested in what arts-based practices might offer and reveal about youth language and literacy experiences and aspirations as Spanish heritage language learners.

Study Procedures

This study will take 5-6 weeks. The time commitment for your child is about 17 hours in total. All activities will take place online. The study will include five participants all aged 13-18. Below is how this study will unfold.

1. **Interview before the camp (1 hour):** Before the *Spanish Art Camp* begins, I would like to interview your child. Our interview (conversation) will take place online through *Zoom*. They will need to download the *Zoom* app for a computer, tablet, or phone. They do not have to sign up to use *Zoom*. I will send your child a link that they can click on to join the meeting. In this one-on-one interview (just me and your child), I will ask them questions about their language experiences, cultural identity, community belonging, and art experiences. I will also ask them what type of art projects they would like to do in the camp. Our conversation will take about an hour. It can take place in Spanish, English, or a mixture of both languages. I will audio-record the interview on *Zoom*, transcribe it (or type it up as

text) and use it as research data. For some interview questions, I will ask your child to “draw” their answer on *Zoom* or *Sketchpad*. I will screenshot their drawings and use it as research data. During the interview, I will also take notes in my research journal if I want to clarify or follow up with something they said.

2. ***Spanish Art Camp (~12–15 hours):*** After I finish the one-on-one interviews with each participant, we will begin our *Spanish Art Camp*. The camp will take place over a four-week period. All our art meetings and interactions will happen online through the apps *Zoom* and *Slack*. During the camp, my role is researcher, teacher, and artist. I will guide your child to create several art projects in different media and I will provide some art supplies for them if they need. They will also have the chance to work on their own art projects. Throughout the camp, I will observe interactions in Spanish (or English, or both) between your child, myself, and others, take notes, and make art in my researcher journal. I will often clarify with your child what they said or what they meant by an artwork.
 - a. ***Zoom.*** We will meet twice a week on *Zoom* for a total of eight times. We will go back and forth between one-on-one video meetings and group video meetings. When we meet one-on-one (just me and your child), we will make art, share art, chat, and share inspiration. When we meet as a group, we will share our art, discuss, learn, create, and plan an online exhibit together. The one-on-one meetings will last one hour each. The group meetings on *Zoom* will last 1–2 hours each. Although the purpose of the camp is to practice their Spanish, your child may also use English or a mix of the languages to express themselves.
 - b. ***Slack.*** Between meetings, our group will message through *Slack*. Your child can download the *Slack* app or access *Slack* through a browser. In our private *Slack* workspace, we will all upload the artworks we make. We can also share links, videos, images, and ideas that inspire us. The art products your child creates and shares may be physical or digital. Their physical artworks may be paintings, collages, sculptures, or installations they make with real objects. Their digital artworks may be photographs, digital illustrations, poetry, videos, or audio files. Your child may need to photograph or scan the work they want to upload online on *Slack*. They will get to keep all their artworks. I will use your child’s artworks as research data. Their art may appear in my thesis, presentations, teaching, and other essays I publish. At the end of the camp, your child will help curate an online exhibition of the work that they created. Your child will choose which artworks they would like to showcase in a password-protected exhibit for their family and close friends (including their peer participants), who can leave comments on the exhibit website. These exhibit comments will become part of my research data as well.
3. ***Interview after the camp (1 hour):*** After the *Spanish Art Camp*, your child will participate in a second interview with me. I will ask them about their experience in the camp. I am especially interested in whether and how the art projects helped with their Spanish language practice or maintenance. I will ask your child if I can use all of their artworks as my research data, and if there is an artwork they would like me to leave out. This interview will also take about 1 hour and will be audio-recorded, transcribed, and used as research data.

Benefits

Your child may get no benefits from participating in this study. But some benefits may include the opportunity for them to:

- practice their Spanish language skills (speaking, reading, writing, listening, intercultural skills) in a creative environment

- think more deeply about their language learning experiences, which may help with their Spanish language maintenance in the long run
- obtain free art supplies and learn and practice new artistic skills such as digital art, photography, video, and poetry
- share and discuss their art in Spanish with other Spanish heritage language youth

I hope that the information I get from doing this study will help me better understand how to maintain the Spanish language among youth in Alberta.

Risks

Your child's participation in this study and camp involves *minimal* risk. During our interview, there may be topics that may cause your child some emotional discomfort. Your child can stop or pause the interviews at any time. They can also refuse to answer any question that they are not comfortable answering. When they create art, share art with others, or view art, past memories or stories can be triggered. When they think about language loss or culture loss, it may result in emotional discomfort. They may feel anxious or vulnerable. I will watch for signs of this discomfort and offer them compassion. I will make sure that there are chances during the camp for your child to safely and privately let me know or remove themselves if they feel uncomfortable. We can also switch gears at any time from talking to play, improv, movement, or visual art experiments.

Cost of participation

The *Spanish Art Camp* and research study is free of charge. If there are art materials your child would like to experiment with, I can arrange to purchase them and you can pick them up at an art store. If there are materials they would like to try over \$50.00 CAD, you may purchase them yourself. For our art projects, we will not use fancy or expensive materials. The projects are flexible in what media your child can use and what they have already at home.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You and your child's decision to take part in this study is voluntary. Your child is under no obligation to participate. Even if you agree for them to participate in the study and sign this form, you can change your mind later and withdraw them from the study at any time. If you withdraw them from the study, they will also withdraw the camp, and vice versa. If your child leaves the study during the first week of the four-week camp, all their data will be deleted. This includes image, video, audio files, and interactions on *Slack*. If you or they choose to leave the study after the first week of the camp, I will continue to use the data I collected up to that point (their artwork, their first interview). If any participant—those who withdraw after the first week, or those who remain in the camp until the end—has concerns about a specific artwork of theirs being used and/or displayed in my study, they can let me know and I will exclude it. You or they can withdraw it up until three days after the end of the camp, when I will begin to transcribe and make the data anonymous (in other words, up until it can no longer be identified as your child's data).

Confidentiality & Anonymity

- Your child will choose a pseudonym (another name) at the time of their first one-on-one interview with me. I will use the pseudonym instead of their real name in my research documentation to protect their

identity. Your child may also choose another pseudonym for use in the camp if they don't want others in the camp to know their real name. I will remove any links between their pseudonyms and their real identities at the time that the data is transcribed.

- Your child's face and identity will always be protected in my research documents, exhibition, and presentation. The *Zoom* sessions will only be audio-recorded (not video-recorded). If your child's artworks show their face or someone else's face (e.g., through photography, video, painted portraits), their faces will be blurred or covered in my research.
- Your child will not share what other participants say or share on *Slack* or during our *Zoom* group sessions.
- My notes and papers will be kept in files in a secured office. My digital information will be kept on a computer with password protection. These records will be stored for five years. Digital files including audio files will be removed from my computer after I finish transcription and put on a USB key and stored in a locked cabinet with any paper-based materials.
- The data may only be seen by myself, my supervisors, and the Research Ethics Board. I may use the data I get from this study in future research, but if I do this it will have to be approved by a Research Ethics Board again.
- This research will be used for my doctoral dissertation, but it will also inform my research articles, presentations, exhibitions, and teaching. Your child as a participant, including their face or name, will not be personally identified in any of these.
- For the password-protected exhibit we will organize for friends and family at the end of our camp, your child *may* choose to feature their first name if they would like to be identified as the creator of their artwork. They may also choose a pseudonym.
- You or your child may ask me for a report of the research findings by contacting me at aonita@ualberta.ca.

Contact Information

If you have any further questions, you can email me, Adriana Oniță at the Department of Secondary Education, University of Alberta (email: aonita@ualberta.ca) or my supervisor, Dr. Olenka Bilash at obilash@ualberta.ca. The plan for this study has been reviewed by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have questions about your rights or how research should be conducted, you can call (780) 492-2615. This office is independent of the researchers

Consent Statement

I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have more questions, I have been told whom to contact.

I understand that:

- My child does not have to participate in this camp or study. Even after giving my consent, I can pull them out of this study and camp at any time.
- I do not have to pay for my child to be in this camp or study. My child will receive some free art supplies.
- The camp and study will take about 5–6 weeks and will require about 17 hours of my child's time.

- My child will meet with Adriana one-on-one a total of six times on *Zoom*. They will meet with Adriana and other participants four times on *Zoom*. They will use *Slack* to share their art.
- The data that will be collected from my child and used for Adriana’s research includes: the multimedia artworks and posts my child shares on *Zoom* and *Slack*, the audio-recordings of my child’s interviews, and the transcripts of my child’s individual and group meetings on *Zoom*.
- I can withdraw all my child’s data up until the end of the first week of the camp. Later, my child or I can withdraw an individual art piece until three days after the camp ends.
- My child can use a pseudonym (a name other than their real name) in the camp and in the research.
- Adriana will protect my child’s identity, face, and name in her research by using a pseudonym for my child in her research and blurring my child’s face if it appears in my art.
- My child will not share with anyone outside of the camp what other participants say, create, or share.
- I understand the benefits and the risks involved in my child participating in this camp and study.

I consent for my child to participate in the research study *Arts-Based Curricula for Heritage Language Maintenance* by Adriana Oniță described above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

 Participant’s Name (printed)

 Date

 Parent’s Name (printed) and Signature

 Date

Adriana Onita

 Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

 Date

APPENDIX B

ASSENT FORM (YOUTH 14 AND UNDER)

Study Title: Arts-based Curricula for Heritage Language Maintenance

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What is a research study?

A research study is a way to find out new information about something. You are invited to be a part of my research study with other 13–18 year olds in Alberta who speak Spanish.

Why are you being asked to be part of this research study?

The reason I am asking is because you live in Alberta, you are between the ages of 13 and 18, and Spanish is your heritage language (or the language you speak at home or with your family sometimes). I would like to find out more about how children like you learn or keep their Spanish through the arts. In other words, how can activities like painting, writing poetry, taking photographs, and sharing your art with others help you keep your Spanish “alive”?

If you join the study, what will happen?

I want to tell you about some things that will happen to you if you are in this study.

- You will be in the study for 5–6 weeks, for about 17 hours in total.
- There will be other teens in the study and camp.
- There is no cost to the camp or study. You will receive some art materials for free from The Paint Spot.
- Before the *Spanish Art Camp*, you and I will meet on an app called *Zoom*. I will ask you questions about your language experiences, your culture(s), your community, and your art experiences. I will also ask you what type of art projects you would like to do in the camp. Our video conversation will take about an hour. We can talk in Spanish, English, or both languages.
- The *Spanish Art Camp* is four weeks long. We will meet one-on-one four times (just me and you) to make art and talk on *Zoom*. We will meet as a group four times to make art and talk about our art on *Zoom*. In between, we will all chat and share art through an app called *Slack*. You will make several art projects and we will talk about them and what inspires us. We will mostly talk in Spanish. If you need to use English, too, that is okay. We will make an exhibit online to show our friends and family what we created. You will choose what you want to share in this exhibition. Your friends and family, and other participants, can leave comments in the exhibit. These comments will also be used for my research.
- After the *Spanish Art Camp*, you will have one more conversation with me. I will ask you about your experience in the camp. I want to know whether and how the art projects helped with your Spanish language practice. I also want to know whether I can use all your art as data for my

research, or if there is an artwork you do not want to be used. This interview will take about one hour.

Will any part of the study be uncomfortable?

There may be some moments in the interviews or camp that make you uncomfortable. When you make your own art, share art with others, or view other people's art, you may be reminded of memories that make you emotional. When you think about your language or culture, you may miss family or feel anxious or embarrassed about speaking Spanish. I will watch for signs of this. You do not have to answer every question in the interview, and you do not have to share any art that makes you uncomfortable. You will be in a safe and kind environment.

Will the study help you?

This study may help you or it may not help you. Some ways the study may help you is that you will have the chance to practice your Spanish, you can think more about your language learning experiences, you can get free art supplies, you can learn new art skills, and you can share your art and discuss it with other young people who speak Spanish.

Will the study help others?

I hope that the information I get from doing this study will help me better understand how Spanish can be "kept alive" among young people in Alberta.

What do you get for being in the study?

You will get some free art supplies and a free *Spanish Art Camp* for being in this study.

Do you have to be in the study?

You do not have to be in the study. It's up to you. No one will be upset if you don't want to do this study. If you join the study, you can change your mind and stop being part of it at any time. All you have to do is tell me, or tell your parent/guardian to tell me. You can leave the study during the first week of our camp and all your data will be deleted. This means any image, video, audio files, and interactions on *Slack*. If you choose to leave the study after the first week of the camp, I will continue to use the data I collected up to that point (your artwork, your first interview).

When can you say no in this study?

You can say no to things in this study. You can say no to me or other participants. You do not have to share every artwork you make with everyone in the group (or even with me). You do not have to make every project I suggest. You can do your own art projects, too. You can say no to answering an interview question if you feel uncomfortable. You can tell me not to display a specific artwork of yours in my study up until three days after the end of the camp.

Do your parents know about this study?

This study was explained to your parents and they said that we could ask you if you want to be in it. You can talk this over with them before you decide. Your parents received all the study and camp information and know what you would be participating in.

Who will see the information collected from you?

The information I will collect from you includes your artworks, what you share on *Zoom* and *Slack*, what you say/do in the interviews, and what you say/do in our one-on-one and group meetings. Other camp members will see the artworks you choose to share. You cannot share anything that someone else says or creates with anyone outside of the camp. They will be told to not share anything about you either. The information collected about you during this study will be kept safely locked up or on a computer with a password. Your name and your face will always be protected. I will use a different name when I write about you in my research studies, or display your work in my writing or presentations.

The plan for this study has been reviewed by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have questions about your rights or how research should be conducted, you can call (780) 492-2615. This office is independent of the researchers.

What if you have any questions?

Please ask me questions if you feel anything needs to be made clearer. You can ask any questions that you may have about the study at any time, in any language. If you have a question later that you didn't think of now, either you can email me or have your parents email me at aonita@ualberta.ca

Other information about the study.

- If you decide to be in the study, please write your name below.
- You will be given a copy of this paper to keep.

Child's name

Signature

Date

Adriana Oniță

Person obtaining Assent

Signature

Date

APPENDIX C

INFORMATION LETTER & CONSENT FORM (YOUTH 15 AND OLDER)

Study Title: Arts-based Curricula for Heritage Language Maintenance**Research Investigator:**

ADRIANA ONITA
 Department of Secondary Education
 218 Education South
 University of Alberta
 Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5
aonita@ualberta.ca

Supervisor:

DR. OLENKA BILASH
 Department of Secondary Education
 218 Education South
 University of Alberta
 Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5
olenka.bilash@ualberta.ca

Background

I am inviting you to participate in a study for my PhD research because you are an adolescent aged 15–18 in Alberta with Spanish as your “heritage language” (e.g., your home or family language). The study includes your participation in an online *Spanish Art Camp*, a one-on-one interview before the camp, and a one-on-one interview after the camp. I am interested in how Spanish can be learned, taught, and maintained through the arts. I will use data and results from this study for the final project for my PhD program. Before you make a decision, I will go over this form with you. You are encouraged to ask questions if you feel anything needs to be made clearer. Please keep a copy of this form for your records.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore how arts-based curricula may help us better understand how to teach, learn, and maintain Heritage Languages among youth in Alberta. I am interested in what arts-based practices might offer and reveal about your language and literacy experiences and aspirations as a Spanish heritage language learner.

Study Procedures

This study will take 5–6 weeks. The time commitment for you is about 17 hours in total. All activities will take place online. The study will include five participants. Below is how this study will unfold.

1. **Interview before the camp (1 hour):** Before the *Spanish Art Camp* begins, I would like to interview you. Our interview (conversation) will take place online through *Zoom*. You will need to download the *Zoom* app for your computer, tablet, or phone. You do not have to sign up to use *Zoom*. I will send you a link that you can click on to join the meeting. In this one-on-one interview (just me and you), I will ask you questions about your language experiences, cultural identity, community belonging, and art experiences. I will also ask you what type of art projects you would like to do in the camp. Our conversation will take about an hour. It can take place in Spanish, English, or a mixture of both languages. I will audio-record the interview on *Zoom*, transcribe it (or type it up as text) and use it as research data. For some interview questions, I will ask you to “draw” your answer on *Zoom* or *Sketchpad*. I will screenshot your drawings and use it as research data. During the interview, I will also take notes in my research journal if I want to clarify or follow up with something you said.

2. ***Spanish Art Camp (~12–15 hours):*** After I finish the one-on-one interviews with each participant, we will begin our *Spanish Art Camp*. The camp will take place over a four-week period. All our art meetings and interactions will happen online through the apps *Zoom* and *Slack*. During the camp, my role is researcher, teacher, and artist. I will guide you to create several art projects in different media and I will provide some art supplies for you if you need. You will also have the chance to work on your own art projects. Throughout the camp, I will observe interactions in Spanish (or English, or both), take notes, and make art in my researcher journal. I will often clarify with you what you said or what you meant by an artwork.
 - a. ***Zoom.*** We will meet twice a week on *Zoom* for a total of eight times. We will go back and forth between one-on-one video meetings and group video meetings. When we meet one-on-one (just me and you), we will make art, share art, chat, and share inspiration. When we meet as a group, we will share our art, discuss, learn, create, and plan an online exhibit together. The one-on-one meetings will last one hour each. The group meetings on *Zoom* will last 1-2 hours each. Although the purpose of the camp is to practice your Spanish, you may also use English or a mix of the languages to express yourself.
 - b. ***Slack.*** Between meetings, our group will message through *Slack*. You can download the *Slack* app or access *Slack* through a browser. In our private *Slack* workspace, we will all upload the artworks we make. We can also share links, videos, images, and ideas that inspire us. The art products you create and share may be physical or digital. Your physical artworks may be paintings, collages, sculptures, or installations you make with real objects. Your digital artworks may be photographs, digital illustrations, poetry, videos, or audio files. You may need to photograph or scan the work you want to upload online on *Slack*. You will keep all your artworks. I will use your artworks as research data. Your art may appear in my thesis, presentations, teaching, and other essays I publish. At the end of the camp, you will help curate an online exhibition of the work that you created. You will choose which artworks you would like to showcase in a password-protected exhibit for your family and close friends, and the other camp participants, who can leave comments on the exhibit website. These exhibit comments will become part of my research data as well.
3. ***Interview after the camp (1 hour):*** After the *Spanish Art Camp*, you will participate in a second interview with me. I will ask you about your experience in the camp. I am especially interested in whether and how the art projects helped with your Spanish language practice or maintenance. This interview will also take about 1 hour and will be audio-recorded, transcribed, and used as research data.

Benefits

You may get no benefits from participating in this study. But some benefits may include the opportunity for you to:

- practice your Spanish language skills (speaking, reading, writing, listening, intercultural skills) in a creative environment
- think more deeply about your language learning experiences, which may help with your Spanish language maintenance in the long run
- obtain free art supplies and learn and practice new artistic skills such as digital art, photography, video, and poetry
- share and discuss your art in Spanish with other Spanish heritage language youth

I hope that the information I get from doing this study will help me better understand how to maintain the Spanish language among youth in Alberta.

Risks

Your participation in this study and camp involves *minimal* risk. During our interview, there may be topics that may cause you some emotional discomfort. You can stop or pause the interviews at any time. You can also refuse to answer any question that you are not comfortable answering. When you create art, share art with others, or view art, past memories or stories can be triggered. When you think about language loss or culture loss, it may result in emotional discomfort. You may feel anxious or vulnerable. I will watch for signs of this discomfort and offer you compassion. I will make sure that there are chances during the camp for you to safely and privately let me know or remove yourself if you feel uncomfortable. We can also switch gears at any time from talking to play, improv, movement, or visual art experiments.

Cost of participation

The *Spanish Art Camp* and research study is free of charge. If there are art materials you would like to experiment with, I can arrange to purchase them and you can pick them up at an art store. If there are materials you would like to try over \$50.00 CAD, you can purchase them yourself. For our art projects, we will not use fancy or expensive materials. The projects are flexible in what media you can use and what you have already at home.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

Your decision to take part in this study is voluntary. You are under no obligation to participate. Even if you agree to participate in the study and sign this form, you can change your mind later and withdraw from the study (or leave) at any time. If you withdraw from the study, you will also withdraw from the camp, and vice versa. If you leave the study during the first week of the four-week camp, all your data will be deleted. This includes image, video, audio files, and interactions on *Slack*. If you choose to leave the study after the first week of the camp, I will continue to use the data I collected up to that point (your artwork, your first interview). However, whether you withdraw after the first week remain in the camp until the end, if you have concerns about a *specific* artwork of yours being used and/or displayed in my study, you can let me know and I will exclude it. I will ask you about this in the post-camp interview. You can withdraw it up until three days after the end of the camp, when I will begin to transcribe and make the data anonymous (in other words, up until it can no longer be identified as yours).

Confidentiality & Anonymity

- You will choose a pseudonym (another name) at the time of your first one-on-one interview with me. I will use the pseudonym instead of your real name in my research documentation to protect your identity. You may also choose another pseudonym for use in the camp if you don't want others in the camp to know your name. I will remove any links between your pseudonyms and your real identities at the time that the data is transcribed.
- Your face and identity will always be protected in my research documents, exhibition, and presentation. The *Zoom* sessions will only be audio-recorded (not video-recorded). If your artworks show your face or someone else's face (e.g., through photography, video, painted portraits), their faces will be blurred or covered in my research.
- You will not share what other participants say or share on *Slack* or during our *Zoom* group sessions.

- My notes and papers will be kept in files in a secured office. My digital information will be kept on a computer with password protection. These records will be stored for five years. Digital files including audio files will be removed from my computer after I finish transcription and put on a USB key and stored in a locked cabinet with any paper-based materials.
- The data may only be seen by myself, my supervisors, and the Research Ethics Board. I may use the data I get from this study in future research, but if I do this it will have to be approved by a Research Ethics Board again.
- This research will be used for my doctoral dissertation, but it will also inform my research articles, presentations, exhibitions, and teaching. You as a participant, including your face or name, will not be personally identified in any of these.
- For the password-protected exhibit we will organize for friends and family at the end of our camp, you *may* choose to feature your first name if you would like to be identified as the creator of the artwork. You may also choose a pseudonym.
- You may ask me for a report of the research findings by contacting me at aonita@ualberta.ca.

Contact Information

If you have any further questions, you can email me, Adriana Oniță at the Department of Secondary Education, University of Alberta (email: aonita@ualberta.ca) or my supervisor, Dr. Olenka Bilash at obilash@ualberta.ca. The plan for this study has been reviewed by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have questions about your rights or how research should be conducted, you can call (780) 492-2615. This office is independent of the researchers

Consent Statement

I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I understand that:

- I do not have to participate in this camp or study. Even after giving my consent, I can pull out of this study and camp at any time.
- I do not have to pay to be in this camp or study. I will receive some free art supplies.
- The camp and study will take about 5–6 weeks and will require 17 hours of my time.
- I will meet with Adriana one-on-one a total of six times on *Zoom*. I will meet with Adriana and other participants four times on *Zoom*. I will use *Slack* to share my art.
- The data that will be collected from me and used for Adriana's research includes: the multimedia artworks and posts I share on *Zoom* and *Slack*, and the audio-recordings of my interviews and our individual and group meetings on *Zoom*.
- I can withdraw all my data up until the end of the first week of the camp. Later, I can withdraw an individual art piece until three days after the camp ends.
- I can use a pseudonym (a name other than my real name) in the camp and in the research.
- Adriana will protect my identity, face, and name in her research by using a pseudonym for me in her research and blurring my face if it appears in my art.
- I will not share with anyone outside of the camp what other participants say, create, or share.
- I understand the benefits and the risks involved in participating in this camp and study.

I agree to participate in the research study *Arts-Based Curricula for Heritage Language Maintenance* by Adriana Oniță described above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

Participant's Name (printed) and Signature

Date

Adriana Oniță

Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent

Date

APPENDIX D: RECRUITMENT EMAIL

Estimada Escuela Gabriela Mistral,

Mi nombre es Adriana Oniță y soy estudiante de doctorado en el Departamento de Educación Secundaria de la Universidad de Alberta bajo la supervisión de la Dra. Olenka Bilash. Tengo buenos recuerdos de la escuela Gabriela Mistral, ya que enseñé español a adultos allí en 2013.

Hoy les escribo porque **busco jóvenes (de 13 a 18 años)** para participar en mi estudio de investigación sobre el mantenimiento de las lenguas de herencia a través de las artes: *Arts-based Curricula for Heritage Language Maintenance*. Este sitio web tiene toda la información necesaria para los padres y jóvenes: <https://aonita.wixsite.com/spanishartcamp>

Mi estudio incluye **participar en un taller de arte en español por internet en agosto, una entrevista antes del taller, y una entrevista después del taller**, todo bajo mi dirección. Los resultados de este taller y estudio serán utilizados para mi tesis doctoral. El taller es gratuito y algunos materiales estarán disponibles (gratis) para los jóvenes. Juntos, nos vamos a divertir aprendiendo y practicando el español de una manera creativa con proyectos divertidos, como desafíos de fotografía, pintura, arte digital, videos, poesía, instalaciones, y mucho más.

Los jóvenes pueden participar en este taller y estudio si:

- tienen entre 13 y 18 años
- viven en Alberta
- son estudiantes de español como lengua de “herencia.” Es decir, tienen cierta competencia en español como lengua materna, familiar, o ancestral. Los niveles de competencia lingüística pueden ser diversos. Por ejemplo, tal vez son bilingües, o tal vez su lengua dominante es el inglés y pueden entender y hablar el español, pero es más difícil escribirlo y leerlo.

Si conoce a algún joven dentro de su organización que cumpla con este criterio, ¿podría enviarles este correo electrónico y la carta de información adjunta?

El Taller de arte en español o *Spanish Art Camp* tendrá lugar durante un período de cuatro semanas este verano (flexible). Nos reuniremos dos veces por semana en *Zoom*, alternando entre sesiones de arte individuales de una hora cada una (investigadora y participante) y sesiones de arte grupales (investigadora y todos los participantes) de dos horas (max.) cada una. Durante el taller, los jóvenes serán guiados a crear varios proyectos de arte, compartir y conversar sobre sus obras de arte, y participar en un blog y exposición en línea.

También habrá entrevistas antes y después del taller donde se preguntará a los jóvenes sobre sus experiencias de aprendizaje de idiomas. El taller y las entrevistas se grabarán en audio y las obras de arte de los adolescentes se utilizarán como datos. La participación en el taller y el estudio es completamente voluntaria.

El taller es GRATUITO, y algunos materiales estarán disponibles (GRATIS) en The Paint Spot o Delta Art en Edmonton. Los adolescentes necesitan tener acceso a una computadora, un móvil o una cámara digital.

VENTAJAS

- la oportunidad de mejorar tus habilidades en español (hablar, leer, escribir, escuchar, habilidades interculturales) en un entorno creativo
- la oportunidad de pensar más profundamente sobre tus experiencias de aprendizaje de idiomas, lo que puede ayudarte a mantener el idioma español a largo plazo
- la oportunidad de conseguir materiales de arte (gratis), aprender y practicar nuevas habilidades artísticas como arte digital, fotografía, video, y poesía
- la oportunidad de compartir y hablar sobre tu arte en español con otros jóvenes

Si conoce a alguien en su organización que le gustaría participar, o tiene alguna pregunta sobre el estudio o el taller, puede enviarle esta información o darle mi correo electrónico: aonita@ualberta.ca.

Muchísimas gracias.

Adriana Oniță

English:

Dear *Escuela Gabriela Mistral* [or other Heritage language organization],

My name is Adriana Oniță and I am a doctoral student in the Department of Secondary Education at the University of Alberta under the supervision of Dr. Olenka Bilash. I have very fond memories of Gabriela Mistral school, as I taught Spanish to adults there in 2013!

Today I am writing because I am seeking youth (13–18) to participate in my research study about Heritage Language maintenance through the arts. My study includes taking part in an online *Spanish Art Camp*, a pre-camp interview, and post-camp interview, all led by me. The results of this study will be used for my doctoral dissertation. Participants are eligible to be in this study if they are:

- between 13 to 18 years of age
- live in Alberta
- identify as Spanish Heritage Language learners (have some proficiency in Spanish as a mother tongue or home language)

If you know of any youth within your organization who may fit this criteria, could you please forward this email and the attached information letter to them?



Benefits

Potential benefits include:

- the opportunity for young Heritage Language learners to practice their Spanish language skills (speaking, reading, writing, listening, intercultural skills) in a creative environment
- the opportunity to think more deeply about their language learning experiences, which may help with their Spanish language maintenance in the long run
- the opportunity to learn and practice new artistic skills such as digital art, photography, video, and poetry
- the opportunity for participants to share and discuss their art in Spanish with other youth

The camp will take place over a four week period. We will meet twice a week on Zoom, alternating between individual art sessions of one hour each (researcher and participant) and group art sessions (researcher and all participants) of two hours each. During the camp, youth will be guided to create several art projects, share and discuss their artworks, and participate in an online camp blog and exhibit. There will also be pre-camp and post-camp interviews where youth will be asked about their language learning experiences. The camp and the pre- and post- interviews will be audio-recorded and their artworks will be used as data.

Participation in the camp and study is completely voluntary. The *Spanish Art Camp* is free of charge.

If you know anyone in your organization who would like to participate or have any questions about the study, please email or contact me at aonita@ualberta.ca for more information.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Adriana Oniță
Department of Secondary Education, University of Alberta

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Individual PRE-CAMP interview questions, prompts, and activities

(also translated in Spanish for youth who wanted to do their interviews in Spanish)

Warm-up questions

1. How are you today?
2. How is your week going?
3. What is something joyful or meaningful you did or experienced this week?
4. Go over the interview protocol together.

Language background and cultural identity

1. Tell me about your language background.
 - a. What languages do you speak?
 - b. When—and with whom—do you find yourself using each language in your daily life? Could you give me some examples? (e.g., at home, school, friends, online, with family in another country, etc.)
 - c. When I say the following words which language(s) pop to mind:
 - i. Mother tongue
 - ii. Heritage language
 - iii. Home language
 - iv. First language
 - v. Dominant language
 - vi. Why? How do you understand these terms?
2. Tell me about your experiences with learning each of your languages (both formally and informally).
 - a. What memories or stories do you have of learning Spanish, English, or other languages?
 - b. Have you attended public school or taken formal courses in Spanish?
 - c. Have you participated in Spanish community Heritage Language schools? (e.g., a Saturday school like Gabriela Mistral Latin American School)?
 - d. If you have not had formal schooling in Spanish, do you wish you would have had the opportunity? Why?
3. Tell me about your cultural identity.
 - a. What is your cultural identity?
 - b. How much of a role does your cultural identity play in your daily life?
 - c. Can you describe your feelings towards your cultural identity?
 - d. Do you feel more connected to your cultural identity when you speak your Heritage Language? Why/why not? Can you give me an example?

Language and emotions

1. Using *Sketchpad P2P* (link shared by me), please draw a shape or a symbol for each of your languages. Can you describe what each language means to you?
 - a. Consider how each language makes you feel. What colour(s) and texture(s) would you fill your shapes/symbols with? Why? (*participant adds to drawing*)
 - b. Which is the language in which you express your emotions and personality with most ease? Why? How might you depict that in your drawing? (*participant adds to drawing*)
 - c. How does knowing and speaking Spanish influence your identity? How might you depict that in your drawing? (*participant adds to drawing*)

Language abilities and aspirations

1. How do you feel about your language abilities (or skills) in Spanish?
 - a. Drawing option: Draw a series of emojis on *Sketchpad P2P* to illustrate how you feel about your: speaking skills, writing skills, reading skills, listening skills, intercultural skills, etc.
2. Do you make efforts to maintain or practice your Spanish regularly?
 - a. Can you give me some examples of what you do, on an average day or week?
3. Have you experienced any attrition or loss in your Spanish language vocabulary?
 - a. When did you first notice?
 - b. Why do you think it happened/happens?
 - c. Can you give me an example, please?
 - d. How does this language loss affect your language or cultural identity?
4. Do you ever find yourself code-switching (alternating between Spanish and English in conversation)? How often?
 - a. Why do you think you code-switch?
 - b. Could you give me an example, please?
5. What are your goals or aspirations in relation to your language skills in Spanish?
 - a. What would you like to be able to *do* in Spanish? Can you give me some examples, please?
 - b. Which of these goals could be supported by art-making?

Community and habitus

1. To what extent do you feel that you belong to the Latin-American (or Spanish-speaking) community in Edmonton?
 - a. How do you participate in the community? Can you give me some examples?
2. Do you visit the place(s) where your family is from?

- a. How do you feel when you go back to (*country*) to visit relatives or friends? (in terms of language ability, cultural experiences, identity/belonging, code-switching, etc.).
3. What do you think are the attitudes of people in your host culture (Edmonton) when you speak your language?
 - a. Do you feel your Spanish is valued? (e.g. in your community, at school, in the media, etc.) Can you give me some examples, please?
 - b. How do you think your *habitus* (or your environment, community, city, country) affects your language use or loss? Can you give me some examples, please?

Art practice

1. What do you think about art? (define as visual, literary, performative, digital; give examples).
 - a. Do you make art, or have an artistic practice?
 - b. What kind of art do you like to make or look at/watch/listen to? Why?
2. Have you ever made art projects in Spanish?
 - a. What kind of art projects have you made in the past?
 - b. How often do you creatively or artistically engage with Spanish in a month?
 - c. Can you give me some examples of what you do? (ie. journal, make videos in the language, social media)? Why do you do these things?
 - d. How do you feel when you make art in Spanish?
3. What kind of art projects would you like to try/do/experiment with in this camp? (I will offer a list: photography, video, music-making, poetry, painting, print-making, digital illustration, stop-motion animation, etc.).

Wind-down questions

1. At this time, is there anything else you would like to add?
2. Would you like to clarify anything you said earlier?
3. Do you have any questions for me? Are you comfortable with this process?

Individual POST-CAMP interview questions, prompts, and activities

Camp experience

1. Tell me about your experience in our online *Spanish Art Camp*.
 - a. How did you feel overall in the camp? Why?
 - b. What did you find the most enjoyable about the camp? Why?
 - c. Which activity or art project did you connect to the most/the least? Why?

- d. What was the most challenging thing about the camp? Why? How did you work through the challenges?
2. How did you feel about the *online* experience?
 - a. Which aspects of the online/digital world did you find most enjoyable? And most challenging? Why?
 - b. How did you feel about the individual online sessions?
 - c. How did you feel about the group online sessions?

Language abilities and aspirations

1. Do you feel that the camp helped you practice/develop/reclaim/enhance your Spanish language or literacy goals?
 - a. If so, how? If not, why not?
 - b. Could you give me some specific examples, please?
 - c. Which activities or art projects did you find most useful for practicing your Spanish? Why?
 - d. Which art projects or activities helped you MOST to meet your Spanish language or literacy aspirations? How?
2. Are you motivated to continue language practice through the arts? How?

Community

1. What stood out to you from the group sessions?
 - a. What was your experience with responding to and discussing the art of other members in the group?
 - b. Did you find it easy to connect with others in an online format? If yes, how so? If not, why not?
2. Would you continue meeting with a digital art community in Spanish? Why or why not?
 - a. Do you see yourself keeping in touch with any of the members in the group?

Wind-down questions

1. Is there anything else you would like to add?
2. Would you like to clarify anything you said earlier?
3. Do you have any questions for me?