University of Alberta

Unity, Diversity, Anonymity:
An ethno-linguistic portrait of the Spanish speaking
population of Edmonton, Alberta.

By

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to the participants in this study and to the community at large. I hope that this study will in some way prove useful to the community, and that I have represented your voices accurately and with respect. A special thanks goes to the very gracious hostess who arranged a dinner party and a group of participants for the discussion of this topic. This was both a pleasure and a boon to the research.

I also dedicate this thesis to my two small children, who had absolutely no choice in the matter, but adapted to constant changes with strength and character.

El presente estudio se dedica a los participantes del mismo, y a la comunidad hispana de Edmonton en general. Espero que este proyecto se verá beneficioso a la comunidad en alguna manera, y que sus voces se hayan transmitido con alta fidelidad y todo respecto. En particular, las gracias se debe a la señora que por su generosa voluntad invitó un grupo de participantes a cenar en su casa, con el propósito de ayudarme con este estudio. Fue a la vez un placer, y un gran apoyo a la investigación.

También dedico este estudio a mis dos niños pequeños, que a pesar de no haber tomado ninguna parte en la decisión de que su madre se dedicara a este proyecto, se han adaptado con paciencia a un periodo de muchos cambios.

Abstract

This thesis describes the role of Spanish as a common language in the construction of social networks among the diverse Spanish-speaking population of Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Analysis of the data confirms the low public visibility of the community observed initially, despite the even larger numbers of Spanish speakers living in the city than initially estimated. The community's relatively low level of coherence and its minimal presence in the public sphere can be explained by two main factors: an exceptional degree of diversity among members (described in terms of national, religious, political, socio-economic and ethnic variations), and a set of ambivalent attitudes regarding the relative value of Hispanic culture. This community's public anonymity is also discussed as related to the larger realities of Canada's official policy of multiculturalism and popular discourses of Hispanidad in Anglo-Canadian mainstream culture.

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Thanks also goes to my family, many of whom gave time, space, and energy to this project. Special thanks to Lisa for caring for my children in my absence, to Michael for his cool-headedness during the grueling final stretch, and to Linda for the motivating and reassuring words 'It takes a village to write a thesis'. I also owe a great thanks to my grandparents, Andy and Isabella, for letting me descend on their peaceful village for a summer of study, and to my mother for making sure I didn't stray from the path.

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Introduction

Edmonton is rich in ethnic and linguistic diversity, despite its reputation as one of the less cosmopolitan Canadian cities. Residents are familiar with the thriving Chinese, South Asian, Italian, Ukrainian, and more recently, North African communities in the city, and know where to find concentrations of import shops, restaurants and other services catering to these communities. A striking characteristic of the large Hispanic community of Edmonton is how silent it is in the public sphere, despite its size (approximately 30,000 people), and the frequency with which one encounters Spanish spoken in the streets of Edmonton. This thesis explores how dynamics and attitudes within the Hispanic community of Edmonton contribute to this silence. The research asks three questions in order to elucidate the issue:

1) What are the demographics of the population?

2) What is the role of a shared language in forming social relationships between Spanish speakers of various backgrounds, and are dialectical variations important?

3) In what sense can this population be described as a community?

I approach the topic from within the paradigm provided by the Ethnography of Speaking, which is appropriate where a distinguishing characteristic of the population is the use of a shared language or languages. Specifically, I apply the concept of 'linguistic community' (Daveluy 2006; Dorian 1982; Duranti 1997; Hymes 1974) to assess the ways in which language serves in the construction of community, or the construction of a shared communal identity.

Analysis of the data confirms the low public visibility of the community observed initially, despite the even larger numbers of Spanish speakers living in the city than

initially estimated. Further, although the idea of a 'Spanish speaking community' was etically derived at the outset, it is a notion corroborated by participants in the study. The emic conception of this community was as either 'Hispanic' or 'Latino', rather than as 'Spanish speaking', reflecting an ethno-linguistic basis of shared identity, rather than purely linguistic one. Confirming the findings of a previous ethnographic survey, this research also finds that 'heterogeneity is a notable characteristic of Spanish speaking immigrants in Canada' (Anderson 1977:51). The low level of coherence on a community-wide level, and a minimal presence in the public sphere can be explained by two main factors: the internal heterogeneity of the population, and a set of ambivalent ethno-linguistic attitudes about the relative value of Hispanidad (Hispanic-ness) in Canada.

Spanish speaking immigrants in Canada, are at present misrepresented in public discourse (Connelley 2006), and often experience inequity in the employment market, barriers to public services, and other adverse realities of their location as a minority group in Canada (Darden 2000; Jimenez 2009; Nakhaie 2008; Usha 2008). This research contributes significant findings to the nascent field of Hispanic-Canadian research, and is of significant value to the existing popular and official discourses of Hispanidad. The limited success of Canada's Multiculturalism Act (Nakhaie 2006), and Dobrowolsky's discussion of the 'invisibilization' of minority groups in Canada (Dobrowolsky 2008), are also informative toward this examination of the Hispanic community in Edmonton.

Methodologically, this study constitutes a novel application of the ethnography of speaking framework, as this population not only shares a common language and a common immigration experience, but is also characterized by many layers of national, ethnic, socio-economic, immigratory and demographic diversity. A linguistic approach

here is important because of its capacity to distinguish what is common and what is distinct among the segments of this highly heterogeneous population, thus bringing to light dimensions of the community that sometimes go unaddressed in current research on Hispanic Canadians. According to Anderson,

> In Canada the Spanish-speaking form not only a statistical category based on language, but also a group of immigrants who are frequently serviced by the same social agencies (because of the convenience of a single translator and interpreter who can serve them all).
> (Anderson 1977:1)

Because language is one of the most common and reliable tropes by which outsiders to the community define this population, in popular, scholarly, and official discourses, it is considered a valuable point of departure for the present study.

The body of the thesis is organized as follows: Chapter One outlines the theory and methods employed in this research, and provides a profile of the Hispanic community in Edmonton, including a summary of existing relevant literature on Hispanics in the Canadian and American contexts. Chapter Two relates the findings of this research, which fall into three groups: 1) the evidence of communal networks and communal identity among Hispanics in Edmonton, 2) information about the levels of diversity within the community, and 3) the attitudinal factors among members regarding the Hispanic community, and Hispanic identity in general, which affect the construction of social networks. The third and final chapter provides an interpretation of these findings, including the applicability of the concept of 'speech community' to this population, an examination of this community's public anonymity, and the relationship of this community to larger social realities, including Canadian policies on immigration and multiculturalism.

Chapter One: Approach and Method

This chapter presents the research framework developed to assess to Spanish-speaking community of Edmonton. The theoretical framework is outlined, and relevant terms are defined. A comprehensive community profile is provided, compiled from academic, government and popular sources. Finally, the method by which the study was conducted is described in detail.

1.1 A Linguistic Approach to Community

This section outlines the theoretical approach employed in this research. In particular, the concept of 'speech community', which is the principle theoretical construct employed in this study to assess the question of community among the Spanish speaking population of Edmonton. Other key terms are also defined in this section.

1.1.1 The Ethnography of Speaking

The departure point for this research is the constant of a shared language among a diverse group of immigrants, which is in line with Duranti's claim that a shared language is a point of reference for both speakers of the language and for research.

> Any notion of a language variety presupposes a community of speakers. Such a community is a point of reference for the individuals who use a given variety as much as for the researcher who is interested in documenting such usage.
> (Duranti 1997:72)

I do not seek to discover a wider definition of community, as might be discussed in sociology or community studies, but to view community through the lens of language. I examine the social networks that are formed based upon communicative activities.

The term 'community', Urciuoli points out, can itself be 'racializing' or 'ethnicizing', in that ethnic communities are typically those marked as deviations from the unmarked standard. While ethnicizing discourses neutralize and commodify ethnic differences for popular consumption, racializing discourses add a layer of moralizing and segregationism (Urciuoli 1996:15-40). Further, if ethnicity is a subjective or enacted reality (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Negrón 2007), and interwoven with conceptions of class, race, nationality, and even geneaology (Corlett 2003; Trueba 1999; Urciuoli 1996), using the idea of an ethnic community as a starting point for research is problematic. Language, despite variations and subjectivities, is an observable social act in ways that ethnic identity is not.

As such, the term speech community is a less polarizing and more inclusive basis on which to build an appropriate understanding of this population. As originally conceived by Dell Hymes, a speech community is:

> A community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and
> interpretation of speech. Such sharing comprises knowledge of at
> least one form of speech, and knowledge of its patterns of use.
> Both conditions are necessary.
> (Hymes 1974:51)

Since Hymes' early work, the concept of speech community has been widely discussed (Daveluy 2005; Duranti 1997; Gumperz 1968, 1961; Romaine 1982; Saville-Troike 2003). The flexibility and utility of the concept lends itself to a wide range of applications and subject matter, leading some scholars to view speech community not as the community itself, but as an analytical tool or notion (Daveluy 2005). For the purposes of this research, the most useful definition of the term is the idea that a speech

community is "the product of communicative activities engaged in by a given group of people" (Duranti 1997:82).

> According to this definition, to engage in linguistic anthropological
> research means to look at a group of people's daily dealings with
> one another from the point of view of the communication they
> exchange and the communicative resources they employ.
> (Duranti 1997:82)

Speech community, then, is observable through the cumulative result of linguistic interaction between individuals. Speech communities need not be based upon or restricted to a single linguistic code. Nearly all participants in this study were English and Spanish bilingual, and communicated in both languages, reminding us that speech communities can be composed of bi- or multilingual individuals (Romaine 1989).

Communicative competence, a term also taken from the Ethnography of Speaking, refers to the ability of an individual to interact appropriately in any communicative situation, by making use of both linguistic and social knowledge. Full linguistic competence is not required for membership in a given community, but social know-how is essential. As Dorian discovered, "knowing how to say a few things appropriately is more important than knowing how to say many things without sure knowledge of their appropriateness" (in Romaine 1982:31).

1.1.2 Terms: Spanish, Spanish Speaking, Hispanic, Latino

Before moving ahead, it is necessary to clarify the terms 'Spanish', 'Spanish Speaking', 'Hispanic', and 'Latino', as they will be employed in the following discussion.

This research initially defined the target population in purely demo-linguistic terms, using the construction 'Spanish speaking population.' Fieldwork revealed that participants referred to their community as 'Hispanic' or 'Latino', and as a community, not just a 'population.' In keeping with their usage, I employ the term 'Hispanic community' to include all Edmonton Spanish speakers, and the term 'Latino' to refer more specifically to the Latin American community. The term 'Hispanic' is understood here as an ethno-linguistic, rather than a racial or genealogical category, as it is applied in U.S. Census reports (U.S. Census Bureau 2007). The word 'Spanish' is used to refer to people originating from Spain, or to the language itself.

1.2 Background

This section will provide relevant information on the Hispanic population in Canada, compiled from academic, governmental, and popular sources. Relevant literature on the Hispanic population in the United States is also included. In the latter half of this section, a more detailed profile of the Hispanic population in Edmonton, and Canada-wide, is provided.

1.2.1 Hispanic Communities in the Literature

Research on the Canadian Hispanic population can be found in ever increasing numbers and specificity. Generally, Canadian studies of Spanish-speaking immigrants tend to focus on the immigrant or refugee experience (Canuto 1998; Usha 2008), the settlement process (Darden 2000; Masgoret and Gardner 1999), education (Foley 1991; Morren 1992), language issues (Guardado 2002 ; Hoffman 2001), family dynamics

(Juteau 1991; Kulig 1998), and health (Mignone 2002; Salas 2007). Recently, studies in the Canadian context have begun to focus on a particular segment of the Spanish speaking population, such as immigrants of a given national origin, a trend which is indicative of both a growing population and a growing body of literature. The increasing specificity of research challenges the assumption of a homogenous Hispanic population, which could in some cases constitute a methodological or theoretical limitation. This is particularly important in this field of research, as many studies are carried out with the application of findings in mind (e.g. Mignone 2002).

The ethnographic work most closely related to the present study is Anderson's 1977 survey on Spanish speakers in three Canadian cities: Toronto, Montreal, and Victoria. She found a high degree of heterogeneity, and a tendency to separate into smaller subgroups based on shared nationality, religion, or political views, a finding consistent with the results of the current study. As her study was comparative, she found that the larger Spanish speaking populations had a higher tendency to separate into subgroups. In the three localities included in the study, she observed the tendency for unity when the occasion called for it. As we will see, her findings provide an informative backdrop for the present discussion, in that levels of diversity and communal cohesion are two central questions in both studies.

Connelley's 'dance ethnography' (Connelley 2006), is also relevant as it deals with the place of Latino culture in Canadian popular consciousness. She argues that the adoption of Hispanic cultural items, in particular salsa dancing, into Canadian mainstream culture typifies a process of simplifying and reconfiguring foreign ethnicities into tropes that are easily consumed and digested by majoritarian culture.

Images of Hispanidad, or Latinidad (Hispanic-ness/Latin-ness) abound in popular

Canadian culture, occurring in posters for salsa nights at local bars, advertisements for

'authentic' ethnic food, music videos, travel brochures, and advertisements for volunteer

work abroad. Much of the popular discourse makes reference to stereotypical images, and

many of these tropes are negative: the Hispanic is presented as hyper-sexualized, over-

emotional, anachronistically traditional, criminal and dangerous, poor and uneducated,

and so on.

> Latin music is the new international pop sound to Canada. It is
> exciting, warm and sexy. You don't have to speak Spanish to feel
> the groove.
> (Billboard staff writer 1995)

Another stereotype mentioned in popular discourse is the 'good' stereotype of the

poor, uneducated Hispanic with a heart of gold and a positive attitude:

> They always come from the slums with dogs playing in the dirt and
> people everywhere and a room full of kids. To be the Good Latino
> they then have to get away, to go to university and then marry the
> white girl.
> (La Mala 2009)

In this narrative the Hispanic is simultaneously relegated to the lower social

stratum, and expected to keep his/her chin up while hoping to one day join the

mainstream. Other popular voices express frustration at the view of Hispanics as

retrograde and traditionalist:

> Mainstream media is rife with this mentality, and it doesn't just
> apply to music. Journalists are wowed by the fact that now
> marketers are using irony and edgy humor (in lieu of abuelitas and
> mariachis)[1] in advertising to Latinos because society as a whole
> sees the Latino community as naïve and incapable of being spoken
> to like the rest of the world.

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[1] Little old grandmothers and mariachi singers.

(Woodard Maderazo February 2006)

Without straying too far from the Canadian context, it is prudent to mention some of the similarities and differences between the experiences of Hispanics in Canada and the United States. The Canadian Hispanic population is small, as compared to other Canadian immigrant communities and to Hispanic populations in the United States, where they currently constitute the majority in many southern States (U.S. Census Bureau 2007). The American 'English Only' campaign, exemplifies the anti-Hispanic sentiment and linguistic discrimination present in the United States (Baron 1990; Crawford 2000). In American academic work, one easily detects political undertones, particularly regarding the question of Hispanic identity, and ethnic or racial discrimination (Fishman 1966; Fishman et al. 1971; Nelson 1997; Urciuoli 1995, 1996; Zentella 1997a, 1997b). Work in the United States also reveals multiple adverse forces and circumstances besetting Hispanic populations not often discussed in the Canadian context, such as ghettoization, overt racial discrimination, and the illegality of many American Latinos (Bibler Coutin 2005; Ramos 2005).

A more thorough comparison however, reveals a number of similarities that the average Canadian would be pressed to admit to. National media has recently reported on the exploitation of temporary Mexican laborers (CBC News 2007, 2001, 2006), and an estimated population of 200,000 undocumented persons living and working in Canada, a portion of whom would be Hispanics (The Fifth Estate 2004). The social inequities faced by Hispanics and other ethnic Canadians are also coming to light (Jimenez 2009).

 Finally, and most interestingly, is that despite Canada's official policy of multiculturalism, the rates of heritage language retention for Spanish speaking

immigrants to Canada and the United States are very similar. In both contexts, third generation immigrants rarely use their ancestral language at home, or with friends, and may not be able to speak it at all (Turcotte 2006:20).

1.2.2 Community Profile: Hispanics in Edmonton

Hispanic immigration to Canada is a relatively recent trend, really beginning after the reformation of entrance requirements for immigrants in the 1960s (Kubat 1993; Canadian Council for Refugees 2007). It is characterized by a series of migratory waves, typically as the result of a push factor in the source country.

Until approximately 1971, the majority of Spanish speaking immigrants to Canada were from Spain, who had been arriving in small numbers since the 1920s, in particular in the years surrounding the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). The first sizeable cohort of Latin American Spanish speakers arrived to Canada following the military coup of Pinochet (1973), when the Canadian government allowed a quota variance granting entry to approximately 7000 Chilean political refugees (Canadian Council for Refugees 2007:17). Shortly after, approximately 20,000 Ecuadorians arrived, and mostly settled in the greater Toronto area (Anderson 1977:1-15; Knowles 2000).

In the 1980s, when the civil war in El Salvador reached its most violent pitch and produced a mass emigration in much the same way, many of the émigrés choose Canada as their destination (Juteau 2001:282). In general, a push factor in one country normally spills over into surrounding countries, so that the majority of Spanish speaking immigrants to Canada in the 1970s were from South America, and from Central America in the 1980s. Mexico, our closest Spanish speaking neighbor, has contributed a steadily

increasing number of immigrants since the introduction of the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA) in 1994. What is not commonly known is that alongside the large numbers of students and skilled workers, Mexico also contributed over 13,000 temporary workers and is the largest supplier of Spanish speaking refugees to Canada by a wide margin (Canada 2006). Many refugees from Mexico are female victims of domestic abuse or professionals under threat from the various drug cartels (CBC News 2007a). Participants reported that threats often take the form of kidnapping for ransom, and so some parents send their children to Canada to avoid this risk, a phenomenon similar in many ways to the "parachute kids" of the Asian elite (Zhou 1998).
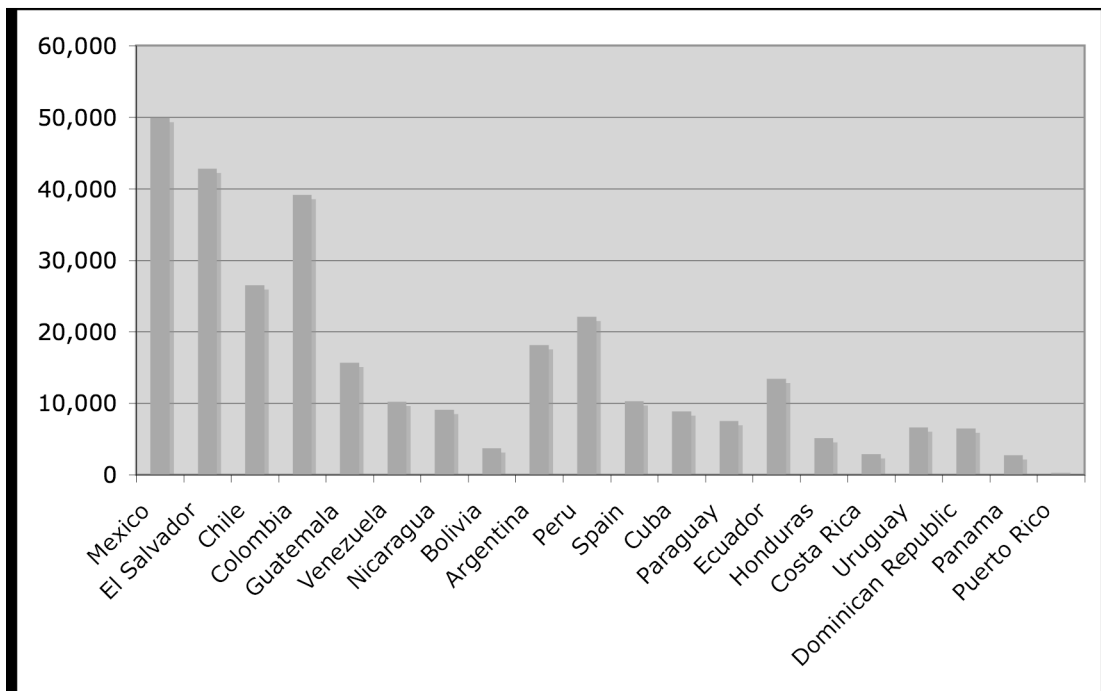
Table 1: Canada: Population by Country of Origin

Colombia is currently experiencing many types of insecurity, including physical, as a result of long-standing conflict between competing drug cartels. Colombian

immigrants, arriving as refugees, skilled workers and international students, comprise the second largest national category of immigrants to Canada at present, and have been arriving since the early 2000s (Citizenship and Immigration 2006).

Based on the existence of nationally-defined cultural organizations, the most prominent groups in the Edmonton context were from Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, and Spain. Aside from the larger national groups, there are Spanish speakers from Spain and nearly every country in Latin America currently living in Edmonton. Spanish speakers can also come from a number of countries in which Spanish is not the majority language[2].
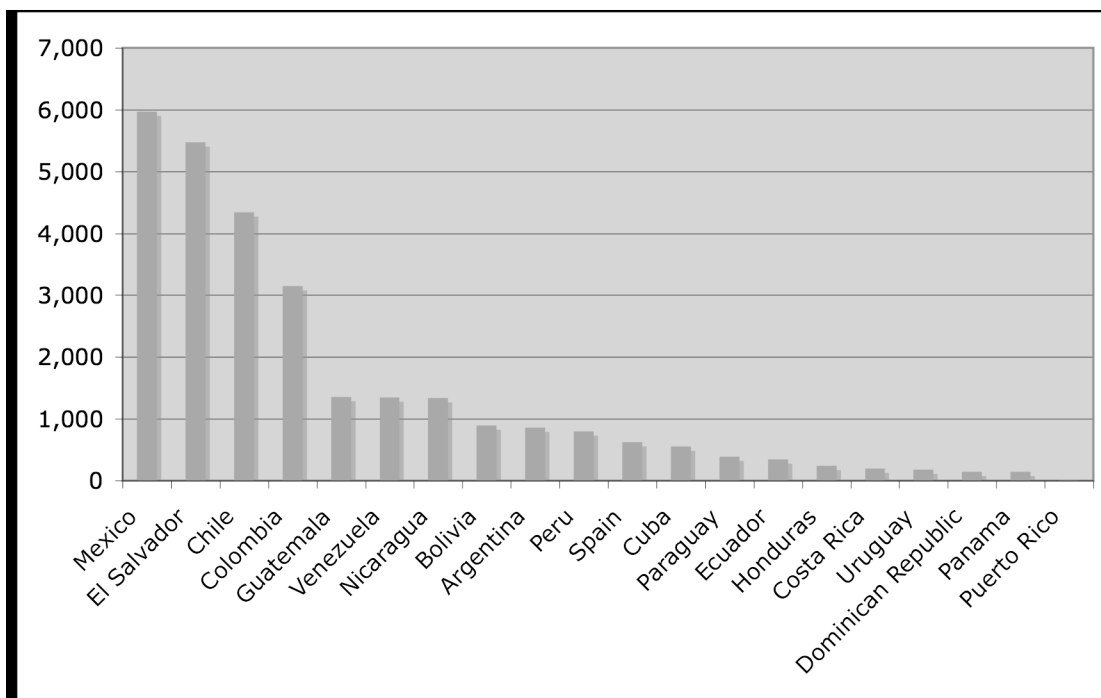
Table 2: Alberta: Population by Country of Origin

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[2] The population of Sudanese-Cubans in rural Alberta (Berger 2001) Spanish speaking Filipinos (Anderson 1977:1) and Spanish speaking Americans, could also figure into the category or Spanish speakers.

According to the 2006 Census of Population, there are 9,695 people in Edmonton with Spanish as a their first language. Nationally, there are 362,120 mother tongue speakers of Spanish, including 169,160 people for whom Spanish is the language most often used at home. Further, the majority of these homes are bilingual: nationally, 84,795 people reported Spanish as the exclusive language of the home (Statistics Canada 2006a, 2006b, 2006c).

Participant responses in the present study, however, suggest that the actual size of the Spanish speaking population is likely three times what is listed in the census. Anderson found in her own work that participant responses indicated a population four times that reported in the census (Anderson 1977:9). For the Edmonton population, the same phenomenon was observed. A very moderate estimate, as described by insiders to the community, would be of 30,000 individuals currently living in Edmonton for whom Spanish is a heritage language. Significantly, the relative sizes of each national group estimated by the participants in this study match the Census Canada estimations of national groups. It is probable that this contrast in estimations applies nationwide, and consequently there are probably between 1,000,000 and 1,300,000 Hispanics in Canada.

On a more descriptive level, the recent Latin American Community Profile report (Lindsay 2001), the first of its kind, shows that statistically, Latin Americans (who form the majority of the Hispanic population in Canada) are a relatively young population (47% are under 25 years of age), and are a relatively recent immigrant trend (62% are foreign-born). They have a slightly higher rate of post-secondary education than the average Canadian (17%, compared to 15% for Canadians), are more likely to be

employed than the average Canadian population (64% compared to 62%), and almost all (94%) are conversationally fluent in one or both of Canada's official language. However, despite high educational levels, employability and language competence, Latin American Canadians were more likely to have low incomes (28%, compared to 16%). What is more, Latin Americans earn 85% of their income from wage or salary earnings (compared to 77% for the average Canadian), suggesting that Latin Americans in Canada earn less than other Canadians from alternate income sources, such as investments, business revenue, long-term savings, and home ownership.

The above section provided a description of some of the migratory, socio-economic and cultural dimensions of the Hispanic population in Canada. The next section will describe the methodology adopted to assess how the internal complexity of the community, as it relates to the construction of 'community'.

1.3 Method

This section will outline the methods employed in this study for the collection, treatment and analysis of data. First the conception of ethnographic method as defined for the purposes of the present study is discussed. Then the data collection completed for this study is described, including participant observation of the community, research tools, population sampling, and ethical considerations. The issues faced in treatment and analysis of the body of data are also discussed in this section.

1.3.1 Ethnographic Method

This study uses three foundational ethnographic research techniques: long-term field stay, participant observation, and speaking the language of the participants (Ellen 1984:241). Both formal and informal data collection techniques were employed, fitting the description of participant observation by McCall and Simmons as:

> A characteristic blend or combination of methods and techniques that […] involves some amount of genuinely social interaction in the field with the subjects of the study, some direct observations of relevant events, some formal and a great deal of informal interviewing, some systematic counting, some collection of documents and artifacts, and open-endedness in the direction the study takes.
> (in Ellen 1984:17)

Following this prescription, the research employs a formal triangulated data collection scheme (interviews, survey questionnaires and observation), complemented by additional informal opportunities for data collection. Because the 'field' at this time was my own city of residence, I was able to practice a steady collection of materials, ephemera and information about the community over the course of nearly two years (July 2005 to March 2007).

1.3.2 Contact and Observation

Formal, directed fieldwork took place in two phases. The first was in August 2006, when I attended three local cultural festivals and made initial contact with twelve members of the community. The second phase of formal data collection was from January to March 2007. At this time contact was established with the leaders of various cultural and national associations in the city to solicit their participation as interviewees.

Participating community leaders then directed me to other potential participants and points of interest. As the second phase progressed, further contacts were made with Spanish language businesses, institutions, special interest groups, and entertainment venues.

In total, participant observation was carried out at seventeen Spanish speaking locations: three festivals, three restaurants, three churches, four imports stores, two language schools, one immigration services location. The combination of multiple points of entry into the community and snowballing (the clustering of data around a single entry-point into the community) provided a balance of directed and undirected sampling.

1.3.3 Interviews

In total, thirty-eight individuals were interviewed. Interviews were composed of two parts. The first portion was a straightforward demographic-linguistic survey questionnaire on the topics of language competence and use, place of origin, date of immigration, education and employment, and social and family relationships, as related to the use of the Spanish language (see Appendix 1).

The second portion was a guided interview (see Appendix 2). This portion was carried out in a recursive format, as described by Stratton (2004). The questions focused on the following themes:

1) a description of the Spanish speaking population and its members;

2) individual and communal social networks, as related to language;

3) language attitudes; and

4) definitions of, and attitudes toward community.

The language of all interaction was Spanish, and all interviews were recorded in digital audio format. Although initially all interviews were to be conducted on a one-to-one basis, there were four cases in which an extra person in attendance spontaneously offered their participation alongside the planned interviewee. In addition, there was one group interview, which was organized by a member of the community as a dinner party, for the explicit purpose of assisting with this research. In all of the multiple participant settings, demographic survey data was collected individually, and the long-form interview portion was carried out as a group discussion.

1.3.4 The Sample

According to Silva-Corvalán, the minimum number of participants necessary to represent a community is 0.0025% of the total population. Alternately, she suggests, a sample can be selected to fulfill a set of predetermined variables (Silva-Corvalán and Enrique-Arias 2001:42-50). These two techniques are combined in this study. The sampling plan accordingly specified a minimum of 17 people, but aimed at a larger number with equal gender representation (two males and two females) from each of the nine national groups discovered in preliminary research[3], for a total of 36 individuals.

The final sample retrieved diverged slightly from that proposed, but in ways that were beneficial to the study. In total 38 interviews were conducted and ten countries were represented. A slight over-representation of Chileans and Salvadorans conforms with their larger numbers in the population, as noted over the course of fieldwork, and as

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[3] Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, and Spain

documented in statistical sources, as noted above. A general over-representation of males, professionals or white-collar workers, and retirees also occurred, despite efforts to correct the imbalance, due simply to the greater flexibility of their schedules. The high level of education of the sample is also reflective of the fact that Hispanic immigrants to Canada generally have a high level of education. The fact that the Colombian community came to my attention during fieldwork, and not through the sources used during preliminary research, was a result of its more recent growth.

	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
Argentina	2	2	4
Chile	2	3	5
Colombia	3	1	4
Ecuador	2	1	3
Guatemala	0	2	2
Mexico	3	1	4
Nicaragua	0	1	1
Peru	1	3	4
El Salvador	2	4	6
Spain	2	3	5
Total	17	21	38

Table 3: Study Sample

1.3.5 Data Treatment and Analysis

For the analysis of this sizeable body of data, all interviews were transcribed, and responses were tabulated[4]. Tabulation of responses revealed a set of factors that were not explicitly addressed in the set of interview questions. Specifically, mentions of socio-economic levels were too frequent to be left aside, as were the related mentions of ethnic identification. One step of the analysis was to arrive at a classification system for these variables. Characteristic of ethnographic work, part of this process of classification had to make sense of the discrepancies between what people said and what they appeared to be doing, in this case regarding linguistic and social activity and attitudes.

In the end, a set of categories was established based on a comprehensive assessment of all data retrieved during the interview process (see Appendix 3). For socio-economic status, five categories were designed to account for past and present professional, occupational, educational and social or cultural achievements. Regarding ethnic diversity within the community, participants were categorized as simply Hispanic or Latino, unless references were made to either European or Indigenous American heritage, in which case they were identified as such in the data. Fluency in both English and Spanish was also included as a variable for analysis. Six levels of fluency were established, ranging from native speaker fluency to almost no knowledge of the language at all. All participants in this study had at minimum some level of fluency in both languages[5].

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[4] Transcriptions available upon request.
[5] Section 2.1.1 below provides a detailed description of fluency levels among the population sample.

1.3.6 Ethics

In order to minimize any possible risk to participants, all information is kept entirely confidential and anonymous. All audio, digital and paper records of interviewees are numerically coded and separated from participant consent forms to ensure the confidentiality, and the objectivity of the analysis. Pseudonyms are used in written and oral deliveries of the results, and identifying features of participants, such as nationality or age, are concealed when it is felt that this information may lead other community members to recognize them in the excerpts provided.

The focus of interviews was restricted to the topics of community and language. Potentially sensitive topics, particularly the reasons for and means of immigration, were avoided in the construction of the questions. Participants were informed of their rights according to the Tri-council ethical regulations for the inclusion of human subjects, including informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity (for the consent form see Appendix 4). This study was carried out under ethical approval from the University of Alberta's Research Ethics Board, under certificate #1267.

This chapter has described the framework for research that was employed to assess the question of commuity among the Edmonton Hispanic population. Chapter Two, below, will relate the main findings of this study.

Chapter 2: Findings

The Spanish speaking community is highly diverse along a number of characteristics, as demonstrated in Chapter One. While these shared characteristics bind some individuals together, they naturally and simultaneously exclude others. Data showed that although the community as a whole does come together at certain times, most Hispanic social networks are smaller, and are based upon a narrower set of shared characteristics and interests. Although my intention was to focus on language as a community builder and avoid emphasis on the complicated and sensitive questions of socio-economic differences, and questions of race and ethnicity, it soon became apparent that these variables were of central importance to my interviewees, and it would have been imprudent to ignore such commonly and consistently voiced statements of identity.

Data confirmed that possession of a shared language among the Hispanic community is a binding force, in that it is a means for social interaction, but only as one component of a shared ethno-cultural identity. Other identifying features, such as national origin, religious and political stances, proved to be central in the internal organization of the community. Questions of socio-economic status and ethnicity, often conflated or intertwined with other elements of individual and communal identity, were found to be sources of conflict between members and sub-communities, in particular following the reshuffling of social order produced by the leveling effect of immigration. Finally, a degree of ethnic self-doubt was discovered, which is manifest in both interpersonal and public expressions of ethnicity and community.

In this chapter, I present three groups of observations: 1) the observations of a sense of unity and community among Hispanics in Edmonton, 2) observations of factors

sustaining diversity within Edmonton's Spanish speaking community, and finally 3) data retrieved regarding attitudes toward Hispanic ethnic identity and community, which were found to either facilitate or inhibit the activation of communal networks. These three groups of findings will inform the discussion of this community's public anonymity the subsequent chapter.

2.1 Hispanics as an Ethno-linguistic Community

This section provides information about the linguistic competence of the sample population, and reports how participants conceived of their community, and the role of language within it.

2.1.1 Linguistic Competencies of the Study Sample

Before moving on to the topic of community, it is useful to clearly delineate the linguistic picture of this community, in order to understand to what degree members share a common language.

Results show that in terms of communicative competence, the sample is overwhelmingly composed of Spanish/English bilinguals who interact capably in both Spanish and English social settings. Nearly all participants (35/38) retain native speaker fluency in Spanish, and the remaining three are communicatively competent at a non-native speaker fluency level. Half of the participants use Spanish exclusively at home (19/38) while the other half use both Spanish and English at home. At work and outside the home, most participants use both Spanish and English. For most English is the language of the workplace: 14 participants use some Spanish at work, and four use

Spanish at work exclusively. This reflects a wider trend of bilingual, or multilingualism in the community at large.

English fluency in the community is generally very high, with most participants demonstrating either functional or native-speaker fluency. Only five participants cannot converse in English, two of these five having no ability whatsoever. Those with lower levels of English fluency are predominantly female, elderly, and working in blue-collar professions. A number of these participants are now Canadian citizens[6], but have not yet managed to learn English due to the more pressing demands of work and family upon arrival and subsequently. Specific reasons cited for this included the lack of opportunity to attend or the inability to afford language classes, and the limitations imposed by a more restricted range of linguistic interactions, due to life circumstances such as being a homemaker.

Finally, a number of participants were also trilingual, including a Spanish speaking descendent who had learned Portuguese in Edmonton through contact with the Portuguese community here, and participants who were fluent in French, German, Arabic, and American Sign Language, along with Spanish and English. There was also one participant for whom both Spanish and English were second and third languages, respectively, but who identified most closely with the Spanish speaking community.

2.1.2 Shared Language, Shared Culture

Edmonton Hispanics do not define their community based on language alone. While a common language facilitates social interaction, shared culture is equally

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[6] Citizenship status was not a selective criterion for participation in the study.

important. Very clear statements were made that language alone is not sufficient to build

community. As one participant explained:

> Irene: Los hispanoparlantes, como dices tú, no los voy a llamar
> latinos porque los españoles no piensan que son latinos, lo que está
> bien, lo veo correcto. La comunidad hispanoparlante, es bastante
> heterogénea, no es homogénea. […] Tenemos el idioma, que es lo
> colectivo, lo que tenemos en común, pero después cada país es su
> propio mundo y cada país tiene sus propias idiosincrasias. […]
> Somos diferentes pero somos a la vez bastantes similares. Y eso es
> lo que nos hace más ricos.
> (Peru)

> Irene: The Spanish-speaking community, as you say, I won't call it
> the Latino community because the Spaniards don't consider
> themselves Latino, which I think is right. The Hispanic or Spanish
> speaking community is quite heterogeneous, it's not homogenous
> […] Collectively, we have the Spanish language, which is common
> to all, but each country is a world unto itself, with it's own unique
> characteristics. […] We are very different, but at the same time
> quite similar. That's what gives us such a rich community.
> (Peru)

It was also consistently reported that dialect plays no role in the formation,

dissolution, or rejection of social relationships. To the contrary, it was reported that love

of the language is one of the Hispanic community's defining traits and point of pride and

pleasure. For Hispanics of all stripes, language was found to be an easily accessible

source of commonality, and the differences considered enjoyable and quaint, referred to

usually as 'modismos' or 'idiosincrasias' (styles/idiosyncracies). Regional dialects were

said to be a source of great diversion, and were more of a conversation piece than an

obstacle to social networking.

 That said, it is also true that regional dialects are rich with information about a

person's social and cultural background. So while the spoken language may be neutral,

the social realities revealed in speech are of fundamental importance. In a community

with such a high degree of diversity on multiple levels, gauging the potential compatibility of another member with oneself is fairly complex. Language is one of the first tools available for social connection, or avoidance of the same. Social connection and social avoidance among Hispanics in Edmonton will be further explored in Chapter Three.

2.1.3 Signs of Community

Evidence of a pan-Hispanic communal identity was found in the consistent descriptions of the typical characteristics of the members of the community, in the presence of community-wide social activity, and in the fact that information was observed to travel through the community along these lines of social connection.

Most interesting was the universality of a high degree of love and appreciation expressed for Hispanic culture when asked to describe a typical member of the community. Twenty-five out of 38 participants made emphatically positive statements about the characteristics of Hispanic people, citing characteristics that underscore the high value they give to family, friends, and sociability. They described themselves most frequently as gregarious, affectionate, talkative, hardworking, ethical, resourceful, generous, and helpful to those in need. Two participants mentioned a rebellious or revolutionary spirit, and another cited the ability to solve problems using ingenuity, rather than compliance with procedure.

> Flor: Somos muy espontáneos en nuestra forma de ser, muy
> cariñosos los latinos, todos en general. […] Es la raza Latina
> que es así. Somo muy familieros, vivimos tocando, y besando, y
> necesitamos estar juntos, necesitamos mucho la familia, esto es
> algo muy arregado en nuestra cultura. […] Es una característica

muy especial de nuestra cultura, somos terriblemente familieros. Veo que los canadienses son más reservados en su forma de ser. (Argentina)

Flor: Latinos are very spontaneous in their way of being, very affectionate, all of us in general. This is particular to the Latino race. We are very family oriented, we touch and kiss each other all the time, we have a need to be together, we need to be close with our families, this is something very deeply rooted in our culture. […] This is a special characteristic of Latino culture, that we are extremely family-oriented. I notice that Canadians are more reserved in their way of being. (Argentina)

Further evidence of a pan Hispanic communal identity was in the moments in which intra-group social networks were observable, most in often in times of either celebration or crisis.

Celebrations or events revolving around enjoyment, dance, food, music and drink, are easy ways for the community to come together, as the aim of the event is diversion, and conflicts can be easily left aside in the interest of having a good time. Examples of Pan-Hispanic social events such as National Independence Day celebrations, or the Pupusa Festival[7] organized by the Salvadoran community, at times in which members from each of the separate groups can be found together. Expo Latino, a festival featuring Hispanic music, dance and foods, is an example of the various subgroups of the community coming together for a pan-Hispanic event, although not without conflict (see extract below).

The community also bands together when a clear need is expressed, and differences are set aside to assist or express solidarity with others. Support for other newly arrived immigrants, the elderly, and Spanish unilinguals were commonly cited.

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[7] A food typically considered Salvadoran.

Likewise, pan-Hispanic support is expressed for victims of recent earthquakes and hurricanes in individual Latin American countries, or other humanitarian causes abroad, in the form of donations of time and money.

In all of these events, an organization of the whole in terms of national origin is typically observable, or underlying interactions, which can sometimes lead to conflict or competition.

> Mauricio: ¿Que agrupe a toda la comunidad de habla hispana? No, no hay. Ha habido intenciones de hacer algo, como la formación de un núcleo, con miembros de diferentes comunidades, para representar a toda la comunidad en general. Pero, por las mismas divisiones, que cada uno quiere preservar su propia cultura, nunca se llevaron de acuerdo. […] Un ejemplo, este… ¿porqué no se llega a una conclusión de trabajo conjunto de diferentes paises? Es que, por ejemplo 'mira, vamos a hacer un actividad'… pero lo primero que está pensando el hondureño, el nicaragüense, el peruano, es '¿y esos fondos, para dónde van a ir'? Ahí es donde se rompe el lazo.
> (El Salvador)

> Mauricio: As far as something that brings the whole Spanish speaking community together, no, there really isn't anything. There have been attempts to form some kind of common nucleus, with members of each community, to represent the community at large. But because of these same divisions, that each groups want to preserve its own cultural heritage, they could never reach agreement. […] So why can't they arrive at some agreement about a group project between the different countries? For example, say we agree to hold an event. The first thing that the Honduran, the Nicaraguan, the Peruvian, is thinking is how the profits should be spent. That's where the chain is broken.
> (El Salvador)

Finally, a certain level of communal cohesion was observed simply in the way this population was accessed. Where the Internet and the telephone directory were out of date regarding events, organizations, and places of gathering, participants were informed. This suggests that the dissemination of information about these community events occurs

between members by word of mouth, which in turn indicates that interconnected social networks do exist among Spanish speakers in Edmonton. What was more interesting was that the concrete social products of the Hispanic community seemed to be obscured or tucked away in much the same way individuals dissimulated their own Hispanic identity, suggesting that the attitudes about the ethnic self permeate social institutions as well.

For example, having heard about a new Colombian-based restaurant and lounge, and confirmed reports of good food and good atmosphere, various attempts were made to visit this locale. However, it simply could not be found. Finally, with the address in hand and reassured by another participant that the restaurant did in fact exist, I succeeded in finding it. The problem had been that this new business had yet to replace the signage from the previous one. Further, when I arrived, I found it closed, despite the hours listed on the front door.

Similarly, when trying to visit local Latino dance clubs listed on the community websites, one had changed location and could not be located, another had closed, and another had yet to re-open. Spanish language churches also initially confounded me, as the smaller congregations I visited during fieldwork were housed in a variety of spaces available to them, be it an office building, or a church of another type. The external appearance of these meeting places gave no indication that a completely Spanish language service would be encountered within[8]. Likewise, because the Hispanic community does not have its own community hall, larger events were reported to be held in a variety of places, such as the Ukrainian Cultural Centre.

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[8] Spanish and Latin American mass is typically held on Saturday night, rather than Sunday morning, which makes sharing a church with another, non-Hispanic congregation relatively easy.

The lack of public information about the community, compared with the effective internal lines of communication reveals that this community is cohesive, but that this identity is not typically expressed outside of the community.

2.2 Diversity and Division: A Multi-Layered Community

When asked to describe the 'Spanish speaking community', participants made it very clear that the etic construction of 'Spanish speaker' does not coincide with their vision of community. For them, community is more likely to be a smaller group of people, focused around some common characteristic. The following chapter will present the five factors which tend to sustain diversity within the Spanish speaking community of Edmonton. National origin, the most commonly mentioned identifier, is discussed first. Then political and religious differences are addressed. Finally, the ways in which participants conceive of socio-economic and ethnic differences is presented.

2.2.1 National Origin

The primary conception of community for many participants is that of their own national origin community, as mentioned above. In total, 22 out of 38 people described the community to me in term of national origin sub-communities, so that the picture of a pan-Hispanic community is that of a collection of many different nationally-defined groups. In fact, my outsider-constructed question, about 'types of Spanish speakers in the city' often confounded participants, whose definition of community referred to the separate national origin communities, and not to a pan-Hispanic entity at all:

Isabel: ¿Dialectos? ¿Puede ser en dialectos? ¿O comunidades?
Diana: eh…
Isabel: ¿Comunidades por paises? Hay de, de todos los paises.
    (Colombia)

Isabel: You mean dialects? Or communities?[9]
Diana: uh....
Isabel: Communities by country or origin? Well, there are people
    from every country.
    (Colombia)

Mauricio: Desde mi punto de vista, yo lo veo separado por las
diferentes étnias. Y eso va en contribución de que cada comunidad
es formada de acuerdo a su país de origen. Sin embargo, cuando
hablamos del castellano, estamos globalizando a una sola
comunidad. Pero es diferente.
(El Salvador)

Mauricio: From my point of view I separate the community into
ethnic groups. Each community is formed according to peoples'
country of origin. However, when we're talking about the Spanish
language, we are talking about a single, generalized community.
But the reality is different.
(El Savador)

Participants described the wider conception of a pan-Hispanic community as
including people from all nations in Latin America, Spain, and the Spanish speaking
Caribbean. Full communicative competence was not required, as the descendents of
immigrants were included in this definition of community. Other potential, or peripheral
members were Portuguese-speaking Brazilians.

Isabel: Inclusive los portugueses, brasileros, que están incluidos en
    la comunidad hispana ¿no?
Diana: Puede ser, sí…
Isabel: No, no, [quiero decir] en el sentido de que se han casado
    con latinos, chilenos, nicaraguenses ¿no?
    (Colombia)

Isabel: Even Brazilians and the Portuguese, who are also included
in the Hispanic community, right?
Diana: Could be…
Isabel: No, no [I mean] when they're married to a Latino or
something, you know.
(Colombia)

Spaniards identified themselves as Hispanic, but did not feel to be typical of the

Edmonton Hispanic community, which they conceived of as predominantly Latino.

Maite: Quizás no tengo razón en esto, pero en España somos
diferentes a los latinoamericanos. Cuando yo llegué [a Canada] me
sentía mucho más cercana a una persona francesa que a una
persona chilena. […] Pero también tenemos muchas cosas en
común, el idioma, la forma de socializar. Y estoy metiendo a todos
en el mismo globo pero somos muy diferentes. No puedes
comparar un mexicano a un argentino, son completamente
diferentes. No sé, la música, el baile, nos gusta estar mucho más en
grupo, la forma de socializar, nos gusta vernos más que los
Canadienses.
(Spain)

Maite: Maybe I'm wrong about this, but in Spain we are different
from Latin Americans. When I arrived [in Canada] I felt more
similar to someone from France than to a Latin American for
example. […] However, we also have a lot in common, language,
our ways of socializing. But saying this lumps all Latinos into the
same category too, and they are very different. You can't compare
an Argentinian and a Mexican, they are completely different. I
don't know, music, dance, our way of socializing, we like to get
together more often than Canadians.
(Spain)

2.2.2 Politics and Religion

Gauging another Spanish speaker's national origin is relatively straightforward,

when compared to the complex picture of religious and political views in this highly

heterogeneous community. For some participants, religion or politics were more

influential than nationality in their social lives, and so their own social network revolved

closely around one of these elements. Politics and religion were commonly reported as topics to avoid, in the interests of conviviality with other Hispanics. One participant described the potential for discord:

> Alejandra: Por ejemplo los venezolanos son extremadamente sensibles con respecto al tema de Chavez. […] La mayoría lo detestan con un odio fisiológico y si tú llegas a insinuar para ellos que Chavez es bueno son capaces de agarrarte a golpes. [Exagero], pero en realidad son demasiados emocionales. […] La política es como la religión, tienes que saber con quién estás hablando, y eso te dice hasta qué punto te puedes entrar, porque no quieres molestar a nadie. […] Creo que lo que pasa es la mayoría de los venezolanos que están en Canada son de familias que les podían pagar para sacarles a estudiar. Hay que decirlo. Yo soy de una familia así.
> (Colombia)

> Alejandra : For example the Venezuelans are very sensitive about the issue of Chavez. […] Most of them hate him with a passion. If you they think you're even suggesting in the slightest way that he's a good guy, they're likely to tear you to pieces. [I'm exaggerating], but they are over-sensitive. […] Politics is like religion, you have to know more or less who you're talking to, and how far you can take whatever topic. […] I think it's because many of the Venezuelans who are here in Alberta are people from families with money, who could pay for them to study abroad. It has to be said. I am also from a family like this.
> (Colombia)

Perhaps the most salient example of the way politics divides the community is provided by the Chileans, who have formed two separate community associations, one with a mandate of cultural preservation in Chilean expatriates and the other with the objective of having human rights violations in Chile addressed. The two groups operate in parallel to, but separate from each other, and seem to have agreed to disagree. Spaniards organized themselves in a similar fashion, in the days when their population was larger:

Virgilio: Creo que es por política más que nada. La comunidad española pasó por una época en que había dos clubes españoles, uno que era más republicano y el nuestro que era apolítico. Y no nos reuníamos para fiestas, celebrabamos separados.
(Spain)

Virgilio: I think divisions occur because of politics more than anything. The Spanish community also went through a period where there were two Spanish clubs, one of which was more republican and ours, which was apolitical. And we didn't get together, for festivals or holidays. We celebrated separately.
(Spain)

Likewise, there are two Hispanic seniors' associations in Edmonton, which differ in political or religious views. One of these organizations operates under the mandate that the topics of politics and religion are to be left at the door. So although ideological factors can unite people with common interests, they also have the potential to divide a larger entity into smaller groups.

As for religious diversity, exactly half of the participants attend church regularly. The majority of churchgoers (12/19) attend the main Spanish language Catholic Church, la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, while the remaining seven belong to a variety of Christian denominations, and attend services in either Spanish, English, French or Portuguese. There are 12 Spanish language churches in Edmonton, only one of which is Catholic[10]. For churchgoers, their congregation was often cited as their primary community base, even before their national origin community. Among those not

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[10] Bethel Baptist Spanish Church, Cristian Life Centre, Cristo Misionera Church, Edmonton Spanish Church (Seventh-day Adventist), Fuente de Agua Viva (Pentecostal), Iglesia Evangélica Faro de Luz, Iglesia de Dios (Church of God-New Hope), Living Grace Baptist –West End Church Plant, Iglesia Pentecostal Unida Emanuel Iglesia Ni Cristo (Church of Christ), Iglesia Cristiana Getsemani Iglesia Pueblo De Dios, Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Roman Catholic), Iglesia Evangélica Siloe.

attending church regularly, there was a wide range of religious practices and beliefs, from

non-practicing to atheist.

At the very multi-national Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, interestingly,

the organization by nationality overlaps with that of religion. It was reported that after the

service, when the congregation moved down to the cafeteria for refreshments, people

from the same national origin tended to gather at separate tables. Further, a different

national group provided lunch for the congregation each week, and was typically meant

to be a chance to showcase national delicacies. Conflicts along national lines within the

church were also mentioned during interviews, although it was reported that a norm of

civility was maintained.

> Virgilio: En la iglesia sabes que hay ciertas rivalidades. Y pasa que
> hay tendencia de separarse. Y aunque van todos a la misma iglesia,
> te das cuenta por ejemplo que fulanito tal no habla con tal otro,
> porque han tenido una discusión o algo. Se nota. Hay los que no
> hablan conmigo tambien. […] Nos saludamos y nos portamos
> educadamente, decimos 'Merry Christmas' y eso, pero mantienes
> cierta distancia.
> (Spain)

> Virgilio: At church you notice that there are certain rivalries, and
> so there's a tendency to separate from each other. And although
> they all attend the same church, you notice that this person doesn't
> talk to that person, because they had an argument or something.
> You notice it. There are people who don't speak to me too. […]
> We always greet each other courteously, wish each other 'Merry
> Christmas' and so on, but you keep a certain distance.
> (Virgilio, Spain)

2.2.3 Socio-Economic and Ethnic Diversity

Socio-economic status plays a major role in building, or arranging, this

community, and it is inextricable from questions of race, ethnicity and nationality.

Participants brought these topics up in a factual manner, conveying that they were

conscious of and unafraid of discussing these differences. Five participants described the

community explicitly in terms of a class hierarchy.

> Claudia: Yo diría que hay tres grupos. Los que tienen educación
> profesional que han venido de adulto y están aquí trabajando. Estos
> se juntan con otros profesionales que se han educado aquí, que
> vinieron hace anos. En fin, son los profesionales. Después hay los
> que tienen estudios básicos, capáz hasta el secundario, pero han
> venido hasta sin saber inglés, o lo estudian aquí, y tienen trabajos
> muy… como de limpieza y esos tipos de cosas. Y hay muchos de
> éstas. Y después son los hijos de los latinos, que nacieron aqui o
> vinieron muy chiquillos, y hablan los dos idiomas perfectamente y
> tienen las dos culturas.
> (Argentina)

> Claudia: I would say that there are three groups. Those with
> professional education, who've come recently, as adults and are
> here working. They get together with other professionals who
> might have arrived many years ago, and have gotten their
> education here. Whatever, they're professionals. Then there are
> those with basic education, maybe up to secondary school, but
> might have arrived without even knowing English, and have jobs
> that are very… like as cleaners and so on. There are many of these
> people. And then there are the children of Latinos who were born
> or raised in Canada. They speak both langauges perfectly and have
> both cultures.
> (Argentina)

Others referenced class divisions in a more oblique way. For example, when

describing people from their own country of origin, many participants made a point to

distinguish the immigrants from their country of origin as highly educated, well-spoken

and literate, seemingly to dispel any negative preconceptions I may have been exposed to

or espoused. These statements were made about nearly all the nationalities included in the

sample.

> Adrián: Te cuento del asunto nicaragüense, que es el mío. Creo
> que la mayoría de la gente nicaragüense que ha inmigrado a
> Alberta tiene buen nivel académico. Como mínimo la educación
> secundaria, y diría que la mayoría viene con la pos-secundaria.
> (Nicaragua)

Adrián: I can tell you about the Nicaraguan community, which is my own. I think that the majority of Nicaraguans who have come to Alberta arrived with a high level of education. High school as a minimum, and I'd say that most have post-secondary. (Nicaragua)

Some participants explained that class-based preconceptions are an established part of Latin American culture, and were critical of this aspect of the culture:

Sara: Yo diría que [la comunidad está dividida] por, por ejemplo cuestiones económicas. Desafortunadamente hemos aprendido en nuestra sociedad de dar importancia los niveles sociales, quién es más estudiado y eso. Por eso no podemos entendernos tal como somos.
(El Salvador)

Sara: I would say that [the community is divided] for economic reasons, for example. Unfortunately in our society we have learned to give importance to social levels, to who is the most studied, and so on. […] Because of this we aren't able to understand each other, just as we are.
(El Salvador)

Ramón: Un factor esencial es la educación. Y eso es lo que define muchas veces en cuál estrato social quiere ponerse la persona cuando emigra a Canada. Y eso porque en nuestras culturas es una cosa muy definida, el estrato social, desgraciadamente, sin embargo, es una cosa muy definida.
(México)

Ramón: An essential factor is one's education, because it is an indicator of what social stratum a person hopes to find themselves in when they emigrate to Canada. That's because social status is a very clearly defined thing in our cultures, unfortunately, however, it's something that's very clearly defined.
(Mexico)

A person's social standing, profession, or level of education is important in the formation of social relationships, sometimes for the simple reason that it is a shared characteristic, in particular when two people share an occupation or profession.

However, the opposite was also true. One participant, while pointing out that an established and explicit class system exists in her home country, described how her life in Canada has allowed her to meet other Latin Americans of different social classes, and that it was a positive experience of growth and learning:

> Alejandra: Yo tuve una vida muy fácil. Una niña malcriada. Vivía en Bogotá. Mi papa es professor, tuve una beca, nunca tuve que trabajar, nunca tuve que lavar un plato hasta que vine acá. ¡Pero ahora sí! […] [En Colombia] mi mundo giraba aldredor de la universidad. Aquí estoy conociendo a gente que trabaja de nueve a cinco […] y para mi es otro mundo que nunca hubiera conocido.
> (Colombia)

> Alejandra: I've had a very easy life, I was a spoiled girl. I lived in Bogotá, my father's a professor, I had a scholarship, so I didn't have to pay for University. I never had to work, I never even had to wash a plate until I got here. But I do now! […] [In Colombia] my world revolved around the University. Here, I'm meeting all kinds of people who work from nine to five […] and it's like another world that I never would have known in Colombia.
> (Colombia)

According to the participants there is a universally applied hierarchy of prestige: North American or European, urban, and developed versus indigenous, rural, or peasant/subsistence. One's national background can thus be a source of pride or shame, depending upon the reputation of one's home country in the eyes of other Hispanics and in relation to the western industrial capitalist paradigm. To give one example, many participants mentioned a rivalry between the Chilean community (sometimes considered snobs, or know-it-alls) and the Salvadoran community (stereotyped as 'campesinos,' i.e. rural peasants by other Latinos).

This discord is based upon the tendency to consider Central America to be more indigenous-influenced, and so less developed, while South America, often described as more intensively colonized, was felt to be more European, or more advanced. Though

many participants were critical of this manner of classifying members of the community, they admitted it was a widespread attitude.

Importantly, participants tended to make explicit mention of their European roots, or the European influences in their national culture, while the same phenomenon was not observed regarding indigenous heritage, which was referred to indirectly, or downplayed. Although sensitive to socio-economic and ethnic prejudices in her home country, Flor, from Argentina, mentioned even before the interview had truly begun that her family on both sides was Italian. Others commented on the level of European influence in their national culture:

> Mariano: Argentina siempre ha sido un país antes, con un nivel cultural más alto, porque Argentina hubo otro tipo de inmigración, italianos, españoles, alemanes mayormente, eran los grupos más fundementales. Chile en ese época tenía gente más pobre, y miraban con reselo a Argentina. Pero ahora que Chile se está levantado, y Argentina va un poco cayendo abajo, y entonces los chilenos están mas contentos (se rie).
> (Argentina)

> Mariano: It's political, you know. Argentina has always been a country with a higher level of culture, because they had a different kind of immigration, of Spaniards, Italians, Germans. […] At the same time, Chile was a poorer country, and so they didn't experience the same immigration, and they got stuck behind, and they viewed Argentina with some resentment. But now Chile is rising in level and Argentina is going down, and so now they are happier (laughs).
> (Argentina)

> Alejandra: Los indígenas de Colombia eran muy pocos, entonces cuando llegaron los españoles nos mezclamos […] Por ejemplo en Bolivia hay mucha gente que mastica la coca, como tomar café. Es parte de su cultura, y era de los indios. Nosotros somos más … 'more successfully invaded' por los españoles (se rie). Nuestra cultura es mucho más española, por ejemplo, en que tomamos un café por la mañana, té, tenemos pan, y no se mastica la coca.
> (Colombia)

Alejandra: There were very few indigenous people in Colombia
when the Spanish arrived, and so they were easily mixed in. […]
For example in Bolivia lots of people chew the coca leaf, in the
same way we drink coffee, it's part of their culture, and derives
from Indian culture. We were 'more successfully invaded' by the
Spanish (laughs). We have a much more Spanish culture, in that
for example we drink coffee for breakfast, tea, we have bread, and
we don't chew the coca leaf.
(Colombia)

Expressions of indigenous pride were also present in the data, but were more

indirect, and without explicit reference to one's own relationship to indigenous culture.

When questioned about an indigenous based cultural organization, with an indigenous

language name, one participant was laconic and reluctant to describe this group in detail.

The following participant's comment reflects the desire to share his national culture with

others, both Canadian and Hispanic, a sentiment expressed throughout the interview in a

number of ways:

Antonio: Nosotros, como amigos de Guatemala, cuando damos una
actividad de Guatemala, donde queremos dar a conocer a nuestro
país, y una parte de nuestra cultura, que es muy extensa, siempre
invitamos a la mayoría de nuestros amigos canadienses, y algunos
otros amigos, de diferentes nacionalidades que quieren conocer la
cultura nuestra.
(Guatemala)

Antonio: When we, the Guatemalans hold an event, to share
Guatemalan country and a part of our culture with others, because
it is very extensive, we always invite the many Canadians we
know, and also some people of other nationalities who want to
learn about our culture.
(Guatemala)

Another participant praised the interracial constitution of Latin America, citing

the "Día de las Razas".[11] He also made a reference to the "original, true, human life-

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[11] A Latin American day dedicated to the celebration of racial diversity.

force, of the earth" of Central American culture and praised the wholesomeness and quality of Mexican and Central American cuisine.

> Víctor: Es un costumbre mexicano, centroamericano, que siempre tienen que tener una tortilla en la mano izquierda en lugar de un un tenedor o un cuchillo. La comida centroamericana es muy pesada, muy sana y alimenta muy bien y por eso la gente de esa región es normalmente más chaparra, más gorda, y la gente que menos se enferma, por la variación de comidas y muchas verduras. La palabra aguacate viene de la region de Soconusco[12], y era lo que usaban, era para lo indígenas como margarina. Tiene carbohidratos, mucha vitamina A, y para gente humilde, si comes un aguacate y un tomate es un almuerzo completo, y muy sano. […] El centroamericano, el mexicano es más chaparro, más moreno, pero más saludable.
> (El Salvador)

> Víctor: It's a Mexican and Central Americans custom to have a tortilla in their left hand instead of a fork or a knife. […] Central American food is heavier, but more nutritious, so the people are typically stockier and heavier, and they hardly ever get sick. It's the variety of nutrients and vegetables. […] The word avocado[13] itself comes from the Soconusco region[14], and it's what the indigenous used, it was like margarine for them. It has carbohydrates, a lot of vitamin A, and for the most humble person, if you eat an avocado and a tomato it's a very complete, healthy meal. […].Central Americans, Mexicans, are stockier and have darker skin, but are healthier.
> (El Salvador)

Despite his appreciation for indigenous cultural heritage, at no point during the interview did this participant self-identify as anything other than Latino.

Members' perceptions of national cultures, as related to ethnicity and socio-economic levels, were found to be an influential factor in the relationships between Spanish speakers in Edmonton. However, the distinctions drawn between national

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[12] Zona de las Chiapas que comparte frontera con Guatemala.
[13] Aguacate
[14] Southern Chiapas region, bordering on Guatemala.

cultures perceived as heavily indigenous or European influenced can be attributed to popular generalizations and feelings of national pride.

In reality, the ethnic portrait of Latin America (and of Spain too) is a complex picture of Mestizaje and ethno-linguistic pluralism, and there are sizeable populations of indigenes throughout Latin America (Gordon 2005). Argentina and Colombia were described frequently as having very few, or virtually no indigenous communities. Actually, in Argentina there are 100,000-150,000 American Indians and 21 living indigenous languages. In Colombia there are 500,000 speakers of American Indian languages, and over 100 living languages. These population sizes are not so different from those of El Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, where few indigenous language communities have survived, despite the perception among participants and others that these Central American countries are more rural/indigenous influenced than South American countries. One of the most linguistically and culturally diverse regions is Mexico, with a total of 109,959,594 indigenous people and over 250 American Indian languages, along with a number of other minority linguistic communities, such as the Basque-Creole, Japanese and Chinese (Gordon 2005).

Because of the positive valorization of European influences, and the generally negative view of indigenous cultural influences, this element of national and social identity is a very important aspect of the relationships among Hispanics in Edmonton, given the national and ethnic diversity of the Edmonton population. This topic will be elaborated upon in the next chapter.

2.3 Attitudinal Factors

Data revealed that in addition to the potential of segmentation and disassociation of the various communal nuclei, as discussed, there are attitudinal factors that contribute to the disparateness and anonymity of the Hispanic community of Edmonton. These factors are (in order of appearance in this section):

1) a desire for assimilation into the mainstream;

2) a tendency to distance from the identity of the 'ethnic other;' and

3) a negative or ambivalent view of the relative value of Hispanic culture.

2.3.1 Desire For Integration

Hispanics praised their community for being flexible, resilient and adaptable. A strong value on integration to the host country was stated outright in many interviews.

> Ángel: Soy de la opinión, y mi hermano también, de que "al lugar dónde fueras, haz lo que vieras". He venido no con la idea de que 'ah eso no voy a cambiar porque no…'. Al contrario, he venido con la mente abierta a adaptar nuevas costumbres, y a respetar.
> (Guatemala)

> Ángel: I'm of the opinion, and so is my brother, that "when in Rome, make like the Romans". I didn't come here with the idea that 'oh no, I won't change this, just because…'. Just the opposite, I came with an open mind, ready to adapt new customs, and to respect.
> (Guatemala)

In total, assimilation or integration into Canadian society was cited to be a main priority for thirteen people, while only eight people asserted a priority of maintaining one's heritage language and culture.[15]

> Alejandra: Me parece un poco de miedo de lo diferente, porque la cultura canadiense es completamente diferente a la nuestra. Yo trato de evitar eso de 'somos latinos entonces nos entendemos'. Yo estoy acá para aprender cosas nuevas, si quisiera estar con latinos estaría en Colombia.
> (Colombia)

> Alejandra: It seems to me like the community tries to be really united, almost like a family. But this to me seems sort of like fear of the unknown. […] I'm in Canada to experience new things. If I wanted to be with Colombians I'd be in Colombia.
> (Colombia)

> Mónica: [Tener una comunidad muy fuerte puede ser cosa negativa] porque te puedes aislar de lo demás. Esa es una consecuencia que estamos viviendo, a pesar de que tenemos poca comunidad. A veces buscamos personas que hablan inglés precisamente por eso.
> (México)

> Mónica: [Having a very strong ethnic community] could be a disadvantage, because you can get isolated from everything else, which is what's happening to us, even though we don't know a lot of people. Sometimes we purposely seek out English speakers for this reason.
> (Mexico)

It was not felt that retaining Spanish was detrimental to learning English, but that social contact with English speakers was essential to becoming sufficiently fluent and integrated. This was the motivation to push oneself out of the Hispanic community into the English speaking social world.

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[15] Participants employed the terms asimilarse (assimilate, blend in), integrarse (integrate oneself), and adaptarse (adapt, get used to), to describe the process of adaptation and acculturation.

2.3.2 Distance

While it is true that the social networks of most participants involved both English and Spanish activities and relationships, there was pride taken in one's successful adaptation to Canadian society, and a certain degree of reticence in describing their connection to the community of the ethnic 'other'. Participants tended to distance themselves, symbolically and socially, from the Hispanic community and their own Hispanic identity, to both non-Hispanics outsiders, and to fellow Hispanics. This distance was achieved by either downplaying the Hispanic or indigenous elements of one's identity, or emphasizing the opposite, in particular one's European heritage or level of assimilation into Canadian culture. Conceptual distance was achieved through expressions of dissimilarity with other Hispanics, and spatial or social distance was achieved by describing a detachment or disinterest in the activities of the community.

The phenomenon was evidenced by the discrepancies between what participants reported about the existence of a Hispanic community in Edmonton and their aggregate claims of membership in that community. Although all 38 participants identified themselves as Hispanic, and all could name and describe the Hispanic community, only 21 openly or discretely expressed membership in this same community, or any of its many sub-communities. Another five people directly stated that they were not part of the community.

> Alejandra: Yo pertenezco a la comunidad universitaria. Puede que
> existe una comunidad Latina, porque hay suficiente gente para
> tenerlo, pero yo no soy muy ligada a ella.
> (Colombia)

Alejandra: I belong to the University community. It could be that a
Hispanic community exists, because there are enough people, but
I'm not very tied to that community.
(Colombia)

Rafael: Solo porque soy latino no tengo que ser de la comunidad
Latina. Mi comunidad es la portuguesa.
(Ecuador)

Rafael: Just because I'm Latino doesn't mean I have to belong to
the Latino community, my community is the Portuguese
community.
(Ecuador)

Cristián: No te puedo decir por qué como no tenemos muchas
conecciones con otros hispanos…
(Argentina)

Cristián: I can't tell you much about that because we don't have a
lot of connections with other Hispanics.
(Argentina)

However, four of the five participants claiming non-membership also described

their principal social network as composed almost entirely of Hispanics, and attended

Spanish language events and Spanish language-identified places frequently. So while it

appears that social networks and a sense of community do exist among Spanish speakers

in Edmonton, those openly declaring themselves to be members of that community were

few and far between.

One of the most significant findings regarding the distancing of self from

community is the data that compares participants' ethnic identification with their

frequency of contact with the community. Specifically, there is an inverse correlation

between the status of participants' ethnicity and their adhesion to the pan-Hispanic social

network. Results showed a much higher rate of participation in the community among

those identifying themselves as having European ancestry, and the opposite for those who were identified as having indigenous heritage. The table below aligns the ethnic identification of participants with their reported frequency of contact with the Hispanic community.

	ETHNICITY		
Monthly Contact with the Community	European	Latin American, Hispanic, Latino, Mestizo	Indigenous, Amerindian
None	2	4	0
Less than once	1	5	1
One or more	2	7	2
Weekly, or more	5	7	0
Totals	10	25	3
Participatory Index	2.40	1.64	1.07

Table 4: Reported Participation in Community and Ethnic Identification

Interestingly, Spaniards and European-identified Latin Americans were found to report a much more frequent social connection with other Hispanics than other Hispanics, despite perhaps not considering themselves members of that same community. In addition, an elderly married couple from Spain within this group claimed to have no involvement in the community, but later revealed that their closest social network was entirely composed of Hispanics, most of who were Latin Americans. Although their recorded participation index was zero, and they did not feel themselves to be a part of the Hispanic community per se, contact with their Hispanic friends was a significant part of their social lives.

Participants identified as Hispanic or Latino reported slightly higher rates of interaction with other Hispanics than did members of the community who identified as indigenous, who had the lowest participatory index of all categories. It would appear that in the effort to avoid a strong sense of one's own otherness, or the perception of this otherness by others, either a distance from the stereotypical or low status elements of Hispanic culture, or an expression of distance from the activities of the community occurs.

2.3.3 Ethnic Ambivalence

An awareness of the negative stereotypes surrounding Hispanidad, outlined above, was a part of participants' ethnic self-evaluations, and thus the way that their ethnic identity was portrayed to others, and the way community was constructed. Even when participants felt themselves to be relatively detached from the community, they didn't like to see the negative elements of these stereotypes in others:

> Mónica: Hay una tienda Mexicana, donde puedes conseguir
> condimentos mexicanos, y además la tienda cumple con todos los
> estereotipos. Es una tienda sucia, desorganizada, y eso me molesta
> mucho, porque… es muy molest eso.
> (México)

> Mónica: There's a shop where you can buy real Mexican foods,
> and it also even lives up to all the stereotypes. It's a dirty,
> disorganized place (laughs). This is really bothersome, because….,
> it bothers me a lot.
> (Mexico)

Another participant referred to the effect of under-employment on the self-image of the community at large.

> Rebecca: Todavía está como muy, 'generalized', como muy típico
> latino. Que el latino siempre limpia, […] aunque tenga

[educación]. Todavía encuentro que existe eso. Que quizás así se ven los latinos aquí, como 'boxed in', en una categoría.
(Chile)

Rebecca: There's still that generalization, of the typical Latino. That Latinos always work as janitors, […] even if he's got [an education]. I think that this still exists, and maybe this is how Latinos here see themselves, as if they are boxed into a category.
(Chile)

The clearest articulations of this ethnic self-doubt were the analyses of the

participants themselves:

Eduardo: Creo que... hasta cierto punto la gran mayoría de los latinos son…¿cómo te puedo explicar?, así como 'gringos wannabe', pero con un cierto orgullo de ser latino. Más ahora porque los canadienses se interesan más en lo latino, y lo encuentran un poco más atractivo. Antes no. Ahora los canadienses viajan [a latinoamérica] y vuelven con un sentido de lo que es de ser latino. […] Antes nos avergonzabamos un poco de ser latinos, pero ahora no tanto. Ahora estamos orgullosos, porque cuando hablan español la gente se interesa y comenta que quieren aprender español y tal. Ahora es simpático, ¿cierto? Es bueno ser latino. Antes aunque digas que no…
[…]
Tenemos un complejo de inferioridad. Te doy un ejemplo. Cuando éramos niños jugabamos a lo de adivinar con quién te vas a casar, cuántos hijos vas a tener etc… y todos queríamos casarnos con la gringa rubia espectacular y vivir en los EEUU. Crecimos con esa idea, de que para que la vida sea mejor tienes que llegar a esas cosas. Cuando llegas aquí, piensas que para alcanzar eso, tengo que aprender inglés, ponerme más rubio, y eso. Pero eso tarda, y al principio te aislas del tema canadiense en general. […] Yo creo los latinos en general todavía piensan así, que estámos por debajo. Yo por mi parte no soy así.[…] Yo creo que la gente mayor y los que acaban de llegar sí. Los que nacieron aquí no, son diferentes ya.
(Chile)

Eduardo: I think that to a certain point the majority of Hispanics are…, how can I describe it…, like 'gringo-wannabes', but with a certain pride in being Hispanic. Now more than before, because Canadians are more interested in Latino culture, they find it more attractive. Not before. Now Canadians travel [to Latin America], and get an idea of what it means to be Latino […] Before, we were a little ashamed of being Latinos, but not so much anymore. […]

Now we are proud, because when they hear you speaking Spanish
they are interested and say how they want to learn to speak Spanish
or whatever. Now it's nice, you know, it's a good thing to be
Latino. Before, like it or not…
[…]
We have an inferiority complex. I'll give you an example. When
we were kids we'd play a guessing game about who you would
marry, how many kids you'd have and so on, and everybody
wanted to marry the spectacular blonde woman and live in the
USA. We grew up with the idea that for your life to be better, you
had to achieve these things. When you get here you think that you
have to achieve this, you have to learn English, dye your hair
blonde, or whatever. […] I think that in general Latinos still think
this way, as if we're on the bottom. Personally, I don't think that
way. […] The older people, and people who have just arrived think
this way, but not the younger people who were born here, they are
different.
(Chile)

This ambivalence about one's ethnic otherness can play out in a very concrete

form in the public sphere. Two cases in point were described to me in which one's

Hispanic identity went unaddressed during interactions with other Hispanics:

José Luis: A veces es difícil saber si una persona habla español o
no. Me ha pasado que voy a un restaurante y la persona que me
atiende es hispanohablante, y nos reconocemos como dos
hispanohablantes, pero no hablamos español, o no hablamos del
tema, o a lo mejor al final decimos algo.
(Spain)

José Luis: Sometimes it's difficult to know if a person speaks
Spanish or not. It's happened to me a few times when I go to a
restaurant that the person serving me is a native Spanish speaker,
and we both recognize each other as such, but we don't speak
Spanish with each other, or we don't mention the topic, or maybe
at the end we'll say something about it.
(Spain)

The following situation too, resulted in the ethno-linguistic identity of both

individuals remaining concealed through the course of social contact:

Sara: En mi caso, es la opinión de todos, pues, personalmente cuando oigo el español, quiero saber de aquella persona. Pero muchas veces la gente es muy cerrada y… es como que te ignoran.

Diana: ¿O sea, hablando el mismo idioma…?

Sara: Es como que 'ah esa es hispana, que no me vea'. Se ve mucho, desafortunadamente, se ve mucho. Y digo qué lástima, que se ven tan nopales, perdona la forma más negativa de decirlo, que se ven tan hispanos. O sea, nos vemos indios. […] Es bastante común.

Diana: ¿Y eso por qué?

Sara: Por lo mismo de eso que comenté de los niveles, sociales, económicos. Son más cerradas, y no dejan abrir… Luego, gracias a mi trabajo[16], tengo oportunidad de aprender un poquito más de las personas, y me conocen a mí. A veces les veo aquí en el trabajo y me dicen 'ah a usted le he visto antes pero me daba tal cosa hablarle'. Eso no entiendo porque yo también quería hablar con esa persona.
(El Salvador)

Sara: As I said, it's the opinion of everyone, well, personally, when I hear someone speaking Spanish I want to know about that person. But a lot of the time people are very close-minded and… it's like they're kind of ignoring you.

Diana: So, you're speaking the same language…

Sara: They're like, oh that person is Hispanic, don't let her see me. You see it a lot, unfortunately, a lot. I say what a shame, that people can be so ignorant[17], pardon me, it's the most negative way to describe it… that they can be so Hispanic. It's that we see ourselves as Indians […] it's fairly common.

Diana: Why is this?

Sara: Because of what I mentioned about socio-economic levels, they don't want to open up. Thanks to my work[18] I get to know more about people and often I see them here later and they say 'oh, I saw you the other day, but I was unsure about how to talk to you'. […] I don't understand this because I also wanted to talk with that person.
(El Salvador)

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[16] El entorno laboral de esta participante era en gran parte hispanohablante.

[17] Nopales. Nopal is a derisive term meaning ignorant or stupid person. The nopal is a variety of cactus which has been used for food and medicine for 12,000 years among Mexican and Central American aboriginals. It also has deep cultural significance: Technochtitlan (translated as 'the place of the nopal cactus'), was established based upon the Aztec prophecy of finding an eagle, sitting on top of a nopal cactus, eating a snake (Nopal Export 2009).

[18] This participant's workplace was predominantly Spanish speaking.

Both of these individuals chose to avoid the use of Spanish in a public setting, thus identifying themselves with the Anglo-Canadian social matrix, rather than the Hispanic population. In the first case, the fact that the guest at the restaurant was peninsular Spanish may have been significant, as might have been the power differential in the relationship of server/patron. In the case where the two women choose not to address each other, opting instead not to speak at all, they express distance from Hispanic culture and lack of commonality with each other. In both examples, it seems that a push/pull dimension of retention and expression of one's heritage is in conflict with the perceived negative attributes of that same heritage, along with a strong desire to prove oneself capable, flexible, and successful in the process of adaptation to Canadian society.

This chapter has presented the findings of this study: those that demonstrate the unity of the community, those that demonstrate the diversity and internal divisions of the community, and those that indicate some of the attitudes which help explain the importance of the unifying and diversifying characteristics. Chapter Three will offer an interpretation of these findings.

Chapter Three: Discussion

The discussion below will revisit the concept of speech community, as it applies to Spanish speakers in Edmonton, offer an explanation for the public anonymity of the community, identify the importance of a pan-Hispanic community in Edmonton, and discuss these issues in the broader context of Canadian Hispanics and Canadian Multiculturalism.

The variables found to be most closely related to the invisibility or anonymity of this community were its heterogeneity and the attitudinal factors that prevented expressions of ethnic identity or communal solidarity, in general a reluctance among Hispanics to associate themselves too closely with the community or with expressions of ethnic otherness. The following section will also point out how this phenomenon of ethnic anonymity can be understood in the larger sense, as related to the question of multiculturalism in Canada.

Urciuoli's discussions of ethnicizing and racializing discourses (1996:15-40), and Dobrowolsky's notion of the "invisibilization" of Canadian minorities (Dobrowolsky 2008), inform the question of external forces contributing to the invisibility of the Hispanic population.

3.1 Speech Community among Spanish Speakers In Edmonton

This section refers back to notion of 'speech community', the main theoretical premise of this study. Results obtained demonstrate that the Spanish speaking population of Edmonton can be described as a speech community, due to the evidence of a shared

linguistic code (in this case Spanish and English) and shared social knowledge for its appropriate use (Hymes 1972:51).

Most centrally, there is substantial evidence of social products resulting from linguistic interaction between members (Duranti 1997:82). Spanish language businesses, events, media outlets, and organizations are among the more tangible of the social products of this community. Other social products observed during field work are less concrete, but very significant: the social networks between members, shared ethno-linguistic attitudes, a shared conception of, and knowledge about, the community and its organization into subgroups. Most significantly, the very vital grapevine along which information travels through the community can also be regarded as a social product. This grapevine is key in understanding this community on deeper level, as it indicates a degree of internal communal cohesion that is not observable in the public sphere.

3.2 Explaining the invisibility of the Hispanic community

This section will offer an explanation for the low level of coherence and public invisibility of the Hispanic community in Edmonton. Although the term 'speech community' does provide a guideline for the discussion of this population as a community, it does not explain the low public visibility of the Hispanic population, or as one participant described, its anonymity.

Héctor: Algún día quizás podríamos tener gente que nos representa
dentro del gobierno.
Diana: Sí claro. Y para cuáles metas?
Héctor: Pues, una de las metas, ¿verdad?, sería… para ser, como,
no una comunidad étnica, ¿verdad?, sino para ser una
comunidad que se vea.

Diana: Es exactamente lo que me preguntaba, si hay tantos
        hispanohablantes, ¿por qué no se ven?
Héctor: Correcto. Pasamos de anonimato. Sería de ser algo
        reconocido.
        (El Salvador)

Héctor: One day it would be good if we, the Hispanics, had
        someone representing us in the government.
Diana: Yeah, […] a lot of people in the study have mentioned
        this. And so what would be some of the goals?
Héctor: Well, one of the goals, you know, (pause) would be not to
        be an ethnic community, but to be a community that is
        seen.
Diana: That's exactly what I was wondering. If there are so many
        people, why can't you see the community?
Héctor: That's right, we're anonymous.
        (El Salvador)

The anonymity of the Hispanic community of Edmonton is understood in this

analysis as a the result of a combination of factors contributing to its segmentation into

many sub-communities, and a set of ethno-linguistic attitudes that can contribute

negatively to the frequency and substance of expressions of ethnic identity both inside

and outside the community.

First, due to the many layers of diversity within the broad descriptive category of

'Spanish speaking', this community can be best described as a community of

communities, or as Hymes suggests "the organization of diversity" (Daveluy 2005:18). In

some cases, the divisions are nothing more than like seeking like, while in other cases the

dividing lines between members of the community are contentious. It was found that

national rivalries, differing religious beliefs and affiliations, and opposing political views

were somewhat divisive to the community at large, but that the most problematic

elements of diversity were related to members' expectations of socio-economic status,

and the accompanying perceptions of ethnicity, of themselves and other Hispanics. These

findings match Anderson's account of the many subdivisions observed over thirty years ago (Anderson 1977). It can also be related to Hoffman's findings about the preconceptions that can exist within the community about the background of nationals of a given country.

> Speakers reported an awareness that Central Americans in general and Salvadorans in particular have the lowest status within the Spanish speaking community.
> (Hoffman 2001:120)

Ironically, it is not so much the socio-economic differences that produce conflict, but the fact that despite these differences, Hispanics often find themselves relegated to the same social niche once on Canadian soil. Overall, differentials in the expected and actual levels of success and opportunity in the host country were found to cause a significant amount of tension, resentment, and competition between individuals, within families, and between segments of the population at large.

A second factor contributing to the anonymity of the community is the simple fact that as an immigrant population, this community is composed of a constantly changing set of members. A wide range in date of arrival and levels of acculturation means that the community can be seen in one sense as a gateway to the Canadian mainstream for new immigrants, many of whom cease to participate when they feel at ease in Canadian culture and society. Thus, the base population is constantly replenished by incoming immigrants. This transitoriness helps to explain the stop and start nature of many of the community's social organizations and endeavors, as mentioned in the above section on the difficulty of locating the various loci of activity. It is also confirmed by the rates of Spanish language use in the home, as compared to native speakers, as listed above.

A number of participants remarked on this phenomenon, one lamenting the

lack of support for newcomers from established immigrants.

> Cristián: Los latinos están en mínimo, no se desarolla nada con
> ellos.
> Mariano: No se unen mucho.
> Cristián: No se unen.
> Mariano: Llegan acá y no tratan de… llegan y están buscando los
> beneficios para quedarse, y luego se separan de todos, se
> aislan. Entonces no se puede tener estadística. Eso es lo
> que creo yo.
> Cristián: Trabajamos años de voluntarios en una organización para
> los inmigrantes. La gente viene al principio para la ayuda,
> y luego desaparecen. No es una comunidad que está muy
> unida.
> (Argentina)

> Cristián: The Latino community is very small, they don't get
> anything done anything as a community.
> Mariano: They're not very united.
> Cristián: They're not united.
> Mariano: They don't try to… they arrive and they search out the
> things they need to stay, and later they separate
> themselves, isolate themselves, and so it's hard to arrive
> at statistics of how many there are. This is just what I
> think, though.
> Cristián: We volunteered for years with an organization for new
> immigrants. People came when they first got here to get
> help with various things, and then they disappear. It's not
> a community that is very united.
> (Argentina)

Another noticed over time, referencing the Chilean population in particular, which

has minimal immigration at present, that:

> Rebecca: La comunidad [chilena] es más pequeña, pero la
> población hispanohablante es mucho más grande. Quizás el interés
> ya no está, o que la gente tienen cosas que hacer, o sea por esa
> misma integración se ha perdido la comunidad, o cómo atraer esos
> hispanohablantes a los eventos que hay.
> (Chile)

> Rebecca: The [Chilean] community is much smaller than before,
> but the Spanish-speaking population is much bigger. Maybe people
> just aren't interested anymore, or they're too busy, or maybe

because of integration, it's the way of attracting people to
community events has been lost.
(Chile)

In addition to the external forces of assimilation, members' own desire for

assimilation into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream of Edmonton also results in fewer

communal connections being made. Newcomers to Canada often place a priority on

learning English and getting ahead, and so may try to distance themselves from the

community. While it is necessary to speak English to learn it, this can detach them from a

support network, and reduces the prospects for maintaining a connection with one's

cultural heritage.

Finally, a tendency to distance oneself from expressions of ethnic otherness, in

particular the negative stereotypes of Hispanidad was common, and linked a priority

being able to integrate successfully into the culture of the host country. Attitudes revealed

that despite an overtly stated love and respect for the values and norms of their heritage

culture, participants were reluctant to identify themselves as 'too' Hispanic, both inside

and outside the community. This desire for distance manifested itself within the

community between members in the form of mutual avoidance, or the dissimulation of

ethnic and linguistic identity, and ultimately limits the cohesiveness of social networks

between members.

Current discussions of ethnicity as a performative social reality (Berlinger 2007;

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Lo 1999; Negrón 2007) are re-affirmed in the present

study, in that even when the opportunity for social connection occurs between Hispanics

in Edmonton, interaction and recognition of common ethno-linguistic heritage is highly

variable, dependent upon situation and the attitudes of the individual. Shinnar's

examinations of Mexican dealing with negative social identity in the United States can explain this need for performances of belonging to the mainstream, according to social identity theory, which is founded on the idea that self-concept is a basic human need and that "individuals respond to threats to their identity in a variety of ways that enable them to maintain a positive view of themselves and their own reference group" (Shinnar 2008:554). Based on evidence gathered in this study, I would argue that Hispanics respond to threats to their self-concept by avoiding the community of the ethnic 'other' and identifying with the Canadian mainstream instead.

Together, the dimensions described above; 1) a complex picture of diversity within the population, 2) the constantly changing cast of individuals, 3) the desire for integration into the mainstream, and, 4) a tendency to seek distance from negative stereotypes of Hispanic culture, result in a community that is sub-divided into smaller communities, is marked by the constant renewal of many of its members, and is only variably enacted, depending upon situational cues and the attitudes of individual members of the community. In sum, this community produces only ephemeral or periodic manifestations of a global, pan-Hispanic community, although there is plenty of evidence of interconnected social networks and a shared ethno-linguistic identity. As one participant opined:

> Sara: Realmente no somos una comunidad unida. Tal vez vivimos
> en el mismo vecindario, y decimos 'nuestra comunidad' pero no
> necesariamente llevamos a cabo lo que significa una comunidad.
> (El Salvador)

Sara: In reality we aren't a united community, maybe we live in
the same area,[19] and we call it our community, but we don't carry
out what it means to be a community.
(El Salvador)

There are however, some indications of recent attitudinal shifts among members.

With the increasing popularity and utility of Spanish as a world language (Harrison

2000:20), and the continued growth of this community, both in numbers and diversity

(Lindsay 2001), participants have noted a higher level of ethnic pride than witnessed in

previous times.

3.3 Why a pan-Hispanic community?

This section outlines the value of pan-Hispanic communal connection in the

Canadian context, in particular regarding issues faced by members of the Hispanic

community and immigrants and ethnic minorities in general, including under-

employment and depression. The role of ethnic and linguistic identity in the immigration

experience, and the value of a common language are highlighted.

It is true that the idea of a united pan-Hispanic community is inconvenient, and to

a degree is forced or difficult to enact. The suggestion that Canadian, American, and

Australian expatriates in a given foreign location should come together as a community,

with a single voice, simply because they speak the same language, gives a sense of the

counter-intuitiveness of it. Nevertheless, in the case of the Edmonton Hispanic

population, it is possible that some benefits do derive from communal solidarity. Some

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[19] Overall, geographic clustering of Hispanics was not found to be a major factor in community building in
Edmonton.

participants recognized the lack of public representation and were hopeful that this study

would be of use to the community.

> Elena: Me gusta este estudio que tú estás haciendo porque por
> medio de tí las personas demás van a saber que nosotros existimos.
> Es muy importante que Edmonton se dé cuenta de que hay
> comunidades, y no solo eso, sino que las comunidades son llenas
> de necesitades y problemas. Que pongan un poquíto de atención en
> nosotros.
> (Ecuador)

> Elena: I like this study that you're doing, because through you,
> other people will know we exist. It's very important that Edmonton
> realizes that our communities exist, and that these communities
> have many needs and problems. They should pay a little bit of
> attention to us.
> (Ecuador)

Within the population sample considered in this study, the issues of under-

employment, depression, lack of language resources and limited access to services were

mentioned repeatedly by participants, along with mention of youth crime, generational

disconnect, suicide, domestic conflict, and a lack of access to health or other services, due

to linguistic barriers. Research on the issues faced by Hispanic immigrants in Canada

point to increased domestic conflict and divorce (Juteau 1991), lack of access to services

and information (Usha 2008), and deteriorated physical health (Salas 2007), to provide a

few examples.

By far the issue most frequently cited by participants was the loss of identity and

frustration resulting from under-employment. Working at a level below one's education,

training or experience is seen in the present study as the source of a wide ranging and

profound set of problems within the community. According to one participant:

> Elisa: Eso es una pérdida en varios niveles. Porque tienes el país
> que les educó que está perdiendo esa persona calificada a otro país.
> Luego tienes la persona que pierde su nivel socio-económico. Y

luego Canada no está aprovechando de la educación y experiencia
de esa persona.
(México)

Elisa: Under-employment is a three-way loss. Because the country
where that person was educated loses a qualified person, and that
person loses their socio-economic level, and then Canada loses the
opportunity to take advantage of this person's education and
experience.
(Mexico)

Research confirms that a mere 38% of immigrants to Canada in 2001 were

working at a level on par with their qualifications, the most affected class of immigrants

being the skilled worker set, of whom only 25% were working at their expected level

(Salas 2007:5-6). The irony in this situation is that the entrance requirements, particularly

in the skilled worker class, are so stringent that only well established, post-secondary

educated, bi-lingual immigrants with sufficient funds to support themselves upon arrival

are admitted. Once in Canada however, it is a rare immigrant who is able to utilize the

same training that was required of him for entrance, and usually sees the depletion of his

savings before anything else. Understandably, a common result of under-employment is

depression. This can have profound effects within the community. Beiser found that

under-employment is as much or more of a stressor in the immigration process as

unemployment, and is closely linked to the mental health of immigrants (Beiser 1990).

Elisa: [Conecciones con gente de tu nivel social o tu profesión te
ayuda a mantener la identidad.] Cuando eso se pierde, ¿con quién
te vas a asociar? Inclusive a cuestiones de salud, el aspecto moral,
aspecto de depresión. […] La mayoría de los inmigrantes son gente
deprimida, precisamente por eso, porque se desesperan de que a
pesar de vivir en un país del primer mundo, siguen viviendo en el
tercer mundo. […] Igual con educación, o quizás aún peor, porque
lo tienes y no puedes hacer nada con ello.
(México)

Elisa: [Connections with people of your social level or profession help to maintain your sense of identity.] When you lose this, now who do you associate with? And there are health issues involved too, people's morale, depression. […] The majority of immigrants are depressed, because although they're living in a first world country, they're still living in the third world. […] Maybe it's even worse with an education, because you have it but you can't use it. (Mexico)

Two participants claimed that depression affected most, if not all Hispanic immigrants, one of whom noted that it affected men more so than women, when they found they were not able to provide for their families as expected. Women, in turn, are faced with an increased workload outside the home, which is just part of the stresses of rapid re-configuration of gender roles to the new society.

Isabel: Otra cosa que se hemos visto, que hemos analizado entre más grupos comunitarios es que la depresión afecta más a los hombres que a las mujeres. El hombre [latino] tiene un rol más de protectión, de proveedor, y cuando llega aquí de pronto ya no tiene la oportunidad de llevar ese papel porque no está capacitado. Y a las mujeres siempre nos ha tocado luchar más, al acabe de la historia, ¿no? y nos adaptamos, no importa que tú estés deprimida, no, tú sigues adelante. (Colombia)

Isabel: Another thing we've seen, and even that our community groups have analyzed, is that depression affects more men than women. Men [in Latino culture] have more of a role of protector, provider. When they get here, suddenly they are no longer able to carry out this role. And women, through history have just always had to work harder, right? Nobody cares if you're depressed, no, you keep on going. (Colombia)

Finally, the popular perception that immigrants are given free language instruction upon arrival is something of a myth. Learning English was a frequently mentioned obstacle for new immigrants and not a single participant had any positive commentary about federal ESL programs, citing them as insufficient or ineffective, or

simply remembering that they were not able to attend, because the classes conflicted with work-hours. Although participants did recognize the government's intention was positive, the programs did not help them in a significant way. For elderly Spanish unilinguals, in particular those who live alone, a lack of English fluency was a significant problem in everyday life.

One potential goal of collaborative efforts among Hispanics could be greater availability of Spanish language immersion programs, which are already on the rise (Alberta Education 1997). As Guardado finds in his study of Hispanic youth in Vancouver, "first language (L1) cultural identity is crucial to heritage language maintenance in the context of a dominant second language (L2)" (Guardado 2002:340). The negative consequences of L1 loss are "eroding family relationships, poor-self-image and cultural identity, compromised school relationships and school performance" (Guardado 2002:347). Further, as Wong argues:

> What is lost is no less than the means by which parents socialize
> their children: when parents are unable to talk to their children,
> they cannot easily convey to them their values, beliefs,
> understandings, or wisdom about how to cope with their
> experiences.
> (in Guardado 2002:374)

In the same article Guardado states that heritage language retention is rarely achieved through parents' efforts alone. Even with the most diligent of efforts, parents cannot outweigh peer influence and a predominantly non-Spanish speaking social world, although their own positive attitudes, alongside a positive relationships with their ethnic history, are pivotal in maintaining children's interest in their heritage language and culture (Guardado 2002:354-360). Increased pan-Hispanic communal connection might also result in a higher frequency of situations in which Spanish was the language of

interaction. Apart from the family unit, the growing demand for, and status of Spanish in Canada and globally figures favorably for the levels of ethnic pride and language retention among Hispanics in Canada.

A side benefit of a united community could be increased awareness between subgroups and with the non-Hispanic Canadian population, with the potential for dispelling some of the stereotypes that no longer apply to Hispanics once in Canada. It is hoped that this study forms a part of this path to greater mutual comprehension. What was evident in the data was that all Hispanics, often regardless of socio-economic background, experience many of the same stresses of immigration. A sense of isolation was also common, due to the demands of work-life, the impediments of distance and a Northern climate, and the greater emphasis on individualism in Canadian society, as compared to Hispanic societies. It is possible that a greater emphasis on collaboration, taking language as a point of reference, for its centrality to questions of personal and cultural identity, could enable some levels of interaction on a wider scale in this very dynamic community.

3.4 Canadian Hispanics and Canadian Multiculturalism

This section will introduce some external forces that also contribute to the same reality. Specifically, I discuss the effectiveness of Canada's official Multiculturalism policy, and the place of Hispanic culture within the Canadian mainstream.

The present study examined factors internal to the community that inhibit communal cohesion and lead to the anonymity of the population in the public sphere. What is also necessary to examine, but falls slightly beyond the scope of this research, is

ability of Multicultural policies to address minority needs. It is possible here, however, to discuss external forces in general, as related to the present thesis, and at the same time outline some possible future lines of research.

Unfortunately, there is significant evidence to deflate Canada's reputation, among Canadians and within the global community, as an egalitarian and benevolent society, in terms of cultural minorities and immigration policies (Dobrowolsky 2008; Nakhaie 2006). It is useful to look at the contemporary immigrant situation in terms of "social justice, civic participation, and identity (specifically, a sense of belonging to Canada)" (Nakhaie 2006:3), which are the three pillars of official multiculturalism, as set out in its original form in 1967. As Nakhaie describes, the ability of official multiculturalism to ensure these pillars are upheld, is limited:

> Despite a well-intended policy, there remain significant inequities among ethno-racial groups, most of which are experienced by the minorities. The extent of these inequities is such that some have called Canada a racist society (Lian and Mathew 1998). Such inequities also tend to be responsible for minorities' lower civic and, even more so, political participation.
> (Nakhaie 2006:4)

Political participation, he argues, is essential for the voicing of concerns, a sentiment echoed by Dobrowolsky, who finds that under recent neo-liberal leadership, minority populations (in her analysis women, immigrants and refugees), and their concerns have been silenced, or 'invisibilized', through what might be called "benign neglect" (Beiser 1990:439.

> As social inclusion and cohesion become the new buzzwords, more of an assimilative approach took hold (Brodie 2002) that would inevitably affect immigrants, and run up against multicultural ideals.
> (Dobrowolsky 2008:469)

This 'invisibilization', which can be seen as a form of 'erasure' (see Aglin 2004; French 2009), and the associated erosion of minority rights, has been linked to an increasingly neo-liberal Canada by others (Heller 1999; da Silva and Heller 2009). It is precisely the economic, linguistic, social or other barriers faced by minorities that prevent them from participating in civil and political spheres of society. Small ethnic populations, such as the Hispanic-Canadian population, need to be addressed in particular, he claims, as they are the least likely to participate politically.

> Minorities with a small population are unable to build networks
> and connections associated with social capital and/or get help or
> information about market opportunities and civic society from their
> own groups and in their own language.
> (Nakahaie 2006:6)

The limited capacity of official multiculturalism to authentically and genuinely incorporate immigrant cultural elements into the mainstream is evidenced by the fact that heritage language and culture in Canada does not endure any longer that it does in the United States (Turcotte 2006:20), despite overtly discriminatory language policies in the latter. Canada seems to tolerate other cultures in the short term, but not actively appreciate cultural difference or seek to incorporate elements of difference into mainstream hegemonies. The existence of an ethnically delimited underclass of temporary, illegal, or underemployed permanent residents is a racializing process, in the Urciuolian sense, while the simplification and commodification of Hispanic cultural items suggests that this population is likely seen through the ethnicizing lens of mainstream culture (Urciuoli 1996:15-40). It seems that both of these processes are at work in Canadian society, as evidenced by the results of this research; in that the

Hispanic population of one Canadian city, Edmonton, Alberta, is either silent or

misrepresented in mainstream discourse.

At least in the case of the Edmonton Hispanic community, official

multiculturalism, has limited success. As Resnick suggests:

> Canadians could do with less emphasis on multiculturalism as a
> magic solution to issues of citizenship and with less moral
> righteousness when it comes to contrasting our policies with those
> of other countries.
> (in Dobrowolsky 2008:472)

If a healthy ethno-linguistic identity is part of a healthy immigration process and a

healthy self-image, as discussed above, future models of acculturation and

multiculturalism might aim to be more responsive, and actively seek to incorporate other

cultural norms into the Canadian hegemonic order. In any case, the relationship of ethnic

invisibility to Canada's official policy of multiculturalism merits further investigation.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore the Spanish speaking population of Edmonton to discover: 1) its ethno-linguistic and demographic constitution, 2) what role language played in community-building, and 3) whether the sum of these parts could be described as a speech community. The spark for this research was my perception of the invisibility of this community, if it could be described as such.

Results showed that the Spanish speakers of Edmonton can indeed can be considered a community, both in the colloquial, or emic sense, and theoretically, as defined within the paradigm provided by the ethnography of speaking. The population was much larger than initially believed, and was very diverse in terms of national origin, socio-economic levels and ethnic background. Date of and reason for immigration also added to the diversity of the population, as a series of immigratory cohorts resulted in a wide range of levels of acculturation and language competence in English and Spanish. This diversity, in combination with ambivalence about one's heritage culture, and tensions produced during the process of immigration, resulted in a community that was minimally united and produced only ephemeral and periodic manifestations of a global, pan-Hispanic community. For participants in the study, the need for community was met by a smaller set of social relationships, in which members had more in common with each other than they did with the larger concept of 'Hispanidad'.

However theoretical the idea of a pan-Hispanic community may be, the potential for strength in numbers, particularly under the banner of a shared language is great. While other levels of unity emphasize differences, such as national culture or special interests, language is a relatively neutral and conflict-free commonality, and could serve

as a unifying element among otherwise different individuals, to provide this community

with a public voice, which according to Canada's multicultural policy, is one of the key

components of equitable citizenship.

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Appendix 1: Cuestionario Demográfica/Lingüística

PARTICIPANTE #_____

¿Dónde nació usted?
¿Dónde nacieron sus padres?
¿Cuántos años tiene usted?
¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido usted, y su familia, en Canadá?
¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido usted, y su familia, en Edmonton?
¿Cuánto a menudo visitas a su pais originaria?
¿va solo/a o con familia/pareja/etc..?
¿Cuántos idiomas habla usted?
¿Hablan tambien los miembros de su familia esos mismos idiomas?
¿En su opinión, qué nivel tiene en inglés y español? (y otros idiomas que habla)
      ingles: zero, básico, bien, muy bien, nativo.
      español: zero, básico, bien, muy bien, nativo.
      otro idioma(s): _____ zero, básico, bien, muy bien, nativo.

¿Los otros miembros de su familia hablan tan bien los mismos idiomas?

¿Durante que proporción de un día típico habla usted el inglés y el español, (u otro idioma)?

¿Donde ha aprendido usted el inglés y el español (y los otros)?
¿Ha asistido a la escuela? En qué país?
¿Hasta qué nivel de educación ha estudiado?

¿En qué trabaja usted, o qué es su profesión?
¿Trabaja usted con gente que habla inglés o el español, por mayor parte?

¿En qué parte de Edmonton vive usted?
¿En su conocimiento, tiene usted algunos vecinos hispano-hablante?
¿Hay muchos hispano-hablantes que viven en la zona de la ciudad en que vive usted?

¿Qué le gusta hacer en su tiempo libre?
¿Pasa usted su tiempo libre más con gente de habla española o inglés?
¿Entre sus 5 mejores conocidos, cuáles hablan español, ingles, o los dos idiomas?
¿Qué más tiene usted en común con esos conocidos?

¿Usted asiste con cuán frecuencia a lugares y eventos donde se juntan los hispano-hablantes? Por ejemplo, ¿ha asistido al Expo Latino?
¿Su pareja va consigo a esos eventos y lugares?
¿Va usted regularlmente a la iglesia? Es la congregación de habla inglés o español?
¿Participa usted en alguna organización comunitaria u otra?

Appendix 2 : Demo-Linguistic Questionnaire – English Translation

PARTICIPANT # ___

Where were you born?
Where were your parents born?
How old are you?
How long have you, and your family members, lived in Canada?
How long have you lived in Edmonton?
How often do you visit your country of origin?
Do you go alone or with your partner/family etc…?
How many languages do you speak?
Do all the members of your family speak the same languages?
In your opinion, how well do you speak Spanish and English?
      English: zero, basic, good, very good, native speaker
      Spanish: zero, basic, good, very good, native speaker
      Other language(s): zero, basic, good, very good, native speaker
Does the rest of your family speak as well as you in these languages?

In an average day, what percentage of your time do you speak English, Spanish, or another language?

Where did you learn English (or Spanish, if this is you second language)?
Did you go to school? In what country?
What is the highest level of education you completed?

What is your employment or profession?
Do you work with mostly English or Spanish speakers?

What part of Edmonton do you live in?
Do you know if you have any Spanish-speaking neighbours?
Are there many Spanish speakers living in your area of the city?

What do you like to do in your free time?
Do you spend more of your free time with Spanish or English speakers?
Among your 5 closest acquaintances, how many speak Spanish, English or both?
What else do you have in common with these acquaintances?

How often do you attend events or go to places where Spanish speakers get together? For example, did you attend Expo Latino (last year)?
Do you go to church regularly? Is it a mainly English or Spanish congregation?
Are you a part of any other community organizations, or organizations of another type?

Appendix 3: Guíon de Temas, Entrevista

PARTICIPANTE # ___

LA POBLACIÓN
¿En su conocimiento, cuántos y cuáles tipos diferentes de hispanohablantes viven en Edmonton actualmente?

 ¿Cómo se podría describir la población hispanohablante de Edmonton, en su opinión y percepción?

Tiene usted contacto con algunos hispanohablantes que vivan en Calgary?
¿Existen diferencias entre las experiencias de hispanohablantes en Calgary y los de Edmonton?
> -Con respecto al uso del español en la vida cotidiana, relaciones sociales con otros hispanohablantes y el sentido de comunidad que tendrian ellos
> -A mi entender, la población de Calgary es más grande que la de Edmonton

¿Me puede hablar usted de las diferencias entre sus experiencias en Edmonton y las de la gente de habla espanol en los EEUU?
> -Como cree usted que la experiencia de los (nuevos) inmigrantes a los EEUU se diferencia con la de los inmigrantes a Canada?

¿Cuáles son las características que los hispanohablantes tienen en común, si las tienen?
¿Cómo es un miembro típico de la comunidad?

REDES SOCIALES
¿ Cree usted que socialmente o de otra forma, los hispano-hablantes de Edmonton se juntan o se asocian más entre sí, o más con gente de habla no-hispano?

¿En su experiencia, se juntan normalmente hispano-hablantes de varios países de orígen distintos, o se juntan con los del mismo pais de origen? ¿Por qué?

¿Hay ocasiónes en que se juntan muchos hispano-hablantes, socialmentes o de otra forma, o por otra razón?
> -por ejemplo por la escuela, el trabajo, la iglesia, u otros eventos o actividades, por ejemplo el Expo Latino

¿Hay diferencias entre miembros de la comunidad que afectan las relaciones sociales?

¿Entre las varias nacionalidades, hay grupos que se juntan mas con ciertos grupos y otros no? ¿Por qué?

IDIOMA

¿En qué país se habla mejor el español, en su opinion?

¿Cómo puede contribuir, de forma positiva o negativa, el acento con que habla una persona y su vida social, laboral, etc..?

COMUNIDAD

Llevamos bastante tiempo hablando de la comunidad hispano-hablante. Después de esta conversación que hemos tenido, tiene usted algún pensamiento a compartir con respecto a la idea de 'comunidad'

 -Para usted, que es una 'comunidad' en general? ¿Cómo la define ud.?

 -me puede describir la comunidad a la cual pertenece usted? Hispanohablanto u otra?

¿Se puede decir que existe un sentido de comunidad entre los hispano hablantes de Edmonton?

¿Cree usted que es importante tener un sentido de comunidad entre los hispanohablantes?

 ¿Hay consecuecias, positivas o negativas, o hay ventaja o desventaja, de ser parte de la comunidad, o de que haya comunidad?

¿Cómo ha cambiado la población de Edmonton a lo largo de los años? ¿Cómo ha afectado ese cambio a la comunidad, o el sentido de comunidad?

 Por ejemplo, mucho latinos emigraron a Canadá en los años 70-80

Qué efecto ha tenido el Tratado de Libre Comercio de 1994?

CONCLUSION

Despues de haber hablado de los temas de población, redes sociales, idioma y comunidad, ¿hay algo que quiere agregar o cambiar, entre sus comentarios hasta ahora, u otra cosa que le ocurre en relación con los temas que no has tenido oportunidad de mencionar?

Hay alguna cosa que usted cree importante que yo sepa o considere, con respecto al tema, u otros temas de que no hemos hablado, que usted cree que deberia incluir en el estudio?

Appendix 4: Questions for Guided Interview – English Translation

PARTICIPANT # ___

THE POPULATION OF EDMONTON
To your knowledge, how many, and what different types of Spanish speakers livein Edmonton at present?

How would you describe the Spanish speaking population in Edmonton, in your opinion and perception?

Do you have contact with any Spanish speakers who live in Calgary?
Are there any differences between the experiences of Spanish speakers living in Calagry and those living in Edmonton?
       -With respect to the daily usage of Spanish, social relationships and a sense of
        community.
       -It's my understanding that the population in Calgary is much larger that in
        Edmonton.

Can you tell me about the differences between the experience of Spanish speakers living in Edmonton, as compared to those of Spanish speakers living in the United States?
       -For example the experience of a new immigrant?

What characteristics do Spanish speakers have in common, if any?
How would you describe a typical member of the community?

SOCIAL NETWORKS
Do you think Spanish speaking people tend to associate with each other more than with non-Spanish speakers, socially or otherwise?

In your experience, do Spanish speakers tend to associate with Spanish speakers of different nationalities, or with others of the same country of origin? Why?

Are there times when a lot of Spanish speakers get together, socially or in another way, or for another reason?
       -For example, school, work, church, or other events or activities, such as Expo
        Latino?

Are there any differences between members of the community that are influence social relationships?

Do certain nationalities tend to group with certain groups and not others? Why?

LANGUAGE
In which country do they speak the best Spanish?

How can the one's dialect or accent affect, negatively or positively, one's social or work life, or other?

COMMUNITY
We've been talking about the Spanish speaking community a lot during this interview. Following this conversation, do you have any thoughts to share about the idea of "community"?
      For you, what is a community? In general? How do you define it?
      Can you describe the community that you belong to? Spanish speaking or other.

Can we say that a sense of community exists among Spanish speakers in Edmonton?

Do you think it's important to have a sense of community between Spanish speakers?
      Are there positive or negative aspects to being part of the community?
      Is it an advantage or disadvantage to have a sense of community, or to have a community?

How has the Spanish speaking population of Edmonton changed over time? How do you think this has affected the community, or the sense of community?
      For example, many Spanish speaking immigrants came to Canada in the 1970-1980's.

What effect has NAFTA had?

CONCLUSION
After having talked about the themes of the population, social networks, language and community, is there anything you would like to add or change, from what you have commented so far, or is there anything that occurred to you during the interview that you didn't get a chance to mention?

Is there anything you think it is important I should know or think about in relation to any topic we have touched upon today?
Are there any topics we didn't address that you think should be included in this

Appendix 5: Consentimiento del Participante

PARTICIPANTE #_____
     El presente estudio se trata de una investigación de la población hispanohablante de Edmonton, Alberta, Canadá. Ya que los datos sobre dicha población son escasos y a veces incluso erróneos, uno de los objetivos de este estudio es obtener una descripción más amplia de la población. Otro objetivo del estudio es informarse sobre las percepciónes y opiniones de los Edmontonenses hispanohablantes sobre la población, los redes sociales entre la población estudiada y otras poblaciones de Edmonton, y el papel que tiene la lengua española con respecto a todo lo mencionado.
     La entrevista se dará en dos partes: un cuestionario de preguntas de respuesta corta, y después una entrevista de preguntas más amplias, en forma conversaciónal. Las dos partes en total tardarán más o menos una hora en terminarse.

Con firmar abajo, declaro que he leído y comprendido lo siguiente:
__ Mi participación en el presente estudio es completamente voluntaria.
__ Tengo derecho a negar de contestar a cualquier de, o a todas las preguntas.
__ La entrevista será grabada (por medios audios, y no audiovisuales).
__ Tengo derecho a terminar y/o retirar mi participación en cualquier momento con
    solamente infomarle a la investigadora de mi decisión.
__ Existe la posibilidad de que los resultados de este estudio se publiquen.
__ Los datos estarán guardados y en todos momentos serán completamente confidencial.

     Considerado que la comunidad aquí investigada no es muy grande, es possible que proteger la anonimidad de los participantes sea difícil en ciertas circunstancias. Aunque la investigadora empleará todas las estratégias requeridas para ocultar las identidades de los participantes, hay posibilidad de que algunas identidades serán difíciles a ocultar de otros miembros de la comunidad. Si usted quiere que su identidad esté ocultado hasta donde sea posible, marque aquí:

__ Yo quiero que la investigadora haga lo possible por mantener anónimos mi nombre e identidad, hasta donde sea possible.

Nombre del/a participante	**Nombre de la investigadora**	**Fecha**

Firma del/a participante	**Firma de la investigadora**	**Fecha**

Contacte por favor a: Diana Benschop, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, benschop@ualberta.ca, 430-7721

Este estudio está supervisado por la Dra. Michelle Daveluy, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, 492-5889, michelle.daveluy@ualberta.ca

Appendix 6: Participant Consent Form – English Translation

PARTICIPANT # ___
This research project is an examination of the Spanish speaking population in Edmonton. Because the information about Spanish speakers in Canada is minimal, and sometimes even inaccurate, the first part of this interview will be a list of questions aimed at getting a better description of the population. Then, an interview with the researcher will focus on the ideas that interviewees have of the Spanish speaking population in Edmonton, and the social networks that they have with other Spanish speakers, and what role the Spanish language has in this population.

By signing this form I acknowledge that I have read and understood the following:

__ Participation is completely voluntary.
__ I may choose not to answer any or all of the questions asked by the researcher.
__ This interview will be recorded to an audio file.
__ I may choose to withdraw my participation at any point in time by contacting the
researcher.
__ The results of this study may be used in a publication.
__ All data will be kept completely confidential by the researcher.

The small size of the community being studied may make it difficult to maintain complete anonymity of participants. Although the researcher will take all necessary steps to obscure the participants' identities in the data files and the written thesis, it is possible that some identities will be difficult to conceal to other members of the community.
If you would like to remain anonymous, please check below:
__ I want my name and identity to be kept anonymous by the researcher to the extent that it is possible.

_____   _____
Participant Name   **Researcher Name**

_____   _____
Participant Signature   **Researcher Signature**

                                     For inquiries contact:
                                     Diana Benschop
                                     Department of Anthropology
_____   University of Alberta
Date   benschop@ualberta.ca, 439-1309

This study is supervised by Dr. Michelle Daveluy, PhD. Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta 492-5589, michelle.daveluy@ualberta.ca

Appendix 7: Scales for the tabulation of socio-demographic data

1. Communicative competency levels (fluency):

Six levels were established to identify linguistic ability in Spanish, English, and any other language(s) used by participants. These levels were based upon self-ascribed competence, and observations of competence by the researcher, which were usually higher than what speakers felt their abilities to be. Assessments of fluency were based on the verbal communication skills. All of the participants interviewed demonstrated level 1 or higher.

0 = none   Possesses a small vocabulary of only a few isolated words. Verbal interaction with others in this language is impossible. This person is only able to interact with other speakers of this language through an interpreter.

1 = poor   Possesses a basic vocabulary, and little or no sentence formation (syntactic) skills. Conversational in this language is still impossible or very difficult, but this person is able to carry some out daily affairs in this language, perhaps with some help from others.

2 = basic   This individual can interact consistently in this language, and can understand other sources of language such as television, radio, and written language, but has great difficulty having a spontaneous, conversational interaction. This person is able to carry out most daily tasks in the language, although may be intimidated to speak knowing that skills are limited. Passive comprehension falls in this category.

3 = good   This individual can communicate effectively in this language, but may still suffer from misunderstanding or difficulties. This individual is not usually intimidated to speak the language, but recognizes that their competence is still somewhat limited, and may feel that they are not completely able to express themselves as completely as they would like to.

4 = fluent   This individual's communicative ability is strong in conversational and other situations, including formal settings, and is aware of many of the subtleties of the language. Misunderstandings are not a significant worry and no difficulties are encountered in daily life because of language. Although this person is communicatively competent, the depth of their

knowledge and experience with the language does not match that of a native speaker.

5 = native   This person speaks this language as a first language, or to a level that is indistinguishable from that of a native speaker, in that accent or errors are those a native speaker would also commit.

2. Ethnic Identification

The three ethnic categories, as delineated by participants, were Latino/Hispanic, Indigenous Amerindian, and European. Categorization of ethnicity was for analytical purposes only, and was based upon participants' expressions of ethnic pride, association or identification with a given ethnicity or distinction from another.

Hispanic/Latino   No mention of either European or Indigenous heritage or culture in one's background.

Indigenous   Associates self with indigenous culture or heritage ideologically, or socially, linguistically, or historically.

European   Associates oneself with European culture or heritage ideologically, or socially, linguistically, or historically.

3. Socio-Economic Levels

Socio-economic levels were arrived at by considering the highest level achieved in an individual's educational, occupational, professional and financial picture, both before and after emigration from the home country.

A = Low Income   Formal education not above primary school (6 years). Works in unskilled labour or service positions. May also work in the informal economy, in either a rural or urban setting. No financial or social mobility.

B = Blue collar.   Formal education up to the secondary school level (13 years), Works in unskilled or semi-skilled labour, service or trades positions. Possibility of financial and social mobility.

C = Middle class   Formal education includes some post-secondary education. Works in administration, middle management, education, health, or the

skilled trades such as nursing, welding, plumbing, or mechanic. Financial and social position is relatively secure.

D = Professional   More than four years post-secondary education. Works in an advanced, specialized, managerial position, and is likely well-paid. Some lines of work included here might be engineering, business, finance, industry, or government.

E = Elite.   Occupies a superior position in society at large, due to advances levels of education, professional status or wealth. Financial and social position is secured by extensive resources. Elite status can also be arrived at through the accumulation of social power, such as that of a government official, or a religious leader.