

ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES OF INTERGENERATIONAL MINORITY LANGUAGE  
TRANSMISSION: AN ORAL HISTORY OF A SPANISH HERITAGE  
LANGUAGE COMMUNITY IN ONTARIO, CANADA

by

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(Under the Direction of Donna E. Alvermann)

ABSTRACT

Guided by a language ecology metaphor, the purpose of this study was to understand the language maintenance efforts of a Castilian Spanish heritage language community in Ontario, Canada using oral history methodologies. The study examined the intersection of policy, teaching, and learning of Castilian Spanish. The Spanish heritage language community under examination was made up of individuals who immigrated to Canada primarily from Spain in the 1960s and early 1970s and their Canadian-born children.

The researcher conducted 16 in-depth, semi-structured interviews of thirteen members of the community: three key members of the organizational committee (aged 50 to 70), four teachers (aged 50 to 80), and six students (aged 30 to 34) who participated in the heritage language classes from first through eighth grade between 1977 to 1987. A total of 40 hours of recorded interview data were collected. Additionally, data were collected through informal conversations. All participants interviewed were women except for two men belonging to the third category of participants. Interview data were analyzed using narrative analysis and

supported with archival data and focus group interviews. Theoretical frameworks used in the study were multiliteracies, global feminism, and the ecology of language maintenance.

The school started by the children's mothers was formed in order to teach the Spanish language to the second generation firstly, for moral reasons and secondly, for economic reasons. This contrasted to the reasons for which the second generation (i.e., the children) wanted to transmit the heritage language to the third generation, which was primarily for economic advancement rather than to become culturally enriched and to encourage family cohesion. The first generation saw themselves as instrumental to the teaching of the heritage language to the second generation; however, the second generation viewed themselves as occupying supportive rather than instrumental roles in the process of intergenerational language transmission and language maintenance. The findings also suggest that in professional settings, graduates of the heritage language school rely on oral language skills over skills requiring the use of printed text. This study informs the growing body of literature on heritage language learning in countries where English is the main language of currency.

**INDEX WORDS:** Global feminism, Heritage language, Immigrant, Intergenerational language transmission, Language ecology, Language maintenance, Language shift, Minority language, Multiculturalism, Multiliteracies.

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## DEDICATION

To my parents, Elsa and Juan Montero, who taught me their languages,  
cultures, and histories through the texts of Finland and Spain.

To Jorge,  
*Contigo a mi lado, la vida me muestra su lado azul.*

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Next, I recognize the members of the Spanish heritage language community. I am indebted to all who participated in this study. Sadly, I cannot mention them by name in order to keep my promise of confidentiality but, without their generosity, this project could not have been

realized. Without the women's organization and the teachers of the Spanish heritage language school, we, the Canadian-born generation, would not have the ability to communicate with the Spanish-speaking world and would not be able to continue learning about life's sweetness as experienced through language and culture.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Elsa and Juan Montero, because they taught me to respect and value education. I remember a time when I was 10 years old; my parents and I were eating at a restaurant in Toronto where many university students were studying while having something to eat. I remember my mother telling me that someday I would be able to study and learn about anything I wanted. I asked her what she thought would be an interesting topic to study and she said, "Why don't you study something about growing up multilingual?" I have never let go of this question, and my parents have supported my quest to answer this and all others questions that were born as a result. I am forever grateful for their support and encouragement. They deserve to be acknowledged in ways that extend beyond words. My heart aches because my father took his last breath before he could see the final product of this academic journey, but I know his wings guided the thoughts on these pages.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Guided by a language ecology metaphor, the purpose of this study was to understand the language maintenance efforts of a Spanish heritage language community by examining the experiences of the people who organized, taught within, and attended a Saturday morning heritage language school. I examined how the members of the group conceptualized the pedagogical/cultural objectives for the students of the school, how the objectives were implemented, what the graduates of the school learned from their Spanish language learning experiences, and how the graduates make and/or do not make use of this learning in their adult personal and professional lives. Through oral history, this work examines how a Spanish heritage language community created learning opportunities for its members who lived and worked within a predominantly Anglophone community located in Ontario, Canada.

Throughout this dissertation, I purposefully use the term *immigrant* rather than the more politically correct term *newcomer* that has become popular in recent years. The term *newcomer* is intended to remove the negative connotations associated with the word *immigrant*. Haugen (1966) described the popular connotation of an immigrant to be “an uprooted, homeless, displaced person, assigned a position at or near the bottom of the social ladder. The immigrant was a greenhorn, an ignoramus, raw material for the future American, only the rudiment of a human being” (p. 9). An immigrant, however, works hard, sacrifices, must learn quickly, must negotiate meaning in an unfamiliar code, and must know different ways of the world. An immigrant certainly is not an ignoramus. I chose to use the term *immigrant* for three reasons: First, to respect the sacrifices of all those who left their homelands as immigrants and not as newcomers; second, to respect the historical significance of being an immigrant in the 1960s and



1970s, when most were regarded as second-class citizens; and third, to recognize that, for many, being an immigrant was not and is not a source of shame.

In recent years, developing and maintaining a high level of proficiency in a non-English language that is used in the home has gained the attention of researchers and educators in Australia, Canada, and the United States. These countries have historically received and continue to receive a high number of immigrants. The value of knowing non-English languages is being reconsidered as important by a wider audience as the number of students who enter school systems in countries that receive high numbers of immigrants, such as Australia, Canada and the United States, has increased and as the proficiency in non-English languages is recognized as a strength (Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001b). The value of multilingualism on cognitive and social development (Bialystok, 1999; Cummins, 1983; Zentella, 1997) is becoming more recognized in the mainstream, and the need for individuals who have a professional competence in languages in addition to English is growing (Krashen, 2003; Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001a; Valdés, 2003). The research and education communities, particularly strong in the United States at present, are expressing interest in the linguistic potential of languages learned in the home—heritage languages.

### Heritage Languages

Heritage languages are the systems of communication and sociocultural practices (including literacy and language development) that differ from the mainstream, standard, idealized, and politically powerful norm. Heritage languages can be the minority languages and cultures of indigenous people or established minorities, or the languages and cultures of persons displaced because of voluntary or involuntary immigration. An example of an indigenous heritage language is found in the systems of communication and sociocultural practices of the numerous tribes of Canada's People of the First Nations. An established heritage language consists of the language and cultures of a nation's minority population such as Spain's Catalan people or the Welsh of Great Britain. An example of an immigrant heritage language is found among Iceland's recent immigrants from war-torn former Yugoslavia, where the mainstream

languages are Serbian and Croatian. In Iceland, where Icelandic is used by most of the population (Grimes & Grimes, 2004a), Serbian and Croatian are considered the heritage languages of these immigrants and of their future generations. The focus of this dissertation is on the maintenance of immigrant heritage languages; therefore, throughout the dissertation, any mention of a heritage language refers to the minority languages and cultures of individuals displaced as a result of immigration.

Even though greater professional and personal value is being placed on having language abilities in addition to English, few educational programs offer heritage language learners the resources and opportunities to develop their home language. This makes it difficult to develop and maintain the heritage language to the high levels of competence often required in professional settings. For many, formal education in the heritage language depends on community-based heritage language programs organized at the grass-roots level and taught by members of the heritage language community with little funding and limited resources.

Heritage language programs, born within ethnic language communities, have the potential to develop, inculcate, and reproduce positive ethnic identity and train future ethnic leaders and ethnic elites at community and national levels (Pannu & Young, 1980). However, researchers and educators are beginning to realize that relatively little is known about the students who enroll in heritage language programs and about the programs themselves (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997); little is known about the development and coordination of well-designed and carefully articulated heritage language programs (Freeman, 2004); and little is known about the type of language foundation provided by heritage language programs and about the ways in which those who have passed through a heritage language program choose to use or not use the heritage language at community and national levels.

In the following sections, I provide a background of the notion of immigration. I briefly examine why people choose to immigrate from their homeland, why countries choose to receive immigrants, and the ways in which the host countries have tried to integrate young immigrants or the children of immigrants through education. I present the research questions that guided this

study and a brief overview of how the study was conducted. Finally, I discuss the importance of the study. Finally, I present why I chose to study immigrant heritage language learning, identifying where I situate myself within the research, as I examine potential sources of researcher bias.

### Immigrants, Immigration, and Language Planning

The immigrant experience permanently alters one's life. It is an experience in which people remove themselves, either voluntarily or involuntarily, from their familiar social, cultural, historical, political, and linguistic homes and are launched into strange systems of codes, symbols, philosophies, and ideologies—foreign ways of making sense of the world. Emigration forces people to think reflexively on the various modes of meaning presented to them and on the modes that they left behind. In order to survive, immigrants must make meaning of new systems (e.g., linguistic, ideological) in relation to the ones that they bring with them in order to understand and forge a prosperous future for themselves and their children.

The traditional immigration story is a tale of immigrants leaving their home country in search of greater opportunities for themselves and their families. They leave to escape war, famine, and persecution. They leave because jobs available in their home country do not match their qualifications or levels of education. They leave to seek a business venture that would be impossible in their home country. Reasons for leaving the home country are often discussed in educational circles; however, the reasons for which a host country accepts or even recruits foreign nationals do not often enter the discussion. Understanding these reasons sheds light upon the way in which immigrants are schooled and integrated into the host country.

In the past, a host country “received” immigrants in order to build railroads, to mine coal, to harvest lumber, to develop uncultivated land, to improve diplomatic relations, or to improve the system of national defense. Immigrants were received to sustain and improve internal economies and to help secure a nation's future welfare. This “reception” did not come without expectations. The host country expected the recruits to assimilate to the ways of the new country, quickly and with minimal effort. Immigrants were expected to incorporate themselves and their

families into the structures of the host country's public spaces: school, work, and government. For this reason, host countries "received" immigrants who would offer the least resistance to achieving these goals.

For decades, the immigration policies of Canada, the United States, and Australia (the three primary host countries to immigration) set their immigration standards according to race, color, and religion, giving preference to White immigrants, primarily those from northern Europe (Glenn, 1996). These racist policies received criticism from the international community, primarily the United Nations. In response to internal and external political pressures, these racist immigration policies were rectified in 1962, 1965, and 1973, respectively, when racist variables were reduced or eliminated from consideration in the approval or denial of an individual's application to immigrate (Hawkins, 1988).

Waves of immigrants continued to enter these host nations; they brought high expectations not only of themselves but of their host countries. Naturally, they hoped for opportunities to build better social lives for themselves and their children. They recognized that these opportunities did not come without sacrifice, and they were willing to make sacrifices. However, they also had many needs. In order to find new opportunities, they needed to learn the various discourses of the mainstream language—not only the code but the ways in which the code was used. Often, the host country offered language courses so that immigrants could learn just enough of the mainstream language to be able to enter the workforce—even if that meant taking a job for which they were overqualified. While the adults in the immigrant communities economically sustained their families, the expectation was that the children would go to school to learn the mainstream language and achieve the skills necessary to ensure their future success in the host country. Education and hard work were often looked upon as the keys to opening the doors to future success.

It cannot be denied that, with few exceptions, parents want to provide for their children in the best way that they know how. They want to meet the physiological, psychological, emotional, and social needs of their children. To meet these needs, many immigrant families

choose to conserve their native language as the language of the family because that is the language in which they know how to be parents. Often, the parents have sufficient skills in the mainstream language to maintain a job, but these skills are insufficient to have an intimate relationship with their children because they simply do not know how to express love in the words of another language. Immigrants are willing to make many sacrifices in order to succeed in the host country; however, replacing their linguistic, cultural, and ethnic heritage with that of another may not be one of their expectations of immigration. In fact, many minority language individuals see a value in preserving parts of their ways of life and transmitting them to their children. The responsibility of transmitting the ethnic language, cultures, customs, and traditions falls largely on the backs of members of the ethnic community.

Education systems in Australia, Canada, and the United States—the three countries that primarily host immigrant populations—have not taken on the responsibility of teaching indigenous (e.g., the languages of American Indians or People of the First Nations), established (e.g., Catalan or Welsh), or immigrant (e.g., Spanish in Australia, Canada, or the United States) minority languages. Generally speaking, mainstream educators aim to ensure that all students in the system are able to function in the nation’s official language(s) and become productive members of the nation’s society.

Minority language children are integrated into the mainstream through participation in three programmatic options. Ultimately, the options available to these students depend largely on language planning policy and available funding. The three programmatic options offered to minority language students are (a) assignment to a regular class, (b) assignment to a special program, and (c) assignment to an integrated bilingual program (Glenn, 1996). These programs, with the exception of integrated bilingual programs, treated the minority language child as having a language deficit (not knowing English) and a need (to know English). With an urgent agenda to integrate minority language students to the mainstream and a microscopic vision, the minority language is not attended to in the public educational sphere.

Minority language students may be assigned to a regular class, with little or no language support in educational systems that are not equipped to meet their developmental needs. Minority language students are expected to acquire the mainstream language and learn the academic content on their own. Some school systems offer internal support in the form of pull-out mainstream language instruction. This method is the least disruptive to the educational system as a whole because little or no intervention is provided. It is rare that minority language children are actually placed in these “sink or swim” learning situations. Within this limited support model, some school systems offered home language instruction to minority language students, mostly in the form of heritage language classes held for a couple of hours per week outside of school hours, in combination with other children of the same language community.

The second way of integrating minority language students into the mainstream is to assign the students to a special program until they acquire sufficient mainstream language skills to survive in the mainstream classroom with little or no support. Students in these sheltered language programs are taught the mainstream language through simplified instruction of the content area material. Because this method takes advantage of the child’s prior knowledge, it is usually used with older children. A variation of these special programs uses the home language as the vehicle through which language-based skills (e.g., reading and writing) are taught. This takes advantage of a child’s oral skills in the home language to learn its literacy codes and later to apply those skills to learning the mainstream language.

The third method brings together minority and majority language students in integrated bilingual programs. The emphasis of this type of program is placed on both the languages of the minority and majority language students such that both groups of students have the opportunity to learn the other’s language. This is a variation of the Canadian French immersion model.

The evaluative and formative research goals for situations in which the minority language child is submersed into the mainstream classroom, is offered special services, or is integrated into a dual-language learning program leads to the formulation of the following question: How well do these programs help to integrate the minority language student into the mainstream

language classroom? Development of the mainstream language has received much research attention, while development of the minority language has not been given high priority. In fact, in Canada, where limited funding is available for the teaching of ethnic languages, the research emphasis of researchers is focused on French immersion (Vermeer, 1997). If a minority language child benefited from learning the home language as a result of the education system's intent to integrate them into the mainstream, then it was considered a bonus for the child and the child's language community. The types of programs that specifically address heritage language education are discussed in the review of the literature.

### Recognition of Heritage Languages in the Mainstream

There is an increasing need for multilingual people as the world becomes progressively more globalized. In this sense, globalization and multilingualism are interconnected. Globalization is defined as “the tendency for economic, social, political, and cultural processes to take place on a global scale rather than within the confines of particular countries or regions” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 162). Through international travel, trade, and instantaneous communication, diverse languages and cultures are becoming more accessible and necessary in various relationships, but particularly in business relationships. In addition to economic globalization, there is a globalization of cultural, linguistic, and discursive practices (Fairclough). This is seen in linguistically, culturally, and ethnically diverse societies where myriad social and cultural practices meet in contact zones, defined as “the social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power” (Pratt, 1991, p. 34). To create common ground in the contact zone, communication among these linguistically, culturally, and ethnically diverse societies must take place at macro and micro levels.

At the macro level, globalization impacts language use in international, interpolitical, and interinstitutional relations in business, education, and government; at the micro level, globalization impacts relationships with friends, family, and loved ones. Globalization has influenced and will continue to influence the way in which language is used to communicate and

negotiate meaning as more and more people must function in new and unfamiliar parts of the world (Peyton et al., 2001a). The negotiation of meaning often has as much to do with understanding gestures, sounds, spaces, and signs as with understanding linguistic meaning. Some people view these changes in a positive light; others view them in a negative light.

Whether one views globalization positively or negatively may depend upon one's position in the "asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt, 1991, p. 34) inherent in the contact zone. For example, economic globalization has accorded the English language a high status on the international level. However, for those who value multilingualism, the dominance of any one language may be viewed negatively because it is a force that contributes to the demise of hundreds of local languages that have less currency in the global marketplace (Lo Bianco, 2000; Terralingua, 2001).

Regardless of one's views toward language learning, the need for multilingual literacies is becoming more and more important because of the facilitated movement of people around the globe and the multiple modes of rapid communication afforded by new technologies (Lo Bianco, 2000). The increased contact between people from different countries requires the placement of people who are fluent in multiple languages at various levels of the global community and marketplace. Employers in federal, state, and provincial governments and in business sectors, news media and communications companies, healthcare industries, and education have already voiced the need for people with multilingual skills (Carreira & Armengol, 2001).

Many heritage language individuals possess oral and written language skills, in addition to English, but their skills are not valued to the same degree as those of a person who has learned the same language in a foreign language learning situation because the language learned in the home may not be of the prestigious variety (Bernal-Enríquez & Hernández-Chávez, 2003; Valdés, 2001). This is unfortunate because a heritage language speaker may have greater knowledge of the social intricacies of the language that extend beyond forming grammatically correct sentences—the type of skill most often emphasized in a foreign language learning context (Peyton, Lewelling, & Winke, 2001). Effort is being made to address some of these



problems, particularly with Spanish heritage language learners in the United States. In doing so, learning opportunities that favor the heritage language learner can be identified and language skills be fostered to meet the needs of a globalized world.

Greater professional and personal value is being placed on the ability to communicate effectively and to make meaning in everyday life in multiple languages. This occurs in a world in which human interactions are crossing geopolitical boundaries on a daily basis facilitated by globalization. There is a need for people to “use the multiple modes in which those codes are transmitted and put to use; and the capacity to understand and generate the richer and more elaborate meanings they convey” (Lo Bianco, 2000, p. 92).

Only recently is the linguistic and cultural knowledge of a non-English language, acquired through intergenerational language transmission in the home context, being recognized as having the potential to be of more value than simple enrichment. However, few educational programs offer the resources and opportunities to develop the heritage language to the level of competence necessary for employment (e.g., translators, teachers, diplomats) requiring multilingual skills (Krashen, 2003). Educational programs have the potential to hinder or promote intergenerational language transmission. Naturally, much depends on the type of language policy in place, how that policy is translated by educational institutions, and the funding available for the implementation of the policy.

The first general category of language programs is transitional. These programs have the potential to transmit and develop the privileged mainstream language and to interrupt heritage language development. The emphasis of transitional language programs is on the development of the mainstream language so that it can be used in all aspects of academic and social life, such as getting instructions from the teacher, reading content area material, writing research reports, and interacting with other students. For example, early- and late-exit bilingual programs, English as a second language pull-out programs, and sheltered English language programs interrupt heritage language development by placing the educational focus on the development of the mainstream language.

The heavy emphasis on the mainstream language sends a message to the heritage language student that the home language is not necessary for future success. This message can be detrimental to a person's ethnic identity and her or his family and community life, especially if the heritage language learner rejects the home language in favor of the mainstream language. These language learning dynamics lead to language shift (Fishman, 1991), a concept illustrating how the life of a language moves along a gradual continuum from a necessary social and economic language to one that is no longer used by any living persons. Language shift explains how forces (e.g., attitude, language status, number of members in the speech community) are responsible for the replacement of a local community language by a more prestigious one.

Enrichment language programs, on the other hand, have the potential to promote heritage language development in concert with the development of the mainstream language. Two-way/dual-language and heritage language enrichment programs encourage heritage language development to varying degrees by placing the educational focus on the development of the heritage language in addition to or as a complement to the development of the mainstream language. Despite the existence of heritage language enrichment programs, the emphasis of educational research is almost exclusively on the development of the mainstream, standard, idealized, and politically powerful language. Little research emphasis is placed on the heritage language, the heritage language learner, and the heritage language community.

The majority of enrichment heritage language programs, whether or not supported by the mainstream, are community-based programs. More often than not, they are organized by female members of the minority language community. They are rarely recognized as key contributors to minority language maintenance in multilingual societies (Lee & Cardinal, 1998). Instead, language policy makers are given most of the credit for creating multilingual and multicultural nation states. Those responsible for implementing the multilingual language policies at local levels are rarely acknowledged, much less examined. Rather, research that examines the heritage language learner or language tends to focus on variables that promote heritage language learning, such as the language learner's attitude toward learning the heritage language, the mainstream's

attitude toward offering heritage language programs in the public sphere, the effect of heritage language loss, and demographic variables of heritage language communities.

Researchers who examine the current situation of heritage language learners have identified a need to understand more about the community structures and organizations that have helped to establish successful heritage language programs and the role that the heritage language community plays in maintaining the heritage language through intergenerational language transmission (Campbell & Christian, 2001). Campbell and Christian (2001) identified the need to understand the academic, occupational, and professional opportunities available to heritage language speakers because being able to use the heritage language outside the transparent walls of the heritage language community would give greater status to the language, thus contributing to its maintenance. Lo Bianco (as cited in Campbell & Christian, 2003) stated that heritage language researchers would benefit from understanding the historical experiences of heritage language communities and the roles played by the school system and other institutions (e.g., language policy) in heritage language maintenance. He suggested that an appropriate frame to study this cluster of issues is guided by the rubric of the ecology of languages, which strives to understand the interaction of language users within their social and cultural environments (Haugen, 1972/2001; Mackey, 1980/2001).

### Research Questions

Community-based heritage language programs are not new educational interventions in immigrant communities (Fishman, 2001). What is new (or more recent) is that researchers and educators are becoming more interested in studying heritage language learning communities in ways that highlight the development and maintenance of the heritage language. Heritage language programs are started at the grass-roots level, whether or not external funding and support is available. The heritage language community must take the initiative to get the program up and running. Heritage language programs are primarily initiated by senior members of heritage language communities in order to transmit the language and culture to younger members of the community. They play a vital role in helping minority language groups to preserve their

language, culture, and aspects of their ethnic identity. They create a forum to transmit history, religion, and traditional values of the home culture (Geva & Wade-Woolley, 1998). They help students to negotiate meaning in the mainstream educational system that may help to prevent mainstream school attrition (Olsen et al., 2001). In addition, heritage language learning communities may help to reduce the effects of language shift by encouraging intergenerational language transmission.

This study examines the history of a Spanish heritage language school formed in 1977 in Ontario, Canada. The school was conceived and organized by a group of immigrants, primarily originating from Spain, who settled in Ontario during a period of approximately 10 years, beginning in the early 1960s. Employing oral history data collection methods, I conducted in-depth, semistructured interviews of three members of the school's founding organizational committee, four teachers who taught at the school, and six students who attended the school from its inception and completed its organized course of study. Archival data (informal and formal documents, photographs, video cassettes) were analyzed for content and were used to triangulate interview data.

The overarching research question guiding this dissertation was the following: How have minority language individuals contributed to the multicultural and multilingual nature of a nation through their desire to organize a nonintegrated, complementary, Spanish heritage language program that aimed to promote intergenerational language transmission? The subquestions that guided this dissertation examined the following elements:

1. The pedagogical and cultural learning objectives implicitly and explicitly expressed by members of the heritage language community who organized a nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program, including how the school was formed, the types of academic and social activities organized, the role of the Multiculturalism Policy, and the ways in which the organizational committee exercised agency in the creation of the Spanish heritage language program;

2. Using a multiliteracies framework, the current Spanish language literacy practices engaged in by graduates of the nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program; and
3. The personal and professional activities engaged in by graduates of the nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program.

A matrix of the research questions and corresponding rationale, data sources, and data analysis methods can be found in appendix A.

### Importance of the Study

This study is important to researchers and educators interested in intergenerational language transmission through heritage language programs. It examines heritage language learning by examining the historical, political, social, and cultural contexts that contributed to the formation of a nonintegrated Spanish heritage language school. It places the participants of a heritage language school at the center of a country's political agenda. The study explores the possibilities as well as limitations of a nonintegrated heritage language program by listening to experiences of senior and junior members of the community.

Oral history methodology helped to capture the participants' stories, first on audiocassette and then through transcription. These visual aids helped me to examine carefully the participants' words and ideas. The history of the Spanish school is told through the collective voices of integral players at the Spanish school: three key members of the board of directors, four teachers, and six students who graduated from the school. One may ask why it is important to tell such a story. The answer is simple. One cannot make sense of efforts to counter language shift without examining how people tried to work against it. One cannot make sense of learning over multiple time scales, as suggested by the study of the ecology of language, without examining childhood learning opportunities as well as adult learning opportunities. One cannot make sense of agency—the internal power to take action—without examining external events and actions. All of these variables are found in the collection of stories told by those who experienced the Spanish heritage language school first hand.

This study is unique because the stories told by the participants are unique. Each story has a unique social, political, and cultural context. The stories can never be replicated, but the lessons learned and successes gained can serve to inform the future. Understanding the history of one heritage language community may help others working with heritage language programs and/or communities to think about ways by which to examine their individual challenges and successes in order to move progressively toward their goals.

The study also fills a gap in the literature that addresses heritage language learners and heritage language communities. It specifically considers immigrant heritage language learners, their families, communities, and immigrant heritage language programs from the perspective of immigrant heritage language learners and those involved with such communities. As addressed in the review of the literature, the primary research focus in most heritage language learning research sites has been the acquisition or development of the mainstream language. This study considers the mainstream language only as a periphery element. The heritage language user, learner, and teacher are the foci.

#### Researcher Bias

Data for this oral history research project were collected using ethnographic methods: semistructured individual interviews, focus group interviews, and the collection and analysis of archival data. Fontana and Frey (2000) noted, “The oral history differs from other unstructured interviews in purpose, but not methodologically” (p. 656); therefore, it is appropriate to discuss at this point some of the criticisms made about data collected via ethnographic methods, including researcher bias.

Ethnographic work has been criticized for being an extended research process and not practical when a decision about a certain problem must be made quickly, for being too broadly focused, and for promoting the researcher’s potential advocacy stance as illuminated by her or his bias (Chambers, 2000). Chambers argued that these same criticisms could also be regarded as strengths in that there is an advantage to spending a large amount of time collecting research in the field and becoming intimately acquainted with the research participants and context—

elements that serve to enrich the project. Similarly, using ethnographic research methods, such as individual interviews, allows the researcher to probe the interviewee for details that may otherwise not have been elicited using a structured technique such as a survey questionnaire. Ethnographic methodology “adds a cultural dimension” (Chambers, p. 863) to the research that might otherwise be less emphasized, regardless of the researcher bias.

Researchers, both quantitative and qualitative, must recognize that all research is inherently biased. There is no such thing as a value-free or bias-free research design (Janesick, 2001). All research is value-laden. Of course, there are ways to manage researcher bias in order to render the research findings valid and reliable. Janesick argued that qualitative researchers generally “accept the fact that research is ideologically driven” (p. 385). One way qualitative researchers might address this fact is to identify and recognize the researcher’s biases early in the investigation and understand the ways in which this bias may influence how the data are collected and interpreted. The research conducted and reported in this dissertation is no different. It is certain that my insider status within the Spanish heritage language community influenced the way in which I designed and conducted the research. However, as Nancy Scheper-Hughes (as cited in Olesen, 2000) noted, the researcher’s “cultural self” is no longer “a troublesome element to be eradicated or controlled, but rather a set of resources” (p. 229). The disadvantage of my insider status within this community and the way in which it may have influenced the research is further discussed in the section entitled “Limitations” in chapter 5.

#### *Subjectivities Statement: My Multilingual Self*

Next I address how I view myself as having an insider status with the Spanish heritage language community by presenting a brief personal journey. I am a product of my society, just as my parents are products of theirs. The ideologies current within our respective social environments influenced the way in which we view the world. In order to understand the multilingual possibilities constructed in me, I began the exploratory journey at the intersection of two roads: one traveled by my mother and the other traveled by my father. This journey provided insight into the manner in which their ideologies of language learning and cultures were shaped.

Constructionism, a theoretical framework that posits that “truth, or meaning, comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world . . . meaning is not discovered, but constructed” (Crotty, 1998, p. 8) guided my examination of my multilingual self as I searched to unveil potential contributors of my personal biases that could influence this research project. This dissertation, in a way, created a forum for me to explore the events that have participated in the construction of my own multilingual and multicultural identity.

This endeavor may seem rather narcissistic. Linda Kaufmann (1993) warned that “there is something fatally alluring about personal testimony” (p. 132) because of the tendency to look back on one’s life through an enchanted window. Although this may be a plausible argument, I prefer to subscribe to Pinar’s (1988) thought that “understanding of self is not narcissism; it is a precondition and concomitant condition to the understanding of others” (p. 150). Guided by Pinar’s thought, I gave myself permission to indulge in this quasi-narcissistic endeavor so that I might become a more effective researcher.

Starting from this perspective, I unveil evidence that will help to recreate and record my story and illuminate some of my researcher bias. I present the compilation of vignettes of the lives of my parents and my own as an outline. These vignettes are not intended to represent a complete collection. Neither do I pretend that I can piece this story together and recount it in the time and space limitations that I have allowed for this inquiry, nor are these my intentions. It is possible that a lifetime of searching would not lead me to a complete understanding.

#### *Brief Life History of Elsa Montero (née Haapala)*

I provide a brief life history of my parents, Elsa and Juan Montero, in order to demonstrate how their ideologies helped to construct my own—the same ideologies that influenced this research project. My mother was the first of three children born to Taimi (née Härkönen) and Jussi Haapala in northwestern Finland, in the rural town of Nurmo, on June 7, 1929. Her life began a decade after Finland gained its independence from Russia in 1917 and a decade before the eruption of World War II. Shortly after Finnish independence, basic schooling became compulsory for all children. In this era, education was valued in Finland. Reading, in



particular, was viewed as the way to access knowledge, and writing was viewed as the way to transmit knowledge to future generations. Finns also viewed the ability to read and write as one way to preserve independence.

My mother was able to complete the required 6 years of *kansakoulu* [folk school]. When she finished her primary education and was ready to move on to the next level, doctors diagnosed her father with tuberculosis, a disease that had no cure at the time. Her family could not afford the tuition fees associated with *oppikoulu* [high school] and she could not continue her formal education, despite her strong desire to do so. Her father passed away when she was 14 years old. After some years of working to help support her mother and two younger sisters, teaching became a career option open to her. She opted to begin her training as a *kotitalous* [home economics and handicrafts] teacher. At this time, a high school diploma was not required to enter the teaching profession. She successfully completed the course work and started her first teaching jobs in Korttesjärvi and Evijärvi.

With her *sisu* (a Finnish word referring to one's inner strength and drive), my mother taught herself the material in the Finnish high school curriculum. The curriculum required all students to learn Swedish (the second official language of Finland) and another foreign language, such as English. With the money that she earned from her teaching job, my mother hired a tutor and studied both Swedish and English for 2 years. She hoped to be able to travel and use the languages that she was learning within their cultural contexts. Even as a young woman, she believed that a people's language could not be separated from their culture. In the summer of her 22<sup>nd</sup> year she traveled to Sweden to learn from its people. Two of her fundamental beliefs have been reconstructed in me: the necessity and desire for lifelong learning and the value of diverse languages and cultures.

After several years of teaching and consulting in Finland, my mother was invited by a retired U.S. ambassador living in Coín, Spain, to become the director of his household staff. Before departing for Spain, she tried to teach herself some Spanish, using a grammar book, but the departure date to Spain came so quickly that her self-study did not allow for much progress.

At the age of 28, she arrived in Franco's Spain without much knowledge of the language or culture. She was determined to learn the language as quickly as possible so that she could participate actively in the culture. Within 6 months, she had learned enough of the Spanish language to function within the culture. To integrate into the culture, my mother had to give up many liberties. For example, she could not go shopping, to the movies, or for a walk in the town without a chaperone. A woman who did not respect this cultural norm was judged harshly; my mother had trouble with this cultural norm, coming from a much more liberal Finland.

One of the most influential experiences with regard to language teaching occurred when my mother was on an airplane traveling to Spain. She met a young Swedish-Finnish family who were returning to ambassadorial life in Spain. The couple had two preschool-age children who spoke Finnish, Swedish, and Spanish. The parents spoke Swedish and Finnish to the children in the home and they all acquired Spanish during the time spent in a Spanish language community. My mother remembers telling herself that, if she were ever to have a child, she would want to raise her or him in such a fashion. With her future Spanish husband, this became a reality.

#### *Brief Life History of Juan Montero Guzmán*

My father's language learning situation was considerably different from that of my mother. He was the first-born child of Francisco Montero López and María Dolores Guzmán Martín in the rural town of Coín, Málaga, Spain, on April 30, 1930. The Spain of his childhood was under Civil War and the beginning of military dictatorial rule. The Franco regime suppressed cultural contact with the world, uniquely valued Castilian Spanish, and promoted animosity toward foreigners; my mother was one of the first foreigners to socialize with the residents of Coín.

My father was offered only a basic education, after which he began to work with his father in the family furniture business—the trade on which he based his life upon immigration to Canada. My father had a love of learning and realized the importance of education. He pursued his high school diploma in night school while working with his father during the day and on weekends.

When my mother returned to Finland after having spent 3 years in Spain, my father decided to go to Basel, Switzerland, with his brother. Basel attracted many Spaniards who were tired of the Franco Regime. In Switzerland, he learned to function in German by learning the language using self-study records and through interactions with the Swiss-German family with whom he lived. He learned enough German to *defenderse* [to defend one's self], a term coined by Zentella (1997) to describe the way in which one is able to use a language well enough to get along. He also learned Italian with his co-workers, a much easier language to learn because of its proximity to Spanish. My father learned German and Italian, not through study but through interactions with German-speaking and Italian-speaking people.

In 1967 my father decided to make a move across the Atlantic Ocean. He immigrated to Francophone/Anglophone Montréal, Canada, and searched for employment. There he was advised that greater opportunities were available in Ontario Region because he was able to communicate in German and because the town had a large German-speaking population. Initially, he was able to function in German while learning English. Upon his arrival to Ontario Region, he found himself in a network of German-, Italian-, and Spanish-speaking immigrants; together, they formed immigrant solidarity. Competency in foreign languages, for my father as well as other immigrants, was a matter of survival.

#### *Elsa and Juan: Immigrants and Language Learners*

The federal government of Canada, in cooperation with the provincial government of Ontario, offered English language classes for its recent immigrants to help with their transition into the English-dominant language community. At the time, each immigrant to Ontario was entitled to 6 months of training in the English language. Classes were offered 5 days a week, 5 hours per day, with a stipend provided for each language learning session attended. Because my mother had been a teacher in Finland, she was entitled to receive an additional 6 months of classes in order to help her gain admittance into a Canadian university. After studying English for a year, she applied to the university and was accepted to the Bachelor of Arts degree program. However, she eventually stopped taking classes because she lacked adequate child care

resources. She decided to stay at home with me until I would eventually attend elementary school. My mother learned enough English to allow her to be an active parent in my school community, to participate in the Potter's Guild, and to teach silk screening classes at the local community college.

My father learned the English language through experience. He initially enrolled to take classes offered through immigration services but decided to spend more time fine tuning his craft and learning the language on the job. My father recognized the importance of achieving English proficiency in order to connect with the English-speaking world. He had a thirst for knowledge and gathered information about the world by reading the local English language newspaper and watching the evening news on television. Through his quest for knowledge, his English language skills improved. His immigrant language status did not impede him from building his own woodworking business, which he ran successfully for over 25 years.

My father knew his limitations with the English language. He was able to express his ideas orally but he had difficulty in writing in English; therefore, as I grew older, he would ask me to write his formal business letters in English. He would tell me what he wanted the letter to say; I would compose it, read it back to him (translating when necessary), and revise it to meet his content specifications. At a very young age, I learned to navigate between the languages of my home and the business world.

#### *Elsa and Juan: Language Teachers*

From the time that my parents were expecting their first child, they had decided that they would educate the child in both Finnish and Spanish. My father does not remember the topic to have been an issue; it was axiomatic. Upon my birth, they strictly followed the *une personne, une langue* [one person, one language] rule (Ronjat, 1913). They wanted me to learn both of their native languages. Because they realized that I was geographically cut off from my extended family, they did not want me to be cut off linguistically as well. It was paramount that I participate in their native cultures and languages and build solid relationships with my grandmother, aunts, uncles, and cousins. Without the ability to communicate to my Finnish and

Spanish families, I would not have been able to build relationships with my relatives living in Finland and Spain. I spent my childhood summers in Finland with my mother and, as I grew, I went to Spain by myself. In the early years of my childhood, my father did not return to visit his family because of the responsibilities of running his business.

Neither of my parents was concerned about my English language development. They just believed that I would learn English in school and the community. In fact, I learned English in school without difficulty. I learned to use English without ever being labeled a “second language learner” or “limited English proficient.” My sustained interest in languages led me to pursue an undergraduate degree in French philology, study in France for a year, and begin a teaching career in Francophone Québec.

As specifically discussed in the findings section of this dissertation, the members of the Spanish heritage language community created a school for its children. Beginning when I was 6 and continuing until I was 13, my mother took me to Spanish school every Saturday morning throughout the school year. I hated it. It ruined my Saturday mornings. I hated to go to Spanish school. But I went. I resented going to Spanish school because it took away from a revered Saturday morning tradition: watching cartoons. I resented going to Spanish school because it kept us from joining a weekend sports league. I resented going to Spanish school because it was another day of school that just was not supposed to be part of the schooling deal! I heard all the reasons: “Spanish will open many doors to you in the future.” “There are so many people who speak Spanish in the United States.” “When you go to Spain, or any other country where Spanish is spoken, you will be able to easily get around.” “You will be able to communicate with your family in Spain.” “You will be able to learn French more easily because the two languages come from the same Latin root.” Regardless of these future opportunities, I still did not want to go to Spanish school.

Reluctantly, I went to the school. I was given a foundation in the Spanish language, but I never really understood why these women dedicated so much of their time and energy to create a structure for us to learn their language, culture, customs, and traditions. I also did not know what

others thought about their experiences in the school. What did they learn from their experiences? Did their experiences help them in the “real” world? This dissertation topic was born from these questions and informed by scholars who examined education with respect to the maintenance of minority languages (Fishman, 1991; Veltman, 1983), the ecology of language (Haugen, 1972/2001; Mackey, 1980/2001), and the role of immigrant women in education (Beddoe, 1998; Gluck & Patai, 1991; Lee & Cardinal, 1998). Moreover, my parents’ language and educational ideologies played an influential role in the reason that I have been attracted to heritage language learning, teaching, and research.

### *Kristiina’s Cultural and Linguistic Self*

Hoffman (1985) noted that multilingual children may experience some difficulty in finding their cultural identity fueled by a sensation of not belonging to any of the cultures embodied by the languages. Jane Miller (as cited in Hoffman) posited that these problems might arise out of “conscious decisions in favor of, or against, particular cultural conventions or traditions” (p. 491). In my life, I have had difficulty in answering the question “Who am I?” Am I a Finn, a Spaniard, a Canadian, a Canadian-Finn, a Canadian-Spaniard, or a Canadian-Finn-Spaniard?

It was not until I approached this quandary from a more positive perspective—like the one achieved by looking at a glass filled with water and seeing it as half-full as opposed to half-empty—that I realized that my parents had given me the skills, knowledge, and freedom to be a Finn, a Spaniard, a Canadian, or any combination of the three. Gee (1996) noted that “a person can speak a language grammatically, can use the language appropriately, and still get it ‘wrong’ [because] what is important is not just how you say it . . . but *who you are* and *what you’re doing* when you say it” [emphasis in the original] (p. 124). My mother has always said, “I am like a fish in water.” Wherever I go in Finnish, Spanish, or English-speaking communities, I adapt easily to unfamiliar situations. I believe that this advantage would not have been possible if my parents had not insisted on raising me as multilingual—going against the urban legend of the

time, which stated that infant multilingualism caused cognitive disadvantages and linguistic confusion.

I recently read *Tuesdays With Morrie* (Albom, 1997), a life history of a man slowly dying from Lou Gehrig's disease. Morrie's insight about culture has affected my outlook regarding my cultural identity. Morrie said:

Here's what I mean by building your own little subculture . . . I don't mean you disregard every rule of your community. I don't go around naked, for example. I don't run through red lights. The little things, I can obey. But the big things—how we think, what we value—those you must choose yourself. You can't let anyone—or any society—determine those for you. . . . You have to work at creating your own culture. (pp. 155-156)

Until I read this passage, I always felt guilty about picking and choosing from my cultures. I would reject irritating elements and accept pleasing ones. What I was doing, in fact, was creating my own culture, as suggested by Morrie. I combined what I valued from each culture and made it my own. What is special about my situation is that, in creating my own linguistic and cultural self, I am better able to understand a Finn, a Spaniard, and a Canadian. I do not represent three separate linguistic nor cultural selves; I am a composite of all three (at least).

The remainder of this dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the literature that informs the study. Chapter 3 details the methodology used to address the research questions. Chapter 4 presents the findings. Chapter 5 offers a discussion of the findings and presents the limitations of the study and implications and ideas for further research.

## CHAPTER 2

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### The Ecology of Language

The term *ecology* was first used by Haeckel in 1866 to refer to the study of the interrelationships of living organisms in their habitats (Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001; Haugen, 1972/2001; Mackey, 1980/2001). It has been used in human sciences since the 1920s to explain, for example, population growth patterns and spatial distribution. However, in such studies, language was never considered as a variable to be examined (Haugen, 1972/2001). Resulting from the rise of the sociolinguistic school in the 1960s, in which social scientists gathered to discuss the interaction of languages and their users, researchers could no longer neglect the role that language played within its environment (Haugen, 1972/2001). The ecology of languages is a “model that tries to explain social communication globally through several disciplines” (Boudreau, Dubois, Maurais, & McConnell, 2002, p. 36).

Voegelin, Voegelin, and Schutz (1967) first referred to language ecology in a sociological study in which they studied language varieties in Arizona. Unknown to either team of scholars, the term was developed concurrently by Haugen in a paper published in 1972, appropriately entitled *The Ecology of Language*. In what is considered by many to be the seminal paper on the ecology of language, Haugen challenged linguists to expand their research beyond phonology, grammar, and lexicon in order to understand the people who learn a language, use it, and transmit it to others while interacting within their social and natural environments. He argued that, in order to understand the status of a language in comparison with other languages of the world, answers should be found to the following ecological questions for any given language variety, including creoles, dialects, and pidgins:



1. What is its classification in relation to other languages?
2. Who are its users?
3. What are its domains of use?
4. What concurrent languages are employed by its users?
5. What internal varieties does the language show?
6. What is the nature of its written traditions?
7. To what degree has its written form been standardized, i.e. unified and codified?
8. What kind of institutional support has it won, either in government, education, or private organizations, either to regulate its form or propagate it?
9. What are the attitudes of its identification? (p. 65)

The study of some or all of the variables outlined by Haugen (1972/2001) serves to explain the development of languages, their maintenance, and/or their shift (Boudreau et al., 2002). The study of the ecology of language was first presented to challenge linguists to examine languages and their users on a broader playing field.

Many linguists engage in the study of phonology, grammar, and lexicon with the intention of preserving a given language. The languages studied by linguists who are interested in preservation are normally those languages that do not have a written code or are poorly developed and transmitted to future generations other than through oral tradition. For example, SIL International is an organization dedicated to “develop and document the world’s lesser known languages” (SIL International, 2003, ¶ 1) in an attempt to prevent them from becoming extinct by encouraging intergenerational language transmission. However, Mühlhäusler (2000) noted that language preservation does not necessarily equal language maintenance and that, many times, a study of lexicon and grammar has not benefited the language maintenance efforts of the language users being studied.

#### The Ecology of Language Shift

Language ecologists such as Mühlhäusler, Mackey, and Fishman have noted that the most effective language maintenance efforts are born from within the minority language

community. Similarly, Freire (1999) argued that people “will not gain liberation by chance but through the praxis of their quest for it, through their recognition of the necessity to fight for it” (p. 27). Lather (1991) pointed out that “empowerment is a process one undertakes for oneself; it is not something done ‘to’ or ‘for’ someone” (p. 4). The organization of ethnic languages is an empowering process for its organizers because they are working for something which they believe to be right and just. Their “liberation” is not having to submit to assimilationist language policies and work toward trying to give their children options for future success. Lee and Cardinal (1998) noted how some heritage language schools work toward trying to find a balance across cultures, ethnicities, and languages, and not simply to recreate an ethnic past.

The ecology of language shift is the “study of interrelated sequences of causes and effects producing changes in the traditional language behavior of one group under the influence of another, resulting in a switch in the language of one of the groups” (Mackey, 1980/2001, p. 68). Normally, language shift favors the mainstream language. The ecology metaphor has become important to the study of language shift and loss—the opposing forces of language maintenance. Mühlhäusler (2000) argued that “each language, or group/mix of languages, has different ecological requirements: what strengthens one language (e.g., standardization, literacy) or language ecology (e.g., diglossia) may weaken another one” (pp. 310–311). Fill (as cited in Mühlhäusler, p. 326) noted the variables examined in the study of language ecologies to be (a) status and intimacy; (b) similarity and difference of languages in contact; (c) number of competing languages; (d) cultural, religious, and economic factors; (e) frequency of intermarriage; (f) functional distribution; (g) degree of codification; and (h) external intervention. I examined these variables in this study; however, the emphasis is on the experiences of language maintenance efforts examined at a local level.

The ecology metaphor has been explored and effectively used in anthropological linguistics, theoretical linguistics, and language teacher research (Fill & Mühlhäusler, 2001). It is a useful metaphor because it treats language learning in a holistic manner; it considers the psychological and sociological elements of language (Haugen, 1972/2001). This metaphor has

been used to examine language planning, language maintenance, and language shift and, more recently, language acquisition. The metaphor is useful to examine how language policies have impacted the type of research conducted in heritage language contexts that forms the better part of this literature review. It has also helped to frame the elements examined by the present study, which examines language maintenance efforts of the Spanish heritage language community in Ontario by examining members' experiences at a local level. The ecology metaphor has also been useful to understand language policies implemented in immigrant-receiving countries.

#### Non-Ecological Language Planning: Effects on Heritage Language Programs and Research

This section discusses how non-ecological language policies (i.e., language policies that sustain language standardization) have influenced heritage language programs and their research and development. Heritage language education research is currently overshadowed by bilingual and immersion language educational research that focuses on the languages of the mainstream. The focus of the research is a result of traditional, non-ecological language planning that supports the management and control of language standardization. For comparison, traditional language planning strives to standardize language use, whereas ecological language planning tries to maintain linguistic diversity. Language policies implemented in countries that receive a large number of immigrants strive to standardize language use and to impose hierarchical differences in language status (language use in the public sphere), which neglects the value of structured diversity (Mühlhäusler, 2000). The English-only policies that have been passed in 27 U.S. states are examples of non-ecological language planning devices. Even the celebrated Multicultural Policy in Canada can be argued to be a non-ecological planning device because it favors language standardization, despite its efforts to recognize the country's ethnic language diversity.

Ecological language planning is about creating a healthy language ecology in which success is determined by the quality of meaningful interrelationships (Mühlhäusler, 2000). Strohner (as cited in Mühlhäusler, 2000) argued that a healthy language ecology is self-

organizing, meaning that it is a system capable of change and adaptation while maintaining the quality of the system. A healthy language ecology should not require management or planning; rather, it should occur and maintain itself naturally. However, as with many biological ecologies, language ecologies now require management and planning because human action has disturbed the original self-regulating equilibrium (Mühlhäusler, 2000).

Traditional language planning policies support the mainstream language. The language planning and the research conducted in multilingual sites promulgate language standardization. For example, in English-Spanish bilingual education programs in the United States the emphasis is on English language acquisition and not on Spanish language acquisition—the heritage language for many of the minority language students enrolled in the programs. (For reviews on bilingual education in the United States, see August and Hakuta [1997]; Bernhardt [2000]; Fitzgerald [1995]; García [2000]; Ramírez, Yuen, and Ramey [1991] and Slavin and Cheung [2003]). In Canada, much of the research conducted in second language (including heritage language) settings has focused on the acquisition of one or both of Canada’s official languages (D’Anglejan, 1990; de Vries & de Vries, 1997; Swain, 2000). To further this argument, D’Anglejan noted, with some irony, that little work was being done on immigrant bilingualism in a country receiving so many immigrants; preference was given to English/French bilingualism while the development of immigrant heritage languages was “overlooked or viewed as irrelevant or not amenable to systematic investigation by mainstream investigators” (p. 146).

*The Multiculturalism Policy: A Non-Ecological Language Planning Tool*

The Multiculturalism Policy is a non-ecological language planning tool. Even though it recognizes Canada’s linguistic diversity, it does so only through “a bilingual framework,” meaning that the maintenance and development of minority languages are encouraged, provided they do not interfere with the development of English and French. Hawkins (1972) summarized the four elements of the Multiculturalism Policy approved in 1971 under Trudeau’s liberal government as follows:

1. [To provide] support and encouragement for all cultural groups which show the will to survive and develop and have a clear need for assistance;
2. [To] help in overcoming cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society (such as a sense of not belonging or inferiority);
3. [To encourage the] promotion of creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity and;
4. [To provide] some further assistance to immigrants in acquiring at least one of Canada's official languages. (p. 368)

The Multiculturalism Policy helped to garner federal funds for heritage language schools administered through the Cultural Enrichment Program. Unfortunately, these funds were cut from the federal budget in 1990, causing heritage language programs to rely solely on provincial funds. The funds allotted for heritage language programming pay for the use of space in public schools in which the programs are held, provide heritage language teachers a nominal wage, and pay for some material resources, such as access to photocopy machines and a limited supply of paper. Without this funding, heritage language communities would have to fund their own programs. In the United States, where government funds do not support such programs, heritage language communities must find space in churches, synagogues, temples, or rented/donated space in community centers (Compton, 2001; Devaney & Armengol, 2001; Fishman, 2001; Olsen et al., 2001; Shibata, 2000) and rely on private funds for teacher wages and consumable resources for students. Lack of funding for heritage language programming has also limited research and development.

Little empirical research has been dedicated to the study of immigrant heritage language learners, their families, communities, and/or immigrant heritage language programs in Canada (Cummins, 1983, 1985a; Danesi, McLeod, & Morris, 1993; de Vries & de Vries, 1997) without English and/or French language acquisition being the central focus. In his literature review of heritage language programming in Canada, Cummins (1983) noted the scarcity of data available on the academic effects of teaching heritage languages as subjects in school and the dearth of

available data on the impact of heritage language programs on educational systems as a whole. Two years later, in a report of the Heritage Language Conference of the Multiculturalism Directorate, Cummins (1985a) noted his surprise that heritage language issues continued to be neglected in educational research in Canadian contexts, despite the fact that Canadian researchers were highly productive in second language acquisition (SLA) research. In a review of the literature on heritage languages in Canada, Cummins (1994) once again reported on studies from the 1970s and 1980s. However, this review provided little insight into the status of heritage language education; rather, it recapitulated his review from 1983, which had focused largely on programmatic issues related to heritage language education in Canada, the United States, and Europe.

The study of immigrant heritage languages in their own right was low on the public research agenda, and public funds were not provided for their study unless a majority language such as English or French was emphasized. Even when heritage language programs were most popular in Canada in the mid-1980s, only limited federal funds, approximately 10% of operating costs (Cummins, 1994a), were available to run the programs; naturally, less was available for research and development. To illustrate, Cummins (1985b) lamented how a proposed 2-year study, intended to examine the literacy development in heritage language programs, was stripped of much its funding. The study was funded for 1 of the requested 2 years, and only two thirds of the proposed budget was awarded. Because of the emphasis on traditional language planning and its results, empirical research that focuses solely on heritage language development is scarce.

#### *Language Standardization and the Monolingual Ideal*

For many years, a monolingual and monocultural psycholinguistic perspective has dominated SLA research (Firth & Wagner, 1997). This line of research has focused on defining the second language learner as a nonnative speaker, emphasizing the “non” and relegating the second language learner to an inferior status. SLA researchers have been criticized for elevating the status of the native speaker of the target language and creating a deficient version of the

native speaker out of the second language learner (Firth & Wagner; Hall, 1997). This line of thought examined the SLA learner through the learner-as-computer metaphor, which held that language is a process of acquiring skills and excluded the examination of how the skills were used (Kramsch, 2002). SLA research from a psycholinguistic perspective has tried to explain the conditions through which a language learner could learn a second language and be as competent as a native speaker—something that most researchers would agree is impossible because of the cultural component to language learning.

For decades, it was believed that a child learning two languages simultaneously or consecutively would be deficient in one or both languages. Terms used for individuals learning languages were *alingual* or *semi-lingual*, and the term *interlanguage* was used to describe the period of transition between learning a language and using it according to the idealized native status. Tucker and d’Anglejan (as cited in Miller, 1983) noted that, for decades, parents, educators, and educational researchers believed that the bilingual child was cognitively and socially inferior to the monolingual and monocultural child. López-Robertson (Martinez-Roldán & López-Robertson, 1999) was but one of many educators and researchers who identified with this observation when she talked about her elementary school experiences in a bilingual classroom in Boston. She said, “Anyone in bilingual programs was seen as ‘less intelligent’ and there were few or no expectations for these children” (p. 270). This uninformed popular belief maintained that bilingualism was more harmful than beneficial to the young mind. Bilingual learning situations were and perhaps still are avoided by parents and/or educators who believe that bilingualism is cognitively and socially disadvantageous. This sparked researchers who believed that bilingualism was beneficial to forge a line of research that demonstrated that bilingualism was not only beneficial to the individual but to the society as well.

Pioneering research in bilingualism demonstrated that bilingual children showed significant advantages over monolingual children in areas of metalinguistic awareness (Ben-Zeev, 1977; Cummins, 1978; Cummins & Mulcahy, 1978; Ianco-Worrall, 1972), detected linguistic ambiguities in sentence structure (Cummins, 1994a), had an increased capacity for

creative and divergent thinking (Carringer, 1974; Landry, 1973), demonstrated increased social sensitivity (Ben-Zeev), and were more likely to be sensitive to and leery of ethnocentrism (Lambert, 1967). Bialystok (2001), a respected researcher who examined SLA from a psycholinguistic perspective, noted that, during this pioneering time, it was necessary to disprove the myth that “bilingualism is cognitively debilitating” (p. 169).

The need to disprove this debilitating myth shaped a line of research that aimed to demonstrate the superiority of bilingualism over monolingualism, or at least one that aimed to demonstrate that bilingual learning situations were not harmful to students. Much of the research conducted in bilingual learning contexts in Canada in the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, as well as research in bilingual education contexts in the United States, tried to do just that. For example, Slavin and Cheung (2003) noted that the emphasis in studies conducted in Canadian French immersion programs was to show “whether or not French immersion harms the English language development of native English speakers” (p. 18). The conclusion of such studies showed that English speakers’ language development in English did not suffer because they simultaneously were learning French; rather, the English speakers became proficient in the French language alongside English. The strength of this debilitating myth is beginning to wane as more and more research has shown that bilingual children experience neither cognitive nor social disadvantages (Cummins, 1994a; García, 2000; Ramírez et al., 1991) in well-implemented bilingual learning contexts.

#### Mother Tongue Education: Supporting Theories

The SLA theories that theoretically support much of the research examining the role of a child’s home language in educational development in the mainstream’s educational context are the linguistic interdependence theory (Cummins, 1979) and the comprehensible input and output theory (Krashen, 1989). These two theories have been influential in research that focuses on the development of the minority home language. They form the theoretical backbone of numerous bilingual education programs and heritage language education programs. These theories suggest that learning the home language is beneficial to the child and to society.



To summarize what is known about home language development, Cummins (2003) discussed the importance of mother tongue development for mainstream education. He noted that (a) the development of the home language alongside the mainstream language has positive effects on linguistic and educational development; (b) the level of development of a child's home language is a strong predictor of the level of development of the mainstream language; (c) the promotion of the home language in the mainstream educational system helps to develop both home and mainstream school languages; and, more important, (d) the acquisition of a child's home language does not disadvantage the minority language student when compared to her or his monolingual equal. The linguistic interdependence theory and the comprehensible input and output theory support programs that aim to develop and maintain the home language.

#### *Linguistic Interdependence Theory*

García (2000) noted that, despite its critics, the linguistic interdependence theory is still one of the most widely cited reasons for providing children home language oral and literacy instruction. Cummins (1983) believed that proficiency and skill in both the home and school languages are interdependent systems:

To the extent that instruction in L<sub>x</sub> [the home language] is effective in promoting proficiency in L<sub>x</sub>, transfer of this proficiency to L<sub>y</sub> [the mainstream language] will occur if there is adequate exposure to L<sub>y</sub> (either in school or in the environment) and adequate motivation to learn L<sub>y</sub>. (p. 41)

Cummins (1994) explained this theory in the following way: "The better developed the conceptual foundation of children's first language, the more likely children are to develop similarly high levels of conceptual abilities in their second language" (p. 51). This theory has been used and developed in studies examining mother tongue development with respect to learning the mainstream language.

#### *Comprehensible Input and Output Theory*

Krashen (1989) believed that, in order for an individual to learn a language, there must be sufficient exposure to language that is understood by the language learner and there must be

sufficient opportunities for the language learner to use the language in meaningful ways. The comprehensible input and output can take the form of any linguistic mode of communication: reading, writing, listening, or speaking. A key component of this theory is that language acquisition is not a passive process; rather, it is an active one, involving the language learner and those in the learner's social context.

### Programmatic Options to Teach Heritage Languages

Numerous educational models are used to teach heritage language acquisition. Larger programs, such as two-way, dual language, and immersion programs, as well as integrated heritage language programs, are sustained in communities where the ethnic community has a viable presence, where funding (public and/or private) is available, and where legislation allows for the existence of such programs. Nonintegrated heritage language programs are an option for smaller minority language groups that receive little or no public funding (Cummins, 1983, 1994).

#### *Two-Way, Dual Language, and Immersion Programs*

The explicit pedagogical goal of two-way, dual language, and immersion programs is to ensure that all students achieve high proficiency bilingualism and biliteracy (August & Hakuta, 1997). In these schools, approximately half of the students are native speakers of English, and the other half are English language learners. The idea is that English language learners acquire English while native speakers of English acquire the minority language (Spanish, in most two-way or dual-language programs in the United States). The two-way or dual language programs are variations of the Canadian French immersion model that was created for non-French-speaking students to learn enough French by the end of high school to be able to interact with Francophone communities on professional levels.

These programs function from a language-as-resource orientation (Freeman, 1996), a perspective that views the bilingual child to have linguistic and social advantages because he or she is learning a language in addition to the mainstream language (Cook, 1999; García, 2000). Traditional bilingual education programs (early-exit, late-exit, sheltered English as a Second

Language [ESL], and pull-out ESL) function from a perspective that views English language learners as having deficits because they do not know English. Traditional bilingual education programs do not view bilingualism as an educational priority; rather, the programs are viewed as providing a transitory training period to move the English language learner into an all-English classroom as quickly as possible.

The language-as-resource orientation of two-way, dual-language, and immersion programs is an important view of heritage language acquisition, particularly in the United States, where the English-only movement has become popular among legislators. It has been argued that the Unz Initiative (the driving force behind the demise of bilingual education programs in California and Arizona) did not provide voters with the “big picture” of bilingual education (Crawford, 1998; Krashen, 1997).

The Unz Initiative publicized Rossell and Baker’s (1996) review of the research on the effectiveness of bilingual education. This review of the literature was found to be unsystematic and biased (Greene, 1997; Slavin & Cheung, 2003). Greene believed that the majority of Rossell and Baker’s selection of research reports evaluating the success of bilingual education programs was methodologically flawed. To counter these published findings, Greene conducted a meta-analysis of the studies reviewed by Rossell and Baker, using what he believed to be a more rigorous method of deciding which studies to include and which to discard from the review. A significant criterion of elimination used by Greene was time. He analyzed only the studies that measured the effects of bilingual education after having been implemented for at least a year—a criterion overlooked by Rossell and Baker. Greene’s meta-analysis ultimately showed that bilingual education programs were effective at increasing standardized test scores in English. These findings significantly differed from Rossell and Baker’s findings. Despite these findings, the damage to the survival of these programs caused by the Unz Initiative was significant.

On the other hand, French-English immersion programs flourish in Canada because they are protected by the Official Languages Act (1969/1988), which recognizes French and English as the charter languages of Canada. As such, one of the language planning goals of the Canadian

government is to achieve French–English bilingualism, largely through educational programs. The Canadian French immersion model differs from the two-way, dual language, or immersion model found in the United States. The more significant difference between the two countries’ models is that the Canadian French immersion model does not mix Francophone and non-Francophone students in the same classroom and caters primarily to the children of middle-class non-Francophone families who desire to gain skills in an important language in Canada (Slavin & Cheung, 2003). (See “Canadian language immersion model” in the glossary found in appendix B for more details of this language learning model).

In most Canadian provinces, only French immersion programs receive funding; Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta are the exceptions, where Ukrainian and German bilingual programs are funded (Cummins, 1994a). The majority of SLA research in Canada is conducted in French immersion classrooms, where English language and French language issues are primarily addressed; research carried out in heritage language bilingual programs (Ukrainian–English and German–English) in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta focus mainly on program and curriculum development (Western and Northern Canadian Protocol, 2003). Some religious private schools serving Jewish communities in Québec have also served as SLA research sites in Canada where Hebrew and English language issues were under examination.

An example where a heritage language program in Québec served as an SLA research site was cited in a study conducted by Geva and Wade-Woolley (1998). The researchers examined biliteracy development (English–Hebrew) at a Jewish elementary school (K–8) in Montréal, Canada, where students received systematic instruction in reading and writing in both English (high proficiency) and Hebrew (minimal proficiency). The researchers examined the relationship between reading skills in the students’ first language (English) and reading skills in their heritage language (Hebrew) by examining word recognition skills, spelling, and reading fluency. The researchers found that the students decoded words and pseudowords more proficiently in Hebrew than in English, that early orthographic awareness played a significant predictive role in both English and Hebrew regarding the bilingual’s future reading abilities in

either language, and that phonological awareness in Hebrew lost its predictive power for future reading success earlier than in English. It is important to note that, in this study, Hebrew was considered the participants' heritage language even though it was not their home language. The study examined factors in the development of biliteracy, not heritage language acquisition per se.

#### *Nonintegrated Heritage Language Programs*

The majority of heritage language programs in Canada and the United States are not integrated into the regular school day; rather, they take place on week nights or Saturday mornings (Cummins, 1983; Danesi et al., 1993; Fishman, 2001; Mercurio, 1997; Nygren-Junkin, 1997; Olsen et al., 2001), for a couple of reasons. First, in lesser-populated communities there are not enough heritage language students at any one given school to integrate heritage language instruction into the regular school day (Cummins, 1983). Therefore, the program must be held at a convenient time and at an accessible site where all interested students and teachers can attend. Second, because many of the heritage language teachers are members of the ethnic community, it is improbable that they are also certified teachers who would be qualified to teach in the regular school system (Cummins, 1983).

Funding for heritage language programs in Canada is limited. This has debilitating consequences on (a) professional development for teachers, (b) teaching resources, (c) curriculum development, and (d) heritage language classroom libraries (Au, 1995; Feuerverger, 1997; Mercurio, 1997). The staff at most heritage language schools is made up of members from the minority language community. The heritage language teachers are usually (a) community members who have some teaching experience in the country of origin and/or a professional university title, (b) native language university students, or (c) graduates of the heritage language school who have little or no pedagogical training. Because of limited funding, the heritage language teachers who would benefit from professional training are generally limited to the pedagogical knowledge that they have acquired in their own right. The fact that heritage language teachers are remunerated only for the hours of contact with students exacerbates the situation. To give an example, Ontario certified teachers are paid approximately

16 US dollars per contact hour, and even less if they are uncertified. Heritage language teachers are not paid for time spent in planning lessons or evaluating students, much less for time spent in gathering or creating instructional resources.

Mercurio (1997) reported that students in an Italian nonintegrated heritage language school found that instructional resources were redundant, addressed basic language skills such as numbers and days of the week, and repeatedly addressed famous Italian cultural festivals, such as the Venetian carnival. She also found that older students in mixed-level classrooms were bored and felt that they were not being sufficiently challenged because the teacher spent more time with less-proficient students. Mercurio found that heritage language teachers most often complained about the poor quality of instructional resources available to them and the lack of support for multilevel and mixed-age classrooms.

Both Feuerverger (1997) and Au (1995) found that many heritage language teachers relied on dated instructional resources and materials purchased with personal funds. Heritage language classroom libraries were virtually nonexistent in many schools, and those schools fortunate enough to have a library relied on book donations from the ethnic community. Feuerverger and Au both found that many heritage language learners' poor attitude toward learning the language stemmed from the belief that their ancestral country was outdated and not progressing at the same rate as the new land; this belief was perpetuated when students were encouraged to read outdated books. The students associated outdated books with an out-dated country. Elley (1996), writing about donating books to developing countries, warned that donating old, poor-quality books may disadvantage children more than help them because the books may not reflect the current social and academic needs of their readers. The donated books may contain dated material; may be culturally insensitive; may contain cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and/or religious biases; may not consider the heritage language learners' current life; and may be aesthetically unattractive. The same principle is true of books donated to heritage language programs.

### *Integrated Heritage Language Programs*

Integrated heritage language programs exist in Ontario, where there is a large enough heritage language community to sustain such programs. Because immersion heritage language programs in a nonofficial language are not permitted in Ontario, a more desirable option to nonintegrated heritage language programs is an integrated heritage language program. Large ethnolinguistic groups, such as the Chinese and Italian language communities of Metropolitan Toronto, are able to sustain integrated heritage language programs. In these situations, heritage language instruction occurs for 30 minutes at the end of the regular school day. Certified teachers with heritage language competence provide the instruction, using regular school resources and space (Au, 1995; Cummins, 1983; Feuerverger, 1989, 1997). However, integrated heritage language programs received much resistance from the regular day school teachers in Toronto in the mid-1980s (Cummins, 1994a; Nygren-Junkin, 1997), making the administration of this type of program difficult to manage.

The programmatic difference between integrated and nonintegrated heritage language programs sets the research scene for comparative studies to examine the question, “Which heritage language program is more effective: integrated or nonintegrated?” Feuerverger (1989), for example, found that students enrolled in an integrated heritage language program (Italian) identified themselves with both minority and majority cultures in a more positive manner than did students enrolled in a nonintegrated heritage language program. The students in the nonintegrated heritage language program also indicated that they had a greater level of confidence in using the heritage language than did students enrolled in a nonintegrated program. This finding is significant, especially considering Cho’s (2000) conclusion that greater confidence in using one’s heritage language may lead to more frequent social interactions with members of the heritage language community and may lead to greater use (comprehensible input and output) of the heritage language in informal social situations.

Bild and Swain (1989) and Swain, Lapkin, Rowen, and Hart (1991) used Cummins’s (1979) linguistic interdependence theory to explain third language literacy abilities of heritage

language learners. They examined the effect of home language literacy abilities on third language literacy acquisition, studying heritage language students from integrated and nonintegrated heritage language programs. The studies did not differentiate between programs; rather, the students were categorized by their self-evaluation of their heritage language literacy abilities. The researchers found that minority language children who maintained their reading and writing abilities in their heritage language were able to read and write more proficiently in a third language (French) than were minority language children who did not maintain their heritage language literacy abilities. They also found a positive correlation between the number of years a student attended heritage language classes and French language proficiency on all grammatical measures except those involving lexical uniqueness and diversity.

#### Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Language maintenance efforts have been undertaken by linguists, sociolinguists, and anthropologists, among those who support linguistic diversity. Mühlhäusler (2000) noted four discourses used to argue in favor of linguistic diversity: moral, scientific, economic, and aesthetic. The moral discourse argues that, through language, one sees the world through different lenses. With the loss of worldwide linguistic diversity comes the loss of philosophies, ideologies, insights and perspectives about the world. Whorf for example, who studied the Hopi language, argued that its demise would deprive the world of a nonlinear vision of time—one that perceives experience in terms of intensity and duration—rather than a linear conception of seconds, minutes, hours, and days (Carroll, 1956; Kramsch, 1998). The second argument of the moral discourse posits that linguistic diversity works against linguistic hegemony. The scientific discourse argues that multilingual abilities enhance academic achievement as can be found in the works of Cummins (1978), Bialystok (1999), and Yopp (1988). The economic discourse argues that multilingualism provides its learners better economic opportunities. The counterargument would be that multilingualism costs a nation too much money—money that could be spent in different avenues. The aesthetic discourse argues for the preservation of linguistic diversity, arguing that the demise of linguistic diversity causes feelings of loss and sadness.



Mühlhäusler (2000) noted that language maintenance does not equal language preservation. He noted that linguists have studied the lexicon and grammar of numerous minority languages in detail; however, this study has not often benefited the language maintenance efforts of those being studied. Haugen (1972/2001) noted that the environment (lexicon and grammar) studied by linguists offered too narrow a picture and that a complete study of language involved a study of its users within their social and natural environments. Crowley (1999) concurred with these scholars, noting that, in order to help the language maintenance efforts of a particular language group, lexicographers, for example, should create dictionaries that were more useful to the speakers of the language being documented than to the academics studying the language.

Fishman (1966a, 1966b, 1991, 2001) studied how minority languages in contact with a majority language undergo a gradual shift across generations toward the majority language, such that, within three generations, at most, the use of the original language is overtaken by the majority language at all levels of public and private life. Languages at risk of shifting are the “languages of ethnocultural groups that are of a different ethnodemographic origin than is the mainstream of the country in which they reside” (Fishman, 1991, p. 135). An important factor that impacts the speed of the language shift process is the age at which the minority language individual arrived in the host country. Those who arrive at a very young age and native-born individuals are the most Anglicized group (Veltman, 1983, p. 60). Another factor that speeds up the process of language shift is the inverse ratio between interlingual distance and language shift, meaning that the more different the language is from the mainstream language, the longer the language can be maintained (Mackey, 1980/2001). For example, users of Spanish in a Francophone area such as Montréal are more likely to shift to French than are users of Spanish in an Anglophone area. The contact language can serve as a catalyst or as an insulator from language shift. In the case of Spanish in an Anglophone area, such as Ontario, English serves as a buffer to rapid language shift.

Fishman (1991) attempted to document and understand how language shift could be reversed. Fishman (1966a) noted that the written and printed word (in newspapers, letters, and

books) was the strongest cohesive force in the Hungarian language community that he studied. Written texts (personal correspondence, newsletters, magazines, brochures, and books) helped to connect the people psychologically and culturally, particularly if they were connected across distance, as often was the case in North America, where distances are vast. Fishman (1991) concluded that literacy facilitates “interindividual, internetwork, and intercommunal communication” (p. 96), thus helping to support language maintenance and reverse language shift. However, literacy is not the panacea of all language shift situations.

Fishman (1991) described eight stages in which the status of a minority language may be understood. He developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), which describes situations with which a minority language community could identify and describes measures that should be taken in order to maintain the language within its community of users. He created an eight-stage scale, beginning with stage 8, the stage at which the language is at risk of extinction. The GIDS identifies situations in which literacy may be an appropriate strategy to help to reverse language shift and other situations in which it is relatively useless. The eight stages identified by Fishman (1991) are the following:

Stage 8: Most users of the minority language are socially isolated old folks. The minority language needs to be reassembled from their mouths and memories and taught to a younger generation. Literacy is not helpful.

Stage 7: Most users of the minority language are beyond their child-bearing years, although they are socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active. Literacy is not helpful.

Stage 6: The minority language is orally transmitted to the younger generation in a demographically concentrated community of language users with some institutional reinforcement. Literacy is helpful.

Stage 5: Minority language literacy is practiced in the home, school, and community, however, extra-communal reinforcement of this literacy is not taken. Literacy is helpful.

Stage 4: The minority language is found in lower education (types a and b). This education meets the requirements of compulsory education laws. Literacy is helpful.

Stage 3: The minority language is used in the lower work sphere (i.e., outside of the minority language community) where minority and majority language groups interact. Literacy is helpful.

Stage 2: The minority language is used in lower governmental services and mass media, but not in the higher spheres of either. Literacy is helpful.

Stage 1: The minority language is used in higher level educational, occupational, governmental, and media efforts, but without the additional safety provided by political independence. Literacy is helpful.

Of particular interest to immigrant heritage language programs are stages 4, 5, and 6 and their role in intergenerational transmission of heritage languages.

Cho and Krashen (2000) noted that heritage language programs alone may or may not be considered as comprehensible input and thus may or may not be sufficient to promote heritage language maintenance and intergenerational transmission of the language. Valdés (1997) believed that formal study of a heritage language, focusing on grammar, reading and writing, vocabulary development, exposure to culture and community, and establishment of a positive awareness of ethnic identity facilitates intergenerational minority language. Adult users of a heritage language probably have not developed their heritage language literacy abilities past elementary levels (Schwartz, 2001), even though they may possess relatively good oral language proficiency in certain social contexts.

Fishman (1966b) demonstrated that heritage language schools organized by minority language groups provide an adequate foundation to maintain the language and culture within ethnic communities in the United States, a country favoring language standardization. Fishman's seminal study was conducted at a time when multilingualism was not valued; in some circles, it was viewed as cognitively damaging and not an advantage in any respect. Today, the value to know more than one language is positively viewed and the need for professionally competent

multilinguals is recognized. However, heritage language programs remain at the margins. They are treated as “enrichment” programs, but not specifically viewed as significant contributors to providing a cadre of professionally competent multilinguals.

### The Ecology of Language Acquisition

The ecology of language acquisition aims to challenge the existing metaphors that are often applied to language learners, such as the “learner-as-computer” metaphor, which was born out of the field of psycholinguistics (Kramersch, 2002, p. xvii) and the “language-as-apprentice” metaphor which was born out of linguistic anthropology “where language is not seen as input but as a tool for getting other things done” (Kramersch, 2002, p. xviii). Kramersch noted that globalization and multicultural education have prompted scholars to reconsider the use of these two metaphors, arguing that scholars are limited to the confines of the metaphors. Kramersch (2002) and Leather and Van Dam (2002) argued that the ecology metaphor should be further explored in the examination of language acquisition and SLA in order to capture the dynamic interaction between language users and their environment.

### *Multiple Timescales*

The time factor in these studies is critical, particularly if language acquisition is examined using the ecology metaphor—a metaphor that appreciates linguistic diversity over standardization, nonlinear learning over linear learning, and examination of knowledge construction across multiple contexts rather than single contexts (Kramersch, 2002). Lemke (2002) argued that the notion of time should be reevaluated in the study of language acquisition. He suggested that language acquisition be examined on multiple timescales, arguing that “fundamental changes in attitudes or habits cannot take place on short timescales” (p. 75). He proposed that three timescales be examined: (a) the shortest timescale, involving conversational interaction; (b) the medium-length timescale, consisting of longer-term activities that stretch over days and weeks in which social-collaborative uses of language matter the most; and (b) the longest timescale, in which language acquisition activities that stretch over a period of years are examined. Over time, an individual has the potential to acquire a “feel” for the language. Lemke

believed that one cannot “neither materially nor physiologically nor culturally, make meaning *only* [original emphasis] with the formal linguistic sign system; other modes of meaning-making are always functionally coupled with language use in real activity” (p. 72). His words echo the thoughts expressed by The New London Group (2001) in their concept of multiliteracies and multimodal ways of making meaning.

### *Multiliteracies*

Traditionally, the study of literacy has been limited to the skills needed to decode and encode print in conventional modes of communication, such as books and letters. For example, the report of the National Reading Panel (2000) emphasized the skills needed for print-based literacy acquisition such as phonics, phonemic awareness, and fluency. Not only has the traditional study of literacy been limited to basic skills; it has been limited to monolingual and monocultural perspectives, even when practiced in multilingual contexts (Cook, 1999), such as in the United States, Canada, and Australia. Multiliteracies was chosen as a guiding theoretical framework for this study because it expands the definition of text beyond print-based sources and encourages an examination of literacy to include sociocultural practices within broadened multilingual and multicultural contexts. In addition, the multiliteracies framework recognizes linguistic diversity as important in the era of globalization and multicultural nations.

The idea of multiliteracies expands the definition of text to include a variety of nonprint sources such as art, music, dance, television, computer games, and radio. Indeed, The New London Group (2001), while introducing multiliteracies, challenged scholars, philosophers, and educators to expand their concepts of text to consider how people use multiple modes of communication across languages, sounds, spaces, movements, and/or visual sources in the process of making meaning of their personal and professional lifeworlds. For example, members of this group asked that researchers examine how people construct and communicate ideas and thoughts via print-based media such as books, letters, emails, and faxes; via sound-based mediums such as music or voice tonality; and via space-based mediums such as art or dance, components of the visual and performing arts. Just as a person constructs meaning from a print-

based resource, the person can also construct meaning from a piece of art hanging on the wall of the *Musée d'Orsey* in Paris or from a dance recital at a local community center. The multiliteracies framework also lends itself to the examination of language acquisition over larger analytical units of time, as suggested by Lemke (2002) in his analysis of effective tools to study language acquisition in an ecological fashion.

The concept of multiliteracies incorporates the ways in which people use a variety of print and nonprint resources to make meaning in the world in which they live. Ideas are communicated and understood in many ways, especially within a social context of increasing linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity. The ways in which individuals construct meaning in culturally, linguistically, and ethnically heterogeneous societies beg for the traditional definition of text and literacy to be reconsidered. Within the conceptual framework of multiliteracies, The New London Group (2001) asked researchers to recognize cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and religious diversity when examining the ways in which people use multimodal texts to make meaning within their environments and the ways in which they identify themselves with various subcultural groups (e.g., mainstream Anglophone or Spanish ethnic cultural group). In addition, researchers were asked to extend literacy pedagogy beyond the restrictions of formal monolingual and monocultural grammars of language—pedagogy valued and widely practiced in mainstream educational contexts in the United States and Canada.

Multiliteracies allows us to understand that the way in which people use language to make meaning of the world is changing as a result of rapid communication, ease of travel, and the increase in cross-national trade (Kress, 2001). On a global scale, the need to construct meaning using multiple modes of communication or multiliteracies is becoming more evident to members of mainstream society, particularly in business. On a local scale, this need has been evident for some time, particularly for people whose linguistic, cultural, and ethnic practices fall outside of the mainstream, as is the case for many immigrant communities in the United States and Canada.

People who can draw from multilingual and multicultural resources and across multiple modes of communication do so to negotiate meaning across cultural boundaries; therefore, these people and their communities are of interest to multiliteracies researchers. For example, Jones, Martin-Jones, and Bhatt (2000), Norton (1995), and Lo Bianco (2000) have researched the ways in which women, indigenous people, immigrants who do not speak the national language, and speakers of non-standard dialects negotiate meaning in a globalized world—a world “where economic, social, political, and cultural processes take place on a global scale rather than within the confines of particular countries or regions” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 165). Using an expanded definition of text in this study allowed examination of the multiple meaning-making resources used (a) by members of the organizational committee of the heritage language school and its teachers as they framed instruction around their pedagogical/cultural goals for the school’s students and (b) by the graduates of the school in their adult professional and personal lives.

#### The Notion of Design

The notion of design is a concept borrowed from the business world. Its application was introduced to educational practice by The New London Group (2001). Language is fundamental to the notion of design as applied to transform social lives. Theoretically, this instructional practice involves the following elements: (a) design; (b) available designs; (c) designing; and (d) the redesigned. Practically, the notion of design functions in the following manner. First, the teacher and/or student must identify a significant issue (design) in their personal and professional life that should be addressed. Second, meaning-making resources (available designs), for example books, hypertext, art, music, or dance, are used to make sense of the identified problem (designing). The result, in a simplified sense, is a redesigned social future brought about by a deeper understanding of the social issue. The available designs, the designing, and the redesigned depend on the way in which the teachers and students use and interpret the multimodal resources available to them.

Kalantzis and Cope (2001), two members of The New London Group, offered a four-stage instructional framework that may help educators to plan instructional practice to influence

the social futures of others, namely, their students. The four stages are (a) situated practice, (b) overt instruction, (c) critical framing, and (d) transformed practice. In situated practice, educators identify the meaning-making resources available in their students' personal and professional lives and guide them to use these identified resources to make sense of an unfamiliar design. Second, using overt instruction, educators provide students with strategies to interpret the unfamiliar design elements (representational, social, and organizational issues) and guide them in a systematic, analytic, and conscious understanding of how to use their meaning-making resources to make sense of the design. Third, through critical framing, educators challenge their students to make connections between social and cultural contexts on macro and micro levels by asking questions that elicit higher-order thinking about life issues, specifically where issues of power and authority have been exposed. Fourth, educators guide students to understand how new meaning can be constructed and transformed through the process of being critical of the design. This new understanding has the potential to make a difference in the way in which students make meaning of their social lives. To use the words of Kalantzis and Cope, "The Designing changes the designer" (p. 248).

The notion of design is important in this study in the identification of the meaning-making resources available to members of the organizational committee, teachers, and graduates in the social context of the Spanish heritage language school community and in understanding ways in which these resources were used to improve their social lives. The New London Group (2001) suggested that educators who wish to influence the social lives of others can achieve this by planning instruction around the previously mentioned instructional practices: (a) situated practice, (b) overt instruction, (c) critical framing, and (d) transformed practice. These instructional practices offer a frame through which to understand how the organizational committee and teachers of the Spanish heritage language school attempted to improve the social lives for their children as first-generation Canadians but at the same time improve their own social lives and futures. Although the members of the organizational committee of the heritage language school did not explicitly follow the framework of multiliteracies and the notion of



design, certain aspects can be found among the ways in which students were taught to make meaning across cultural and linguistic boundaries.

### Global Feminism

This study could not have been realized without feminist theory and, more specifically, without considering a relatively new branch of feminism: global feminism. Historically, the women's movement in industrialized nations began when women expressed their right to be educated, which led to their voices being strengthened to express their rights to criticize knowledge, to create knowledge, and to educate others in the knowledge that was constructed as a result of their efforts (Reinharz, 1992). Global feminists adhere to many of the beliefs of feminism in general (e.g., create equality among men and women in society) but they strongly consider the struggle for equality of all women living in industrialized as well as developing nations by considering each social, cultural, historical, and political context as unique.

Global feminists recognize that each woman will experience oppressive and, conversely, liberating agents in unique ways. For example, in industrialized nations the feminist movement is centered about the struggle for equality across gender, while the feminist movement in developing nations focuses primarily on economic and political oppression of women before considering gender-based oppression (Tong, 1998). In industrialized nations, global feminists examine how women working for linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity, in the name of a nationalistic policy, are subject to practices perpetuating gender inequality in the workplace. For example, Lee and Cardinal (1998) studied the ways in which the Multiculturalism Policy of 1971 encouraged ethnicized and racialized women, defined as "those who stand outside the idealized [mainstream] identity" (p. 218), to take on traditional gendered roles in the organization and participation in heritage language education programs.

Global feminist theory focuses on ways in which racialized and ethnicized women experience oppression with respect to three fundamental categories: (a) how nationalistic policies contribute to the perpetuation of traditional female roles (e.g., teacher, caregiver, and volunteer) of racialized and ethnicized women; (b) reasons why feminist theory should be combined with

multicultural theory in the examination of racialized and ethnicized women living in a multicultural world; and (c) reasons why racialized and ethnicized women's voices should be explicitly made an integral part of a nation's multicultural history.

### *Global Feminism and Nationalistic Policies*

Global feminists examine how nationalistic policies, such as the Multiculturalism Policy of 1971, encourage women to take on traditional gendered positions in society. A central goal of this study was to examine whether members of the organizational committee and its teachers took up or resisted gendered roles as they created Spanish language and cultural learning opportunities for the children of the Spanish language community in Ontario.

The Multiculturalism Policy encouraged the creation of heritage language schools in Canada in order to foster home language maintenance and build a society where cultural and linguistic diversity was considered an asset and not a deficit. Many heritage language schools were formed in the 1970s because the federal and provincial governments offered monetary support (albeit minimal) to these community-based language programs. Because the funds were limited, community members (primarily women) organized the schools and voluntarily served as their administrators, curriculum coordinators, teachers, and custodial staff. The women involved in the community-based heritage language schools were encouraged to take on the gendered role of "volunteer."

To be sure, the Multiculturalism Policy influenced the ways in which the Canadian heritage language schools were organized and instruction implemented. Global feminist theory helped in identifying the ways that the members of the organizational committee of the Spanish heritage language school and its teachers experienced the Multiculturalism Policy and how its implementation created a situation that encouraged women to take on traditional gender roles in the construction of a multicultural and multilingual Canada. Further, this lens offered a way to examine how one heritage language school and community contributed to the construction of a multilingual and multicultural Canada beyond immigration. Particularly, I examined the efforts of the women involved in the implementation of the national political discourse to encourage

multilingualism and multiculturalism in one educational and community context. I also examined the ways in which the Multiculturalism Policy afforded opportunities for these women to exercise their investment and agency to realize a primary goal for establishing the heritage language school: transmission of ethnic language and culture.

### *Feminism and Multiculturalism*

The second aim of global feminists is to begin to combine the pursuits of feminism, which is focused on gender as a site of oppression, with those of multiculturalism, which is centered on culture, race, and ethnicity as site of oppression. Global feminists seek to examine ways in which women's identities are fragmented based on cultural, racial, and ethnic grounds, ahead of the more traditional interests of feminists who are interested in examining how women's identities are fragmented based on sexual and psychological oppression (Tong, 1998); however, these global feminists do not deny these traditional interests. Lee and Cardinal (1998), scholars interested in the politics of feminism and multiculturalism in Canada, believed that an unnecessary divide existed between feminism and multiculturalism. They argued that people who use feminism or multiculturalism as their theoretical lens share many beliefs and purposes such that their efforts would be better served if their interests and foci were united.

Global feminists and multicultural feminists share the following beliefs and purposes: (a) Both challenge the notion that all women are the same and experience oppression in the same manner, (b) both reject the presumed position of privilege that women in industrialized nations sometimes take on when speaking for and about women in developing nations, and (c) both recognize that women from different parts of the globe experience oppression differently. Particular to global feminism is the examination of how colonial and nationalistic policies contribute to the oppression of women (Tong, 1998).

### *Recognizing Women's Contributions to Canada's Multicultural History*

Ethnicized and racialized women have not been duly recognized for their pedagogical contributions to Canada's multicultural and multilingual history. The historical contributions of

ethnicized and racialized women in the creation of nation states are an integral part of a nation's history as well as its future. In the case of building a multilingual and multicultural Canada, ethnic women have not been adequately credited for their contributions. Instead, the policy itself and the writers of the policy are given credit for a policy that was largely created and enacted by a male-dominated Canadian parliament.

The male-dominated historical perspective is not new. For example, history texts often afford privilege to men's roles over women's roles in war, politics, diplomacy, and the creation of nation states (Beddoe, 1998). For centuries, women have been omitted from the writing of history (Gluck & Patai, 1991). Such writing suggests that women did not contribute to war, politics, diplomacy, or the creation of nation states, save for the contributions of select heroines such as Florence Nightingale, Laura Secord, and Rosa Parks, who until recently have been celebrated in history in an almost token-like fashion. In relation to the number of accounts of how men were involved in a nation's history, small is the number of historical accounts of women's roles.

Of course, there are exceptions. For instance, the study of Finnish history is not complete without understanding the role the *Lotta* and *Pikku Lotta* organizations, an interconnected group of Finnish women and children dating back to the early 1800s who struggled both on the front line and behind the scenes, during the war of independence (1917–1918), the Winter War (1939–1940), and World War II. The *Lotta* organization has even been credited as a force that helped to resist the Russian attack on Finland in 1939 (Engle & Paananen, 1973). With regard to immigrant history in Canada, Lindström-Best (1988), in her book *Defiant Sisters*, documented the ways in which Finnish immigrant women contributed to the development of the logging and mining industries.

Scholars interested in bringing forth the voices of women and demonstrating their role in educational history, whether at local, national, or international levels, have begun some concentrated work, particularly using oral history and life history methodology (Gluck & Patai, 1991), the methodology used in the present study. People in the field of education, a field

numerically dominated by women in the 20th century (Blount, 1998), have begun to see more historical accounts of how women's roles in educational practice, leadership, and/or pedagogical philosophy have contributed to the betterment of social futures. For example, (a) Crocco, Munro, and Weiler (1999) documented how six women educator activists (1880–1960) struggled for progressive education to somehow change future options for others, both women and men; (b) Blount (1998) examined women in high administrative roles in the 20th century to understand why so few women actually influenced a female-dominated profession at the administrative level; and (c) Weiler and Middleton (1999) sought to understand gender in the crossroads with schools and universities, state-supported education, subordinated group resistance, citizenship, family, and the economy. Women educators with professional titles (e.g., teacher, principal, and superintendent) should be recognized for their contributions to education, politics, and nation building; so should women educators without professional titles or roles, such as the members of the organizational committee and teachers of the Spanish heritage language school community.

The voices of the members of the organizational committee and teachers of the Spanish heritage language school can be heard using the methods of oral history that focus on their contributions, struggles, and ideologies in constructing the school. This oral history project identifies the ways in which the efforts exerted by members of the organizational committee and heritage language school teachers advanced the use of multiliteracies for the school's students. This project also examined ways in which the school's students use these resources in their current professional and personal lives. Racialized and ethnicized women have made and continue to make Canada multicultural and multilingual at local levels across the country; however, the Multiculturalism Policy has been credited for this success (Lee & Cardinal, 1998). This project demonstrates the contributions of one group of women to Canada's cultural and linguistic mosaic.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODS

Understanding the history of immigrants' backgrounds provides unique insight into the ways in which immigrants make meaning of texts in their multilayered lifeworlds. In order to understand the shared set of assumptions impacting meaning making, an understanding of historical context is needed (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). To gain a deeper understanding of what it is to be an immigrant, it was important to study elements related to the immigration history of the participants in this study, for example, country of origin, information of the political climate at the time of emigration from the home country and immigration to the new country, and reasons for emigration. This information, along with information that shed light on the research questions proposed for the study, was gathered by listening to the stories that the research participants were encouraged to tell in the spirit of oral history.

One reason to study the history of the educational context of a heritage language program is to inform the formation of new heritage language programs and add to the development of existing ones; however, the more common rationale for conducting historical research is to simply learn from the past (Monaghan & Hartman, 2000). I learned from the past by listening carefully to the stories that the research participants told based on their recollections of past experiences. Historical research provides layers of information necessary to understand past events as situated in their respective historical, political, social, and cultural contexts; historical research also promotes interdisciplinarity, scholarly contact with diverse academic branches of learning (Monaghan & Hartman). Oral history is a research methodology that relies on ethnographic interview techniques. Using these techniques, a researcher attempts to capture historical events and life forms relying on the faculties of human memory.

Researchers relying on memory in data collection must carefully consider the fragility of memory on both theoretical as well as practical levels. Moss (1996) warned that information obtained from an interview cannot be equated with original events; instead, the oral history data must be interpreted as a text that explains how the past has been recollected. When an individual remembers an event, the memory has been subject to a process of self-selection and autointerpretation based on that individual's way of seeing the world and the way in which he or she is aware of personal subjectivities. The recreated events are not neutral in nature; they are told from the storyteller's perspective, laced with bias. The bias may lead the storyteller to exaggerate a truth, misrepresent past events, or fail to remember altogether. Rather than evaluate the deviation from the original event as "incorrect" or "false," an analysis of the recounted event may lead to a valuable insight and understanding of the events (Moss). Whether or not such information is viewed as valuable depends on the researcher's analytic and interpretive abilities as well as her or his ability to tell a metastory (Riessman, 1993). In order to tell a metastory with women at the center of the story, data were collected using ethnographic research methods.

Research using demographic data supplied by census reports (e.g., Buda, 2002; de Vries & de Vries, 1997), surveys (e.g., Canadian Education Association, 1991; Geva & Salerno, 1986; Keyser & Brown, 1981; Larter & Cheng, 1986), questionnaires (e.g., Feuerverger, 1989, 1991), and participant observation (e.g., Chumak-Horbatsch, 1984; Lan, 1992; Nygren-Junkin, 1997) typify the type of research tools used to examine heritage language programs, heritage language learners, and heritage language learning communities. Interviews used in these studies primarily supplemented the collected data and were not used as the primary method of data collection. The present study used the practice of oral history interviews to document and learn from the history of a heritage language learning community. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first study to use oral history methodology to study heritage language learners; however, the collection of oral histories has long been practiced, at least since 1948, when the first oral history center at Columbia University in New York was founded (Dunaway, 1996).

The use of oral history is not limited to one discipline; oral history is interdisciplinary, as demonstrated by the list of completed oral history projects housed at the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University. Projects include oral histories of radio stations, aviation and naval associations, physicians working with AIDS patients, women in political organizations, and German teachers in the Nazi era (Oral History Research Office, 2001). Many oral history projects remain within the archives as audio recordings and their transcripts; not all are published.

However, oral history methodology has been used by several published authors. For example, Clegg (1997) recorded the experiences of students who attended one-room schoolhouses in Texas, Santoli (1988) traveled across the United States and recorded the experiences of immigrants to the United States, and Terkel (1972/1990) recorded the experiences of the blue-collar worker in his book *Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do*. In each of these oral history exemplars, the oral historians worked with everyday people. Terkel specifically noted that he purposefully left out the voices of the dentists, doctors, and clergy people of the world because he felt that they had other forums in which to express their thoughts. To this end, these oral historians achieved one of the goals of oral history methodology: “to offer a voice to the unheard and unseen” (Howarth, 1998, p. v).

#### Data Collection

In the following section, I provide more details about the participants involved in the study, the Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval process, and the way in which I gained access to the Spanish heritage language community. I then describe the research methods used in the study: (a) in-depth, semistructured personal interviews, (b) attempts to get participants to talk specifically about print literacy; (c) focus group interviews, (d) archival data, and (e) researcher diary.

#### *Participants*

Three groups comprised the core of the interview participants in this study: (a) three members of the original organizational committee—women ages 55 to 80 who had immigrated



to Canada from Europe, (b) four teachers who taught at the Spanish heritage language school between 1977 and 1987, and (c) six people ages 28 to 35 who graduated from the school between 1983 and 1987. See Appendix C for a chart that provides information on all participants.

The following describes how the interview participants were chosen for the study. The three key members of the original organization committee were chosen because their dedication to the organization and the school was consistent throughout the years that the Spanish Women's Association directed the Spanish heritage language school. All of the teachers who taught at the school between 1977 and 1987 were interviewed except for the teacher who taught the Spanish for English speakers, as discussed in chapter 3. Six graduates from the Spanish heritage language school were interviewed. From the approximately 85 students who attended the school between 1977 and 1987, I narrowed my selection of participants to students who used the Spanish language in the home during childhood and attended the Spanish heritage language school for the entirety of their elementary education, that is to say, from first through eighth grade. I was also limited geographically to whom I could interview because a number of the graduates of the Spanish heritage language school are living in different parts of the world.

#### *Consent, Access, and Participants' Protection*

Approval to collect data was obtained from Jacqueline Romo, Program Coordinator of the Human Subjects Office at The University of Georgia, on April 15, 2003. The permission allowed data collection between April 15, 2003 through April 14, 2004. The assigned project number was: H2003-10784, the review category was AD-2. No significant changes were made to the project after obtaining this permission. All participants' consent forms are in my possession. Samples of the permission forms are found in appendix D.

Access to the Spanish heritage language community was not difficult to obtain because my parents and I were members of the community. I had been a student at the Spanish heritage language school since its inception, a member of the folkloric dance group, and participant in many of the social activities organized through the community. Both my mother and father were actively involved with the community. My mother participated in the women's organization as

soon as she heard that the school was being organized. She was the treasurer for the organization for many years. She participated in most of the activities organized for the school's and children's benefit. My father was the president of the joint, men and women's, Spanish association for over 10 years. Both of my parents were well-respected members of the community. Because of their respected status, members of the community were open and willing to talk to me, their daughter.

When I approached members of the organizational committee and the four teachers to participate in the study, I was enthusiastically received. The women were most excited about the project. One woman said, "I didn't know that we did something so important!" Each person whom I approached openly agreed to talk with me. The same was true of the graduates of the school whom I contacted. They were enthusiastic about the project and were more than willing to share their time and stories.

I made contact with most of the participants by telephone, at which time I explained the project, including the permission forms and their rights as a participant. We then set up a time to meet. Many of the meetings were held in the living room of my home, a place where many of the participants had visited in the past and felt comfortable. Meetings not held in my home were held in the participants' homes. In addition, informal conversations were held throughout the 6 months of data collection as I attended social functions organized by the women's association.

#### *In-Depth, Semistructured Oral History Interviews*

I conducted in-depth semistructured interviews with each participant in addition to many informal, unrecorded conversations. Sixteen formal interviews and one focus group interview with six members of the organizational committee (including three teachers) were conducted between June and December 2003. A total of 40 interview hours comprise the data pool, in addition to notes taken after informal, unrecorded conversations. Prior to each formal interview, I talked to the participant, either by telephone or in person, explaining the project and getting initial background information. Each interview lasted from 2 to 3 hours. In addition, I

participated in 10 functions organized by the Spanish Women's Association during the time of the study.

Much of the feminist research tradition is characterized by multiple interviews because it helps to establish rapport between the interviewer and interviewee or narrator (Reinharz, 1992) and creates opportunities to co-construct knowledge, as opposed to interviewing that aims to get the "answers," as is the case with traditional survey interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Each initial interview was informal, allowing time to re-establish a relationship with the participant; subsequent formal and informal interviews addressed my desire to bring to the fore of heritage language educational history the role that the women played in the creation of heritage language schools and the language learning opportunities that they helped to construct for its students. Multiple interviews allowed for opportunities "to ask additional questions or to get corrective feedback on previously obtained interviews" (Fontana & Frey, p. 37) and for opportunities to co-construct text and bring forth the participants' voices at various stages of data collection.

The use of feminist practices of oral history validates women's experiences, particularly in situations in which their voices are not strongly heard. Feminist research emphasizes the significance of everyday life on lived experience (Weiler, 1988). Feminist oral history practices take advantage of unstructured or semistructured interviews. These open-ended interviews could be considered a vehicle that "explores people's views of reality and allow the researcher to generate theory" (Reinharz, 1992, p. 18). The unstructured or semistructured interview format opens the researcher to capitalize on pauses, silences, laughter, meaning-laden words, or interesting expressions that are inevitable when people tell stories. These conversational opportunities open up the chance for probing underlying meanings. In doing so, the oral text is not taken at face value and the researcher is engaged in critical reflection of the co-constructed text (Anderson & Jack, 1991).

Jack (as cited in Anderson & Jack, 1991) made a special note to "listen with the third ear" (p. 19) after spending time critically reflecting upon her interview experiences as a therapist. In her work, she noticed that she often "fill[ed] in the blank" (p. 19) based on her existing schema

when she listened to her patients. She noticed that she would almost stop listening to the patient when she thought to herself “I think I already know what the woman is saying” (p. 19). Dilley (2000) referred to this interviewing technique as “self-reflexive interviewing” or “listening with more than one’s ears” (p. 134). This interview technique focuses the researcher’s attention on the narrator’s oral language during the interview and on her or his body language (e.g., eye movements, body positioning, and gestural expressions communicating emotions). The unstructured or semistructured interview in which the researcher listens with the third ear differs in both purpose and methodology from traditional interviewing techniques.

Traditional structured interview techniques involve the use of a standard set of interview questions, often in a questionnaire format (Fontana & Frey, 2000). They can be described as a way to gather information orally in a closed-ended question/answer format that offers little flexibility for probing. Traditional interview techniques demonstrate a separation between interviewer and interviewee such that the interviewer does not get involved with the construction of knowledge. This contrasts to feminist methods of interviewing, primarily in that feminist interviewers view the interview situation as an opportunity to co-construct knowledge between the interviewer and interviewee and acknowledge both the narrator’s and the interviewer’s subjectivities. I conducted semistructured interviews using feminist interviewing techniques.

Oral history work with women is assumed to be inherently feminist because the process validates the female storyteller’s life experiences (Gluck & Patai, 1991). Feminist oral histories can also be considered advocacy work because women’s ideologies and praxis (turning theory into action) are openly presented and examined. Researchers can encourage participants to tell long, detailed stories if the oral history interviews are not interrupted by structured, standardized questions (Riessman, 1993).

Because of the nature of oral history interviewing and the need for a flexible interviewing style—one that is informal and allows for the co-construction of knowledge—I used a general list of research categories to ensure some consistency, but each interview was different. The core questions asked were the same, however, the content of the interview varied from person to

person, depending on the person's background and role in the construction of the Spanish heritage language school. A sample interview guide, based on the research categories, that was used during interviews is placed in appendix E. In addition, individual interviews with members of the organizational committee and teachers were supplemented by a focus group interview.

#### *Attempts to Get Participants to Talk About Print Literacy*

In this study, I wanted to understand the types of academic activities organized by the teachers of the heritage language school for its students. I was particularly interested in the types of activities that promoted reading and writing in the Spanish Language. To address this research interest, I relied on the students' memories of their Spanish language learning experiences at home and at school. In order to access such memories during the interviews, I asked each of the graduates first to tell me about any learning experience that they could recall from the Spanish heritage language classroom. Once the conversation was focused on language learning in general, I then focused the questions and interview probes on print literacy. I specifically asked each participant to tell me about memories of learning to read and write in the heritage language classroom and/or at home. Class notes found among the archival data further supported the data that I collected about participants' memories about learning about print literacy.

#### *Focus Group Interview*

Focus group interviews have a history in qualitative research methods that can be traced to the 1920s in the development of research questionnaires (Madriz, 2001). In the 1970s, marketers used focus group interviews to understand the public's commercial preferences. Their use of focus group interviews advanced this research methodology. Various professions in the social sciences (e.g., health sciences) adopted the use of focus groups, beginning in the 1980s. More recently, feminist researchers have expressed interest in focus group interviews to supplement personal interviews and gather collective testimony.

Focus group interviews have the potential to create situations that might encourage dialogue among research participants, leading to data that may supplement the contents of the

individual interviews. Madriz (2001) noted that focus group interviews may be particularly useful when researching marginalized groups. A research participant who might otherwise feel intimidated to speak freely during an individual interview may feel encouraged to share thoughts in a group setting. In addition, the focus group interview format may bring forth voices that might otherwise be unheard.

Focus group interviews also have the potential to pull together collective testimony (Madriz, 2001). During a focus group interview, the researcher asks a few questions in order to spark dialogue, memory, and the sharing of experiences among participants. Howarth (1998) suggested asking participants to bring an important object, photograph, or other archival document to stimulate conversation that invites the participants to engage in dialogue about the topic. Focus groups may help research participants to recall memories more vividly: One individual's memory may spark a memory in another that perhaps otherwise would have been left unremembered. Focus groups explicitly make use of "group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group" (Morgan, 1997, p. 2). Focus group interviews also served to triangulate data from personal interviews.

When focus groups are used in conjunction with personal interviews, the sequence of the interviews is important. If a focus group interview is the first in the sequence of interviews, it may influence the construction of knowledge in ensuing personal interviews. I conducted the majority of the personal interviews before inviting participants to engage in a focus group interview. The focus group interview was intended to supplement, not to drive, the personal interviews. In addition, when a focus group interview follows an individual interview or series of interviews in the interviewing sequence, the researcher is afforded the opportunity to explore issues in the focus group interview that may have arisen during the individual interviews (Morgan, 1997). A sample of the focus group interview guide can be found in appendix E.

#### *Archival Data*

The Spanish Women's Association has collected records of its meetings and materials associated with the heritage language school since 1977. The records have been housed at the

homes of several past presidents and secretaries. All available records were transferred to my home in Canada, where I analyzed the collected documents. The boxes contained the following information:

- Financial statements of the organization
- Financial books kept by the organization's accountant
- Minutes of the meetings 1977–1987 (incomplete)
- List of officers and positions held
- Government publications from Canada: Minister of State Multiculturalism, The Government of Canada “At your service,” Canada update, Ministry of Education, Ontario, Office of Prime Minister of Canada
- Government publication and letters from Spain: Embassy of Spain, Labour Office Ottawa, Ministerio de Cultura de España
- Letters from local school board involved in the heritage language program:
- Records indicating names of students for each school year and budget reports
- Photographs from cultural events organized through the school
- A collection of a students' notes documenting the type of teaching that took place
- Video recordings from cultural events organized through the school, for example, video recordings of the dance group performing

These artifacts are what Hill (1993) referred to as documents subjected to primary sedimentation—the process “in which people and organizations create, discard, save, collect, and donate materials of potential archival interest” (p. 9). Hill suggested that archival data might be used to create spatiotemporal chronology of the organization's history, to reconstruct its social and collegial networks, and to understand or shed light on backstage perspectives and processes. I examined these artifacts before beginning the individual interviews. Information obtained from the archival data provided valuable information to guide the interviews. The archival data also helped to triangulate information obtained from the participants with respect to the school's organization and connection to the Multiculturalism Policy.

### *Researcher Diary*

Throughout the data collection and data analysis process I kept a researcher diary. In this diary I recorded my thoughts about the collected data, insights gained during data collection, decisions made about the research process, and ideas born throughout the process. These thoughts helped to organize and offer insights on the collected data. This diary also helped me to maintain the role of “skeptic” and to record my subjectivities in a way that helped me to understand my biases and how they influenced the research.

### Data Analysis

Co-constructed stories formed the foundation of the data collected in this study. Alvermann (2000) noted, “Researchers in the social sciences are engaged in the telling of stories that span a range of narrative approaches” (p. 123), including autobiographies, oral and life histories, and personal narratives. Polkinghorne (1995) defined a storied narrative as “the linguistic form that preserves the complexity of human action with its interrelationship of temporal sequence, human motivation, chance happenings, and changing interpersonal and environmental contexts” (p. 7). The storied narrative is a manner in which affective dimensions of multilingual and multicultural research can be more effectively expressed in a perspective that is often neglected in research (Cummins, 1995).

Oral histories were an effective research method for this study because they created story-generating situations. These stories tapped into the “memories that comprise the human library [and] allow the current and the future generations to understand the impact of educational events [and] particular details not likely to be found in print” (Stahl, King, Dillon, & Walker, 1994, p. 16). Because stories were the primary source of data, it was appropriate to engage in various levels of narrative analysis (Riessman, 1993).

Data were analyzed both during and after the data collection process. I used the following strategies: (a) transcription, (b) translation, (c) keyword approach, (d) narrative analysis, (e) member checks, and (f) content analysis of archival data. These strategies are described in the



following section, followed by a brief discussion of interpreting the interviews and representing the data in the findings.

### *Transcription*

Transcription of oral text to written text was the analysis strategy.

Judgments of relevance (what goes into a transcript and what does not) are ultimately theoretical judgments, that is, based on the analyst's theories of how language, situations, and interactions work in general and in the specific situation being analyzed...a transcript is a theoretical entity. It does not stand outside an analysis, but rather, is part of it. (Gee, 1999, p. 88)

Ochs (1979) also presented a case for considering transcriptions as theory because transcripts are the researcher's data and because transcription is a selective process in that it reflects theoretical goals and definitions. She argued that, in order for a transcript to be useful to the researcher, it must be selective; too much detail is difficult to read and assess. Transcribers should consider the page layout, directionality of the text on the page, how to record gestures, eye movements, and other bodily movements if these items are important to the researcher's goals. My study relied primarily on story data; therefore, I did not do a "narrow transcription" (Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, & Paolino, 1993, pp. 45-46), highlighting accent, tone, prosodic length, breathing, and other vocal noises. These are all theoretical decisions based on the goals of the researcher.

### *Translation*

All research participants were Spanish-English bilinguals. I invited participants to use the language in which they felt more comfortable. Because interviews were conducted in one or two languages, another layer of data analysis was added during the translation process. In this translation process, I made researcher decisions about how best to communicate a thought using the lexicon of another language; therefore, I needed to make interpretive decisions about the original data. My ability to conduct interviews in Spanish and English provided a research and

theoretical advantage because I recorded participants' thoughts in their mother tongue—a language that influences affect, solidarity, and communication (Lo Bianco, 2000).

When representing the bilingual data in the manuscript, which was written in English, I needed to decide how to deal with the bilingual nature of the transcripts. Five approaches to solving this problem were presented by ten Have (1999). Of ten Have's suggestions, the three that I liked the best were (a) presenting the text in Spanish with its English translation placed immediately below it as a separate block of text; (b) presenting the text in English (translated from Spanish), with the original text placed immediately below it as a separate block of text; and (c) presenting the text in English (translated from Spanish), with the original text available in an appendix. I chose the first of ten Have's suggested practices for two reasons. The first reason was that I did not want to deny any Spanish-English bilingual the opportunity to read important text in the original language, and I did not want to afford privilege to the English language by including it in the text and relegating the original Spanish text to the margins. Second, I am not an official translator. While I was able to translate the text to make it comprehensible to the non-Spanish reader, I preferred to make the original text easily accessible for those who could make sense of it. I analyzed all data in the original language; the translation came after all text was analyzed.

#### *Keyword Approach*

Once transcription was complete, I used the keyword approach to survey the interview data (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). I first read the transcripts, summarizing each line, or group of lines, with a representative word or phrase to compress the contents into a more manageable form. I then collapsed the keywords into categories. This method helped to organize and form an intimate relationship with the contents of the interviews. It also helped me to identify themes, patterns, events, and actions—all necessary elements in conducting narrative analysis.

#### *Narrative Analysis*

The contents of the interviews were examined closely under the assumption that people select and organize the “resources of language to tell [their] stories in particular ways that fit the

occasion and are appropriate for [their] specific intentions, audiences, and contexts” (Mishler, 1999, p. xvi). Each participant had her or his story to tell, and I saw it as my job to listen carefully to the individual and collective stories and understand their purpose for telling the stories. Coffey and Atkinson (1996) suggested listening for and further analyzing success stories, moral tales, and chronicles in order to understand what the participant wished to tell about her or himself and/or the research context. To this end, the researcher can also consider moral language, meta-statements, and logic of the narrative (Anderson & Jack, 1991). Because the product of the interview is a text, models of textual analysis (e.g., evaluation model and dramatism) are necessary in analysis of interview transcripts (Gluck & Patai, 1991).

The evaluation model presented by Labov and Waletzky (1967/1997) is the most cited form of narrative analysis (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). It is a way to look at the structure (the beginning, middle, and end) and the content of the stories. Labov (as cited in Riessman, 1993) suggested that “fully formed” narrative stories have six narrative elements: (a) abstract (summary of the substance of the narrative), (b) orientation (time, place, situation, participants), (c) complicating action (sequence of events), (d) evaluation (significance and meaning of the action, attitude of the narrator), (e) resolution (what finally happened), and (f) coda (returning the perspective to the present) (p. 18).

The second classic method of narrative analysis is called dramatism, also known as Burke’s grammar (Riessman, 1993). This structural approach has the potential to highlight a person’s agency as told in a narrative describing a motive for action or inaction. In this type of analysis, Riessman (p. 19) offered five questions the researcher can ask of the data: (a) What was done. (act), (b) When or where was [the act] done? (scene), (c) Who did [the act]. (agent), (d) How he or she did [the act]? (agency), and (e) Why [was the act done]? (purpose).

I used the evaluation and dramatism models previously explained to recreate a history of the Spanish heritage language school and to understand how the heritage language school and those directly involved with the school contributed to the creation of a multilingual and multicultural Canada within the framework of the 1971 Multiculturalism Policy. I searched the

interview transcripts for narratives and compressed them by removing the interviewer's words and interjections and the interviewee's pauses and word fumbles. In places where the narrative needed some additional words for clarification, I inserted words in brackets to help with the flow of the text. In some cases, it was necessary to rearrange portions of the narrative and remove extraneous information so that it followed the order of the evaluation model and/or Burke's (1945) grammar.

Mishler (1999) noted the organizational limitations of the evaluation model, particularly when "dealing with embedded, lengthy, and multiple stories found in unstructured life history interviews" (p. xvi); however, he also noted that reorganizing selected stories for "hearing" the message is effective. I made several researcher decisions about the data during reorganization; these researcher decisions transformed the way in which the stories were represented and thus will be interpreted by readers.

#### *Member Checks*

The validity of qualitative research is often challenged. Qualitative researchers are faced with the dilemma of "whether or not the explanation [of the research] fits the description" (Janesick, 2001, p. 393). The term *validity*, borrowed from research paradigms that assume the existence of "one truth," is applied to a research paradigm that is open to the possibility of "many truths." The problem lies in the fact that "there is no one 'correct' interpretation" (p. 393) in interpretive work. Traditional anthropological and sociological researchers believe that member checks answer the validity problem. Riessman (1993) believed it relevant to seek out the opinions about the collected data from research participants for political as well as practical reasons; however, she questioned whether the validity of a researcher's interpretations can be confirmed or dispelled by member checks.

Because narratives are interpretations of events from the very beginning and each interpretation is strongly influenced by its informing theory, the argument that a member check can validate a researcher's interpretation is questionable. This said, I asked participants to review the interview transcripts in which they were a co-constructor of knowledge in order to further

discuss the content, to get their opinion on the work, and to check for inaccuracies in the transcript data. However, I was hesitant to release my interpreted and represented data for member checks because a reader might misinterpret the text decontextualized from the rest of the interpreted and represented data. I made this decision primarily for two reasons: I had the opportunity to look across and theorize over many narratives, thus expanding my perspectives and interpretive ability of the study; and I am ultimately responsible for the truths that I present (Riessman, 1993).

#### *Content Analysis of Archival Data*

The documents found in the archives, kept by various members of the Spanish heritage language school's organizational committee, were analyzed to understand spatiotemporal chronology of the organization within the framework of Canada's Multiculturalism Policy. First, I created a general catalog of the contents based on who wrote each document. Then I examined the documents for their relevance to the organizational committee's goals in creating the heritage language school.

A walk through of the data analysis process can be found in appendix F. This example provides an example how I represented transcript data and archival data in one section of the dissertation. The example illustrates how I used the keyword approach to organize my data and connect it with archival data and how I used narrative analysis to understand the transcript data in-depth. The example is discussed on page 147 in the findings and on pages 195–196 in the discussion.

#### *Interpreting Interviews*

Studies that use data obtained from unstructured interviews have been criticized for not being transparent enough in the representation of the data (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Interview data represented in a way that portrays the researcher as “invisible” or that represents data that flows nicely, shows little or no contradictions and does not mention how excluded data are considered unreflexive because the “thinking” process is evident (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Because of this

critique, a “confessional style,” a term coined by Van Maanen (as cited in Fontana & Frey, 2000), became popular among researchers, particularly in the 1970s because it provided a realistic tone to the research. The confessional style reported made transparent some of the decisions the researcher made in the representation of the data. Next, I explain reasons for which I omitted some data obtained in this study.

As noted by Molineux and Rickard (2003), the “central tenet of oral history is to acknowledge the contributions of each individual and so archived oral history recordings bear the real name of the person” (p. 60). When conducting oral history for a thesis or dissertation, the common practice by university IRB boards, including the IRB of The University of Georgia, has been to mandate anonymity of participants, particularly if the research could potentially be “generalizable.” Because the human subjects review board at academic institutions has only recently begun to discuss the exemption of this general rule, as noted from following the discussion on the H-NET/OHA Discussion Listserv on Oral History, I had to maintain the identities of my participants confidential when I interpreted and represented the data in the findings. To this end, the names of each individual, the organization, and locales are pseudonyms; however, this does not take away from the important work of documenting, analyzing, and presenting the individual and collective contributions to the heritage language community and to the multicultural and multilingual nature of Canadian society.

Although I have chosen to represent the data in the findings section as a flowing narrative of the Spanish heritage language community, I have my own confessional tale to make transparent. There were many researcher decisions I had to make about the data pertaining to the private lives of the participants of the study. I had to make decisions about which stories I had to omit from the overall narrative of the Spanish heritage language community in order to protect the identity of the participants.

Specifically, there were four stories related to the participants of the study that I could not tell. To tell these stories would identify the participants and reveal personal information that they would not want to appear in a public document. Some of the stories were of a sensitive nature

and told to me in confidence—a confidence I earned over time and one that I respect. Despite the use of pseudonyms throughout the representation of the findings, the stories I omitted from the data were not included because the content of the stories would directly connect the individual to the story and the study, thus revealing the person and their confidential story. However, these omissions do not negatively affect the overall study. Had I included them in the study, they would only have served to reinforce some of the arguments I made.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS

The following is an oral history of a Spanish heritage language community located in Ontario, Canada, that was formed by a small group of women who immigrated to Canada from Spain in the 1960s and early 1970s. The data were gathered from a variety of sources, but primarily through interviews with key members and participants of the Spanish language community of Ontario Region. The report was a challenge to piece together because the findings were not defined by an event or single life history of an historical figure, as is typical of historical documents. Rather, it is a history that recounts how a group of women who, under normal conditions, would never have met in their countries of origin, much less have formed life-long bonds of friendship and solidarity. Their histories speak to the role of women in Spain during the early and mid-20th century and the ways in which their unity and belief in family and children created the first Spanish women's association in Canada. This association not only created a forum to enrich the linguistic and cultural lives of their Canadian-born children; it also created a network of support to help each woman and her family become productive members of a multicultural Canadian society. The purpose of this research was not to highlight any one person but to understand the collective experiences of those responsible for organizing the school and uniting a Spanish language community in Ontario, Canada.

By researching the organization of the school, I learned about educational histories in Spain, immigration histories, how the organization grew to be a support system for the participating women, and how the children of the community benefited from the Spanish heritage language community. I learned how the women supported and encouraged Spanish ethnic identity as well as a sense of being Canadian, not only for themselves but for the children of the community. I have tried to present these findings in a way that maintains the historical



integrity of the women's association, the organization of the school, and the learning that took place.

The findings are organized into five sections. In order to preserve the voices of the participants, I have infused the history with their thoughts, words, and stories. In the first section I provide a demographic overview of the Spanish language community in Ontario Region in the 1960s and early 1970s. In the second section I present how the Spanish Women's Association and the Spanish heritage language program were formed and the reasons behind their formation. In the third section I examine the design of the Spanish heritage language program, including the pedagogical and cultural goals of the school and the types of academic and social activities organized for the children and members of the Spanish language community. In the fourth section I examine the personal and professional opportunities taken up or resisted by graduates of the Spanish heritage language school. In the fifth section I provide examples to demonstrate how graduates of the heritage language school have used available meaning-making designs to interpret and communicate texts with cross-cultural understanding. At the conclusion of the chapter, I provide a summary of the findings.

#### Demographic Overview of the Spanish Language Community in Ontario Region in the 1960s and Early 1970s

To understand the status of a language within a community, Haugen (1972/2001) believed that it was necessary to understand the role that language plays among its users within their environment. In order to offer some background knowledge of the status of Castilian Spanish at global and local levels, I briefly address the variables outlined by Haugen.

To talk about the maintenance of the Spanish language is not the same as to talk about the maintenance of many lesser spoken languages around the world. The following is axiomatic: On a global scale, the Spanish language is not at risk of extinction. It is used by approximately 350 million people worldwide as a first language and 417 million as a second language; it is the national language of 20 countries (Grimes & Grimes, 2004b). The language is used by governments, in schools, by persons of high social and economic rank, and by city dwellers. It is

used in association with solidarity, shared values, friendship, and love. The language has a vast repertoire of written traditions, many of which have been extensively studied. One need only think of literary works by Miguel de Cervantes, Federico García Lorca, and Ana María Matute. Seven dialects have been identified—Andalusian, Murcian, Aragonese, Navarrese, Castilian, Canary Islands Spanish, and American Spanish (Grimes & Grimes, 2004a). Institutions such as the Real Academia Española, along with 21 other Spanish language academies around the world, have been established to regulate the Castilian dialect, the root of the varieties of Spanish found around the world.

However, there are regions in the world where Castilian Spanish is at risk of extinction due to the effects of language shift as its users make contact with other language users via voluntary immigration. Among immigrant groups, it is common for the adult members to want to pass on the language, cultures, and traditions to the younger members of the community for a number of reasons, mainly moral and economic reasons as discussed by Mühlhäusler (2000). Therefore, it was the goal of this study to examine language maintenance efforts at a local level. As a first step, the context of language use must be established. This is done by a brief examination of the number of potential users of Castilian Spanish through an examination of Canadian census data.

#### *Users of Castilian Spanish in Canada*

Immigration to Canada from Spain after World War II has been relatively small when compared to the numbers who immigrated during this period from Germany, Greece, and Italy, for example. The largest wave of Spanish immigration to Canada occurred between 1961 and 1970, when close to 21,000 people left the Iberian Peninsula. An additional 11,000 people followed between 1971 and 1980. Immigration from Spain declined in subsequent decades. Approximately 51,000 people born in Spain currently live in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2001). They live primarily in Ontario, Québec, and British Columbia, with the majority living in each of the province's city centers: Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver, respectively. With the

improvement of its economy and shift from a dictatorship to democracy in 1975, Spain now deals with issues of immigration rather than emigration.

*Users of Castilian Spanish in Ontario Region Due to Immigration*

Ontario Region attracted many immigrants in the 1960s and 1970s because of its growing automobile, footwear, and meat packing industries. The region had a strong German heritage; nearly 80% of the region's people were of German ethnic origin at the beginning of the 20th century. The German language was widely used throughout the community. The town became the religious center for the German community, thus contributing to the maintenance of the German language in the region long after English became the mainstream language. The region's employment rate was high and German and English were the languages of currency. One could find work and other necessities of life using the German language as well as the English language. Although not exclusively, the community attracted immigrants who had German language skills, such as those Spaniards who had spent time working in Germany or Switzerland prior to immigrating to Canada. After Spanish immigrants arrived at either of the two major receiving ports in Eastern Canada, Toronto or Montréal, many were directed to Ontario Region to take advantage of the growing manufacturing industries and the German language. Approximately 775 Spanish-born individuals immigrated to Ontario Region between 1961 and 1980 (Statistics Canada, 2001). The actual numbers are likely to be less than 775 because the reported figure was inflated due to statistical reporting errors of extrapolation (Guía-Conca, Sánchez-Cazorla, & Webber, in press).

Spanish-born individuals comprised the largest number of Spanish-speaking immigrants to the community between 1961 and 1970. During this period, the community also received immigrants, although inferior in number, from the following countries where Spanish is the language of currency: México, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, and Perú. From 1971 to 1980 immigrants came from El Salvador, Honduras, México, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Perú, Uruguay, and

Venezuela. While immigration from Latin America increased, it is important to note that the Castilian Spanish language community was formed primarily by immigrants from Spain, although any Spanish-speaking individual was welcome to join the group. It must be recognized that linguistic and cultural tensions existed and continue to exist between Spanish speakers from Latin America and Spain; however, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explore these tensions.

#### Formation of the Spanish Women's Association and the Spanish Heritage Language School

Noddings argued that “any accurate account of women’s agency also tells the story of oppression” (as cited in Crocco et al., 1999, p. ix). In piecing together how the Spanish heritage language school was formed, a story of strength and perseverance emerged, a story of the way a group of immigrant women took hold of their role of motherhood and organized themselves to teach the Spanish language to the children of the Spanish heritage language community. The women had to figure out many things for themselves, as “nothing was given to them for free.” They fought against solitude and for the right to organize and direct the Spanish heritage language school, funding, and the right for their children to continue learning Spanish in high school. In giving back to the community, they also formed a supportive network for themselves—one through which the women helped each other through times of solitude and times when “perhaps only a woman could understand the difficulties she faced in living the life of an immigrant.” In writing this dissertation I was often reminded of Freire’s (1999) mantra that people do not gain liberation by chance “but through the praxis of their quest for it, through their recognition of the necessity to fight for it” (p. 27). The women’s quest was to create a better life for themselves and their children. This was accomplished by concentrating on the family unit.

Women in Spain were not immune from political or societal oppression. From 1938 until 1975, Spain was governed by Franco’s dictatorial regime. Franco’s government, being loyal to the Catholic Church, enforced Catholic teachings in the schools, particularly to women. While women were viewed as valuable partners in nation building, they were expected to bear children

and build the home, while the men were expected to be the producers and active players in Spanish citizenship (Morcillo-Gómez, 1999). The following song, written by a popular singing duo “Ella Baila Sola” (Botía & Casares, 1997), parodies the way in which women were expected to behave during the Franco era.

*De mayor quiero ser mujer florero  
metidita en casita yo te espero  
las zapatillas de cuadros preparadas  
todo limpio y muy bien hecha la cama  
de mayor quiero hacerte la comida  
mientras corren los niños por la casa  
y aunque poco nos vemos  
yo aquí siempre te espero*

When I grow up, I want to be a mujer florero [showcase wife]  
Waiting for you in our little house,  
Your checkered slippers prepared for you,  
Everything is clean and the bed is well made,  
When I grow up, I want to make you food to eat,  
While the children run through the house,  
Even through we won't see each other often  
I will always wait for you.

The divide between women's roles in public and private spheres was evident. Women were charged primarily with taking care of the family and men were charged with bringing home the means to take care of the family. According to the *permiso marital* (abolished in 1975), a married woman was excluded from almost all economic activities. For example, a woman was permitted to work only if single or, if married, she was given permission to work by her husband. In the latter case, the woman was not allowed to administer her earned money. The Catholic Church reinforced this gender divide.

The Catholic Church enforced a woman's base identity in motherhood and homemaking. Women were educated in the strictest sense by the guidelines of the Catholic Church. They were taught the basic necessities of education, with an emphasis on gendered activities such as sewing, cross-stitch, embroidery, and prayer. Prayer and going to church were daily activities for many of the young school girls. Most of the women members of the organizational committee of the Spanish heritage language school did not have an education level superior to high school. Although they all expressed a love for learning, many had put their educational ambitions on hold, particularly in larger families, in which boys were given preference for advanced study. Many of the women did not further their academic education.

Franco's dictatorship was a repressive regime that, according to some scholars, was more of an authoritarian dictatorship than a totalitarian dictatorship (Country Studies US, 2003). People were controlled by the teachings of the Catholic Church as well as the national and highly centralized curriculum that promoted the rise of Spain's elite (Marchesi, 1992). As experienced by most of the women in this study, education was founded in Catholicism; they were encouraged to follow its basic family values: Get married, have children, and raise a family. The women's dedication to their Catholic faith and religion continued and was freely expressed within their new communities, as was demonstrated through the organization of prayer groups, Catholic religious services in the Spanish language, and service work through community churches, among other activities. The Catholic religion played an important role in the creation of the Spanish heritage language school as well—from the simple practice of saying a prayer at the beginning of each class session to rendering importance to faith-based holidays such as Christmas and Easter. The following are stories told by members of the organizational committee of the Spanish heritage language school about what they remembered about their education in Spain.

***El Ángelus, dos veces por día. ¿Qué te digo?***

*Me acuerdo que era la mayoría de la mañana era lo básico: leer, escribir, historia, todas esas cosas. Las tardes se dedicaba más a la lectura, a la costura, y*

*al rezo del rosario mientras que cocíamos. Por las tardes aprendíamos hacer puntos del cruz, puntos de diferentes cosas, labores, y si se leía durante las tardes, pues luego una en la clase se llevaba el rosario y las demás estaban cociendo y contestaban todos los días. Se rezaba el Ángelus por la mañana, a las tres de la tarde, y luego en unas casas algunas veces se rezaban a las siete. Nosotros no, pero en el colegio siempre, el Ángelus, dos veces por día, ¿que te digo?*

### **The Angelus, two times per day. What can I say?**

I remember that for most of the morning we learned the basics: to read, to write, history and all those sorts of things. In the afternoon, we dedicated more time to reading, sewing, and praying the rosary while we sewed. In the afternoons, we learned how to do cross-stitch and different crafts, and during the afternoons we read. Later in another class somebody recited the rosary while the rest of the students sewed and responded to the recitation. This happened everyday. We prayed the Angelus in the morning, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and later, some people prayed at seven. We didn't pray the Angelus at home in evening, but at school, always, the Angelus, two times per day. What can I say?

### ***Te imponían misa el Domingo***

*Además, en la escuela de monjas había mejor enseñanza porque te obligaban más, allí te obligaban más. Ahora también había mucha parte mala. Había también chicas que se deterioraba mucho en el aspecto que nos presionaban mucho con la religión y con los castigos. Había mucha presión. A mi precisamente, me pegó aquí en la muñeca y me hizo daño [porque no quería ayudar a una chica con una lección]. Las monjas imponían la misa a las ocho y media de la mañana. Te imponían misa el domingo. Tenias que ir. Luego el rosario a las siete de la tarde el Domingo que empezaron los cines a las seis y media. A las siete tenias tú que ir al rosario del colegio y no podías irte con todas*

*las amigas al cine ni nada. Eso fue un trauma. Estaba muy mal hecho. No podías salir con chicos. Estaba muy riguroso.*

*Era un trastorno porque en la misa resulta que a las ocho y media todas las mañanas estabas. El sábado también teníamos escuela—luego ya al final lo quitaron, que era solo por la mañana. Yo creo que yo fui siempre sábado. Ya han quitado el sábado, pero el sábado íbamos hasta por la tarde, no un poquito más pronto que terminaba los días normales. El horario normal era de nueve y media a doce y media y luego de tres y media a siete y media. El sábado creo que íbamos hasta las una o las dos. No recuerdo exactamente, pero también era el sábado. Entonces te obligaban a ir a misa el domingo de ocho y media que te tenías que levantar por lo menos a las siete y media. Y te obligaban. Si te dormías o lo que fuera y no fuiste a misa o llegaste tarde a misa había un castigo. Las monjas tenían costumbre de cerrar la puerta o poner una monja allí en la puerta cuando ya pasaba o cuando iban hacer el Evangelio para que no pudieras entrar o ficharte entrando tarde. Y luego, esto es el castigo que a mí me dieron. A mí y a mucha gente por no ir a misa un domingo o ir tarde. Dos veces me sacaron el gorro. Con un gorro de soldado tenía que estar en la puerta del colegio por no haber ido a la iglesia. Entonces salían todos los niños y todo se ponía, huh, hah, haciéndome instrucción, burlándose. Eso era tremendo.*

### **You were forced to go to Mass on Sundays**

In addition, in the parochial school the teaching was better because they expected more from you. There, they expected more from you. Now, there was also the bad side. Many of the girls deteriorated a lot because they pressured us a lot with the religion and with punishments. There was a lot of pressure. I was hit here, on the wrist, and it hurt because I didn't want to help another girl with her lesson. The nuns made you attend mass every morning at 8:30. They made you go to mass on Sunday. You had to go. Later you had to pray the rosary at seven every night and



on Sundays, the movies started at 6:30. At seven o'clock you had to go pray the rosary at the school and you couldn't go to the movies with your friends or anything like that. That was a trauma. It was poorly done. You couldn't go out with boys. It was very rigorous.

It was inconvenient because mass was held at 8:30 every morning. On Saturday, we had to go to school—later they got rid of that from the schedule, that you only had to go to school on Saturday mornings. I think I always went to school on Saturdays. Now they have gotten rid of Saturdays, but on Saturdays we went in the afternoon too, maybe it ended a little early than on regular school days. The normal schedule was from 9:30 until 12:30 and then from 3:30 until 6:30. And on Saturdays I think we went until one or two o'clock. I don't remember exactly, but we did have to go to school on Saturdays. And then they made you go to church on Sundays at 8:30 and you had to wake up at least by 7:30. And they made you go. If you slept in or if you didn't go to mass for whatever reason or you arrived late you would be punished. The nuns usually shut the door or a nun stood guard at the door when the Gospel was read or was about to be read and you couldn't get into the church because they would catch you arriving late. I wasn't the only one who was punished for not going to church on Sundays or for arriving late. I had to wear the hat two times. You had to wear a soldier's hat and stand at the door of the school for not having gone to church. Then when all of the students came out they would start to laugh, I was made an example, they would make fun of me. It was awful.

### ***Misa y rosario todos los días***

*La educación que tuve allí fue con las Escolapias hasta que tuve 16 años. Nunca llegué a tener una educación secundaria. Simplemente como se iba entonces hasta los 16 años, creo que es al equivalente al grado diez aquí, pero siempre me hizo ilusión aprender y tomaba cursos por las noches y asistía cosas. Mi cultura y*

*educación de entonces era muy relacionada con la iglesia católica, era mucho de las reuniones, acción católica, y asistir a misa todos los días. Mi abuela, la educación religiosa era muy importante para ella. Yo iba a la misa todos los días, al rosario todos los días, las cosas que hacían en su pueblo. Yo iba a la escuela todos los días. Por las tardes cuando salíamos de la escuela iba aprender a coser al modista del pueblo. Aunque nos dejaban jugar, no podíamos estar ociosas, teníamos que jugar pero aprender algo, ¿no? Aprendí a coser y ser modista. Cuando yo cumplí 16 años me quedé a coser con mi madre. Mi madre tenía taller de modista.*

### **Mass and rosary every day**

I received an education with the Escolapian nuns until I was 16 years old. I never received a secondary education. I just went until I was 16 years old, I think it is the equivalent of grade 10 here, but I always wanted to study and I took courses at night and I participated in other activities. My culture and education was related to the Catholic Church, it was about meetings, Catholic youth group, and it was about going to church every day. Having a religious education was very important to my grandmother. I went to church every day, I prayed the rosary every day, all of the things that one did in her town. I went to school every day. In the afternoons when school let out, I went to learn how to sew with the dressmaker in the town. We weren't allowed to play, but we weren't allowed to be idle either, we had to play but learn something at the same time. I learned how to sew and to be a dressmaker. When I turned 16, I went to sew with my mother. She had a dressmaker's shop at the time.

### ***La misa era todo en latín***

*Las oraciones, a la iglesia y a la misa. Antiguamente no se leía la Biblia, fue prohibida por Franco, por la iglesia. Decían que no podíamos comprender lo que había. Estaba prohibido leer la Biblia, mas que nada que la gente no pensará*

*independiente, tú sabes, la misa era todo en latín. Todavía sigo rezando muchas cosas en latín porque era el único que, hasta que yo me vine al Canadá, tuve que rezar en latín, tú sabes, yo tengo mi misal que esta en latín y en español, pero la misa era antes en latín. Yo entiendo todo lo que me están diciendo de eso pero más no. Yo entiendo muchas canciones porque las tengo en la mente. Hay muchas oraciones que si sé porque las he aprendido en el colegio, en el colegio y en la misa. Pero yo no sé latín, pero si me dicen una misa en latín, la sigo, porque sé por la parte de la misa que estáis y lo que significa, tú sabes.*

### **Mass was said in Latin**

The prayers at church and during Mass. In those days nobody read the Bible. It was prohibited by Franco, by the church. They said that we couldn't understand what was written. It was prohibited to read the bible. More than anything, independent thinking was prohibited, so you know, the Mass, it was all in Latin. Even today I continue to pray many things in Latin because it was the only thing I knew, until I came to Canada, I had to pray in Latin, you know, I had my prayer missal that was in Latin and in Spanish, but the Mass was all in Latin at this time. I understood everything that was said during Mass, but not much more. I understand many of the songs because I have them in my mind. There are many prayers that I know because I learned them in school, in school and at Mass. But, I don't know Latin, but if I hear a Mass in Latin, I follow it, because I know the different parts of the Mass and what everything means, you know.

### ***Pedagogía machaca. Método repite.***

*Empecé la escuela entonces a los 3 años y medio. Fui a una escuela privada. Estuve en esa escuela hasta los 8 años. Mi madre decidió que como yo iba siendo yo mayor ella podría ponerse a trabajar. Ella era maestra. Algo interesante ocurrió en mi vida en ese momento y es yo abrí los ojos a lo que era realmente la enseñanza de hoy. Quizás no tan avanzada. Mi madre era una maestra moderna.*

*El cambio fue radical para mi de ir a la escuela en que iba, que era hija de la rutina, como eran todas las escuelas en el tiempo, a pasar de las manos de mi madre, que era una mujer progresista en el campo de la enseñanza. Quizás por desgracia o por beneficio, no lo sé. Mi memoria no era muy buena, entonces me costaba mucho trabajo memorizar, pero cuando me encontré trabajando con mi madre, se movía uno, no alrededor de las palabras, sino alrededor de las ideas. Entonces yo descubrí un mundo nuevo en el campo de la enseñanza.*

### **A crushing pedagogy. A repetitive method.**

I started school at the age of three and a half. I went to a private school. I was in that school until the age of eight. My mother decided that because I was getting older she would be able to return to work. She was a teacher. Something interesting occurred in my life at that moment and that is that my eyes were opened to what was really the teaching of today, perhaps not as advanced. My mother was a modern teacher. The change from going from my mother's hands to going to school was a radical change for me because my mother was very progressive in the field of teaching. For good or for bad, I'm not sure, my memory was not very good and it took a lot of effort to memorize work at school, but when I worked with my mother, one moved, not around words, but around ideas. And so I discovered a new world in the field of teaching.

### ***Me lo memorizaba todo***

*El inglés fue una cosa, era dificultosa para aprender, pero en esa época yo tenía muchísima memoria, entonces a base de memoria, todo. Se creía el profesor que yo copiaba porque lo hacía todo completamente, con las comas y los puntos y todo. Y claro, decía, “¿Y esta, de dónde sale?” Si no sabía hablar ni casi. Porque claro, el acento, y sin embargo, escrito, todo perfecto. Entonces recuerdo una de las veces que tuve que repetir un examen porque no se creían, te lo juro, porque es que mi examen estaba idéntico. Me lo memorizaba todo. Pero yo no podía*

*encontrar otras palabras. Osea, tu lees y asimilas lo que estas leyendo y después lo puedes repetir usando otras palabras porque tienes facilidad, pero yo no tenía ni idea de como utilizar otras palabras, entonces la única forma de sobrevivir era completamente, completamente memorizar. Pues en esa época tuve que repetir el examen con una persona todo el rato delante de mí. Pues al final se dieron cuenta pues, “Sí, en realidad, esta pobre mujer, la única forma, la única forma de salir adelante es a base de músculo.*

### **I memorized everything**

Learning English was very difficult, but at that time I had a lot of memory power, everything was based in memory. The teacher thought that I had copied everything, the punctuation and everything. Of course, he said, “And this, where does this come from?” Because of course I could barely speak, the accent, but the written was all perfect. I remember one time I had to repeat an exam because the teachers didn’t believe me, I swear, because the exam I wrote was identical. I memorized everything because I couldn’t find any other words. So, you read and assimilated everything that you read and you can repeat it because you have the ability to do so, but I had no idea how to do that because I didn’t know how to use other words. At the time, the only way to survive was to completely memorize everything. I had to repeat an exam being supervised. At the end the teachers realized that “Yes, in fact, this poor woman, the only way that she can get ahead was my memorizing.”

***Había que sabérsela de memoria, de carretilla,  
tanto que si comprendía, que si no.***

*Me acuerdo que las lecciones eran de memoria. Teníamos que memorizar.*

*Cualquiera lección que nos daban para estudiar había que sabérsela de memoria, de carretilla, tanto que si comprendía, que si no. La preocupación era que si te preguntaba, que tu sabías responder de memoria. De eso si me recuerdo.*

*También hacíamos crafts. Nos enseñábamos hacer cosas con papeles, cajas de cristal, muchas cosas bonitas, eso era por la tarde. La caligrafía era muy importante. La caligrafía es como lleva las letras bien hechas. Eso creo que había desaparecido porque mis hijos, sobre todo Francisco y José tienen unas letras horribles. Se enseñaba la caligrafía con una página que tenía las pautas y tú empezabas hacer el palo, palo, hasta llenarlo. Después la “a,” y poquito a poco, como ir haciéndolo bien. Así como yo les compré kits de caligrafía a mis hijos aquí porque yo vi en la escuela que no lo hacían. Lo hicieron dos o tres días pero como no le era obligatorio hacerlo, pues ya no se lo hizo más. La caligrafía es muy bonita, es muy bonita. No es importante, pero es muy bonita. A mi me ha gustado siempre mucho.*

**To know it off by heart, whether  
you understood it or not**

I remember that the lessons were all about memorizing. We had to memorize.

Whatever lesson they gave us to study you had to commit it to memory, to know it off by heart, whether you understood it or not. I remember that. We also did crafts. We were taught to make things with paper, crystal boxes, many beautiful things, but that was in the afternoon. Handwriting was very important.

Handwriting is how to write the letters so that they were well written. I think that kind of teaching has disappeared because my children, mainly Francisco and José, they had terrible handwriting. At the time, handwriting was taught on a page that had lines and you had to make one stroke, one stroke, until the page was filled.

Then after you drew the “a,” and step by step your handwriting improved. So I bought handwriting kits for my children here because I didn’t see teachers teaching this in school. My children practiced their handwriting for two or three days, but because it wasn’t mandatory, well, they stopped doing it. Handwriting is

very beautiful, it is very beautiful. It is not important, but it is very beautiful. I always liked it very much.

The narratives of these women show the way in which their lives were constrained by the authority of the Catholic Church and Franco's dictatorial regime. One of the goals of global feminism is to understand the feminist movements that take place in various countries. While in North America and in other European countries one of the primary goals of feminist movements in the early 20th century focused on political rights and suffrage, Nash (1999) noted that "the Spanish women's movement developed a strand of social feminism oriented to civil society . . . that entailed the defense of their social and civil rights, access to quality education and professional training, integration into the labor market and a voice on social issues" (p. 31). The role of motherhood was never contested by Spanish feminists. The contrary was true: A woman's identity was shaped around motherhood and was an important part of female identity. In fact, the "bonds of motherhood provided a collective identity for Spanish women that generated complex and multifaceted experiences of contestation, self-empowerment, compliance, and social control" (p. 42).

One way in which these women exercised agency was through the creation of the Spanish heritage language school, which was an extension of their roles of motherhood: They were in charge of educating their children. As one of the women said during the focus group interview, "We were more qualified to run the school than the men because we were the children's mothers and we understood what they needed." The Spanish Women's Association as a whole was interested in educating its members as well. In addition to organizing the Spanish heritage language school, the women organized educational activities for themselves. The activities included seminars that promoted women's health, discussions of local and national politics to help the women to exercise their right to vote, seminars about the education of their children, a celebration of each member's cultural knowledge and talents, and fellowship activities.

*Love Tales: Women's Stories of  
Immigration to Canada*

In most regions in Spain, the economic opportunities were limited. The situation prompted many individuals, primarily men, to seek jobs outside of the country—many went to Germany, Switzerland, and of course, “America.” Many of the women, already “in love” with their *novio* [boyfriend] agreed to follow their loved one to new lands in order to fulfill the role of motherhood and family. Marriage, of course, was necessary for this to take place. In some cases where the man had already traveled overseas, the couple would be married by proxy so that the woman’s family would allow her to travel to meet her husband. Marriage was also important for Canadian immigration purposes. At the time, immigration visas were granted to people who could work and contribute to Canadian society. Canada was seeking to populate its land, and thus it welcomed families. Therefore, in order to obtain the Canadian immigration papers, the couple had to be married when they arrived or be married within a month of arriving in Canada; otherwise, they risked deportation.

Portelli (1998) argued that much of world history is understood through male-dominated events—the retelling of war stories and politics. He realized this after conducting an oral history investigation of the city of Terni, Italy. Portelli collected a series of stories in which men talked about their involvement in battles and women told stories about how they took care of their injured husbands or male family members. He noted that these stories were so commonplace that he often did not bother to transcribe them. After reflecting upon what he called “war tales” and “hospital tales,” he began to realize that the women’s hospital tales were coherent and largely unrecognized stories, whereas the men’s war tales had been considered to be central to the town’s history. These tales helped him to understand another historical layer of Terni—a town influenced not only by war but also by the continuous caretaking roles assumed by the women of the community. Portelli’s reflections led me to inquire further into why many of the women immigrated to Canada from Spain.

Lack of opportunity and Franco’s unpopular dictatorial regime are reasons rarely questioned and widely accepted for Spanish emigration. Surely, had this study focused on the



experiences of the male Spanish-born immigrants to Canada, such explanations for wanting to leave Spain would have been told. However, in this examination of the stories told by women I found that the primary reason for immigrating to Canada from Spain was love—to follow a spouse to foreign lands. In most cases, the decision to emigrate from Spain was not initiated by the women; rather, the decision was made by the chosen life partner. The women believed that they would come to Canada temporarily; they did not believe that Canada would be the country in which they would spend the better part of their lives. Many were not prepared for the solitude and culture shock of life in Canada in the 1960s and 1970s.

The next series of stories examines the women's immigration to Canada, which played an important role in the formation of the Spanish Women's Association because the women, as a result of their immigration, found themselves in new life situations and were required to make a life for themselves and their families. The following stories also provide an obverse to the traditional immigration story—one in which an individual and her or his family leave a country to flee economic hardship or political persecution. Through a careful analysis of the women's stories it became evident that they immigrated to follow their husbands.

***Mateo empezó con la idea de Canadá***

*Después me quedé embarazada y Soledad nació en el Enero del '75. Entonces, allí en el Enero del '75 ya se me estaba olvidando, me estaba acostumbrando muy bien a la vida de juega y de ama de casa y de todo esto. Se me olvidó por completo mi educación, a parte que no sentía la necesidad, ¿entiendes? No es que yo fuera de estas mujeres tan tradicionales que creen que se casan y una vez casada la casa es lo que es importante, simplemente, no sé si un poco llevada por esa noción, no sentía la necesidad en esa época de hacer nada más con mi vida. Me sentía contenta haciendo lo que hacía y económicamente pues no era necesario. Entonces fue un año de, digamos, de transición. En el '75, allí empezamos con la noción de venirnos a Canadá. Mateo empezó con la idea de Canadá. Teníamos unos amigos ah, unos amigos de Mateo que vivían en la zona*

*esta, en Oxford. Yo no los conocía. Una casualidad de la vida que estuvieron, estaban allí de vacaciones y Mateo empezó de tonterías con que, “Haber si nos sale una visa para ir allí, tal y cual.” El motivo por el que el quería venirse, si te digo la verdad, nunca lo comprendí, simplemente yo creo que era un querer de salir de España. Éramos jóvenes, éramos muy jóvenes, pero que no era un motivo. Yo no sé como explicarte. No teníamos un motivo ah, ni económico, ni político, ni religioso, ni de ninguna clase. Yo creo que más que nada era una curiosidad. Entonces empezamos a arreglar los papeles y nos salió el visado para venirnos a Canadá. Cuando Soledad tenía 5 meses, es decir, nació en Enero, en el mes de Mayo se vino Mateo con estos amigos y en el mes de Junio llegué yo. Así de tonto fue, así de tonto y de rápido fue.*

#### **Mateo introduced the idea of Canada**

I became pregnant and Soledad was born in January of 1975. At that time I was starting to forget, I was getting used to being a house wife and to the life the city of Madrid offered. I completely forgot about my education. In a sense I felt that I didn't need one anymore. Not that I was one of those traditional women that thought they had to get married and once married that was the most important thing in their lives. I don't know, maybe I was taken a little bit by this notion. I just didn't feel the need to do anything with my life at the time. I felt happy doing what I was doing. Economically speaking, it wasn't necessary. So there was about one year of transition. In 1975, we started with the notion of immigrating to Canada. Mateo introduced the idea of Canada. We had some friends; well Mateo had some friends that lived in that area, in Oxford. I didn't know them. Then, by chance they came to Madrid on vacation and Mateo started talking nonsense, “Let's see if we can get a visa to go to Canada.” To tell you the truth, I never did understand the true motive behind wanting to leave Spain. We were young, we were young, but that's not a motive. I don't know how else to explain it to you. I

think that more than anything the motive to come was out of curiosity. So then we started to organize the paperwork and we got the visa to come to Canada. When Soledad was five months old, in other words, she was born in January, and Mateo came over in May with his friends and then I arrived in June. It was that silly, that silly and that quick.

***Yo vine a Canadá por amor, el amor, locamente  
enamorada de mi marido.***

*Francisco vino porque cuando vivía en Alemania, él vivía con una familia alemana. Ellos tenían peluquerías y barberías, él es peluquero y ella también y ellos tenían la casa en Alemania. Ellos vivían en el primer piso, o sea el negocio abajo, el primer piso a ellos y el taller lo tenían a Francisco alquilado. Como Francisco era joven y era muy alegre y aprendió entonces el alemán salía con ellos todos los domingos. Se hizo muy amigo de ellos. Entonces los Charles vinieron para acá. Querían venirse aquí, quería irse de Alemania porque nada más que tenía un hijo y tenía miedo que hubiera otro Hitler. Dijeron, “Fuera, por el hijo, y si nosotros nos vamos de aquí, Francisco, ¿tú te vienes con nosotros?” Dice Francisco, “No, yo no me voy.” Total que lo convenció. Vino él y dijo que aquello es muy bonito, yo no sé que, no sé cuanto, ¿Tú te vienes para allá?” Total vinieron los Charles y vino Francisco con ellos y aquí estamos.*

*Francisco trabajaba en autobody. Él fue chapista desde que estaba en Marruecos y luego, en Alemania igual trabajaba de chapista. En Canadá él no tuvo problemas cogiendo un trabajo por el idioma porque traía el alemán y fueron sitios donde se hablaban el alemán en mucho sitios. En aquel tiempo en cualquier parte del gobierno, en cualquiera estación de correos, cualquier sitio que tú fuera había una persona que hablaba inglés y la otra alemán. Cuando no se podía llegar siempre había gente que hablaba alemán por todos los lados.*

*Yo vine a Canadá por amor, el amor, locamente enamorada de mi marido. Me gustaba mucho Francisco, me gusto por lo que decía, me di mucho sentido, vi un hombre con mucho sentido, y eso me gusto mucho.*

**I came to Canada for love, for love, because I was completely in love with my husband.**

Francisco came because when he was living in Germany he lived with a German family. They had a hairdressing and barbershop. He was a barber and she was a hairdresser and they had a house in Germany. They lived on the second floor, in other words the business was on the main floor, the second floor they had for themselves and they rented the workshop out to Francisco. Because Francisco was young and a very happy person he learned German at the time and went out with this family every Sunday. He became good friends with the family. At the time the Charles family was coming here [Canada]. They wanted to come here, they wanted to leave Germany because they only had one son and they were afraid that there could be another Hitler. They said, "Out, for our son, and if we are leaving, Francisco, do you want to come with us?" Francisco said, "No, I'm not going." But in the end they convinced him to go to Canada. Mr. Charles came to Canada and when he returned to Germany, he said that it was very beautiful, etc., etc. Do you want to come? In the end the Charles family came and Francisco came with them and, well, here we are.

Francisco worked in autobody. He was a car panel beater as he was in Morocco and later in Germany. In Canada he didn't have any problems finding work with respect to language barriers because he knew German and at the time, there were many places where German was spoken. At the time at whatever governmental agency, in whatever post office, whatever place that you went to there was a person who spoke in English and another in German. When you couldn't make do there was always somebody who spoke German.

I came to Canada for love, for love, because I was completely in love with my husband. I liked him very much. I liked him for what he said. His words had feeling. I saw a man with much feeling and I liked that very much.

### ***Yo vine en el '63 para casarme***

*En unas vacaciones conocí a el que después fue mi marido. Eso fue lo que me trajo al Canadá, venir a casarme aquí. Eso era una zona de vacaciones donde yo estaba en España, entonces él no vivía en Canadá. Él vivía en Inglaterra y fue un par de veces a España de vacaciones. La zona ésta había cosas de tipo hidroeléctrico y cosas de esta tipo y él le interesó ver lo que había y estuvo unos días y bueno, nos conocimos, volvió otra vez y dijo, “Quiero irme al Canadá.” Yo no me tome las cosas muy en serio, naturalmente, hasta que estaba en Canadá establecido. Entonces ya las cosas tomaron mas forma pero mientras tanto no lo tome muy en serio. Él vino y me reclamó. Yo vine en el '63 para casarme. Yo solo tenía un mes. O me casaba o me volvía, esa fue la ley.*

### **I came to Canada in 1963 to get married**

I met the man who was later to be my husband while he was on vacation. That was the reason that I came to Canada. I came to get married. The vacation spot was a zone in which I was living in Spain. At the time, he wasn't yet living in Canada. He lived in England and went to Spain on vacation a couple of times. The area was one that had all types of hydroelectric things and other things of this type. He was interested in seeing these things and one day, well, we met. He returned to Spain on another occasion and said, “I want to go to Canada.” I didn't take things too seriously, naturally, until he was established in Canada. Then things started to take more form, but until then, I didn't take things too seriously. He came and claimed me. I came in 1963 to get married. I only had one month in which to get married. Either I got married or I went back to Spain, that was the law.

***Quizás sería la juventud que te hace  
ver las cosas diferentes***

*La hermana de mi madre me invitó a unas vacaciones y allí conocí yo a la madre de mi marido. Él estaba en Alemania y me presentó a sus hijos, que tenía tres. Me preguntó, “¿Algunos de los tres te gustará?” Total que lo vi una vez nada más y vino que se venía a Canadá desde Alemania. A los 5 años después de la primera vez que nos vimos, a través de cartas y eso, nos casamos sin casi haber nos visto y yo me vine a Canadá pues a los dos meses de casarnos. Llegué aquí recién casada sin conocer a nadie, a nadie, solamente a él. Como la mayoría de las que vinimos entonces, solamente veníamos a ganar dinero, estarnos un año o dos y volvernos a España. Es lo que hacían todos, pero en cuanto me llegué me gustó Canadá, la nieve, el verde, lo grande, yo que sé, todo lo que tenía Canadá. Yo estaba feliz y contenta. Quizás sería la juventud [laughter] que te hace ver las cosas diferentes. Antonio, creo que llevaba 6 años en Alemania y tenía ganas de ver el mundo, de recorrer el mundo. Su hermano y él se vinieron, habían recogido un poco de dinero allí trabajando en Alemania y se vinieron a conocer Canadá por dos años. Eso lo que pensaban estar ellos. Por eso me casé para estar aquí dos años. Al hermano de Antonio no le gustaba la nieve, no podía resistir la nieve y en cuanto nos casamos, su hermano dijo que él se volvía a Alemania, que no le gustaba Canadá, entonces nos quedamos aquí solos, sin conocer a casi nadie, y eso, pero yo me puse de trabajar de modista que fue la única que sabía yo hacer, era coser y eso.*

**Perhaps youth makes you see things differently**

My aunt invited me to go on vacation and there I met my husband's mother. He was in Germany and she introduced me to her sons. She had three. She asked me, “Does any one please you?” So I only saw him one time before he came to Canada from Germany. After five years after having met him the first time,

through letters and things, we got married without barely having seen each other. I came to Canada two months after getting married. I arrived as a newlywed without knowing a soul, nobody, only my husband. Like the majority of us who came to Canada at the time, we came to make money, be here one or two years and then go back to Spain. That's what everybody did, but as soon as I saw Canada, I liked it, the snow, the green, the space, I don't know, everything that Canada had to offer. I was happy. Perhaps youth makes you see things differently. Antonio, I think he lived in Germany for six years and he wanted to see the world, experience the world. He came to Canada with the intention of staying two years. He came with his brother with the money they earned working in Germany. That's why I got married, to be here for two years. Antonio's brother didn't like the snow, he couldn't cope with the snow and as soon as we got married, his brother said that he was returning to Germany. He didn't like Canada. So then, we were on our own, knew next to nobody. But then I found a job as a seamstress. It was the only thing I knew how to do. Sew.

### ***Mi marido decidió . . .***

*En el cuarto año de nuestro matrimonio mi marido decidió ir hacer una especialidad en cirugía, a Estados Unidos. Vivimos primero en una ciudad horrorosa que se llama Des Moines en el Estados Unidos central, una ciudad agrícola por excelencia y luego nos trasladamos a Nashville, Tennessee. Viví unos momentos muy interesante porque estando yo en Nashville asesinaron el presidente Kennedy, estuvo la crisis aquella tan espantosa de los misiles cubanos, y pensábamos venimos a España porque la crisis era una guerra contra Cuba. Felizmente aquella terminó. Entonces mi marido consiguió una residencia de senior residente en Norrestown, es un pueblo precioso de Pennsylvania a lado de Philadelphia que en los que ellos llaman the Valley Forge donde fueron las batallas últimas del general Washington. Luego ya nos marchamos a Detroit que*

*ya hacia cirugía cardiovascular. Hasta entonces tenía un diploma de cirugía general y allí hacia cirugía cardiovascular. Estuvimos en Detroit dos años. Asistimos en Detroit una especie de revueltas contra los negros que empezaron a quemar varios barrios. Entonces mi marido decidió que nos viniéramos a España con mis padres, mis tres hijos y yo. Él fue a ver si podía hacer algo en el Perú, pero en Perú la situación estaba muy mal. De allí él había hecho una solicitud a un hospital de Thames, Ontario. Los Canadienses consideraban que tenían que hacer dos años de cirugía en hospitales canadienses, entonces esos años los hicimos en Thames. En Thames tenían un departamento de cirugía famoso en todo el Canadá. Pues uno de los cirujanos muy conocido por ser muy buen cirujano, según mi marido lo mejor que había en esa época en Gemini City, pues le dijo que se necesitaban cirujanos vasculares. Aunque cirugía cardiaca no se hacía en Gemini City porque eso necesita unos departamentos inmensos con unas facilidades enormes y enfermeras muy especializadas. No se hacían en ninguno de los dos hospitales de Gemini City, pero necesitaban un cirujano vascular para hacer arterias y venas. Entonces le dijo que si quería ir. Visitamos Gemini City y nos pareció unas ciudades buenas para poder educar allí a nuestros hijos y así fue como nos trasladamos a Gemini City. En el año '73 debía de ser, nos fuimos a Gemini City.*

### **My husband decided . . .**

In the fourth year of our marriage, my husband decided to do a surgical residency in the United States. We first lived in a horrible city called Des Moines in central United States, an agricultural city of excellence. Later we moved to Nashville, Tennessee. I lived some very interesting moments because during the time I lived in Nashville President Kennedy was assassinated, there was the frightening Cuban missile crisis and we thought that we were going to return to Spain because of the crisis, which was a war against Cuba. Happily that finished. Then my husband got



a senior residency in Norristown, a beautiful town in Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia, a place the locals called the Valley Forge where the last battles led by General Washington took place. After, we went to Detroit where he was a cardiovascular surgeon. Until then he had a diploma for general surgery and then he did cardiovascular surgery. We were in Detroit for two years. While in Detroit we saw a series of revolutions against the Blacks who started to burn down some barrios. Then my husband decided that my three children and I should return to Spain to be with my parents. He went to see if he could do something in Perú, but the situation there was very bad. From there he made an application to a hospital in Thames, Ontario. The Canadians thought that he had to do two more years of surgery in Canadian hospitals, so we did those years in Thames. In Thames they had a surgery department at the University of Thames, famous in all of Canada. One of the surgeons, known for being a good surgeon and according to my husband the best there was at the time, said that there was a need for cardiovascular surgeons in Gemini City. Cardiovascular surgery wasn't performed in Gemini City because for that you need immense departments and highly specialized nurses. It wasn't done in either of the hospitals in Gemini City, but they needed a cardiovascular surgeon to do arteries and veins. So I told him that I wanted to go. We came to visit the region and we thought that it was a good area to raise our children. So that is how we came to Gemini City. We came to Gemini City in 1973.

*¿Y si nos casáramos y nos fuéramos para África  
o para algún sitio así?*

*Mi novio estaba estudiando. Era maestro industrial. Luego estaba estudiando para peritaje. Resulta que el panorama no estaba muy bueno en aquellos tiempos en los trabajos ni nada. El trabajo no era muy razonable en aquellos tiempos. Y un día resulta que estaba una amiga nuestra comentando, "Aí, pues mi hermana*

*esta en África y esta estupendamente, pagan muy bien y aparte tiene dos o tres mujeres allí de limpieza. Todo muy tranquilo y muy feliz. Fueron una temporada, una temporada, un año o dos o tres o lo que sea, y están ganando bastante dinero para luego comprarse aquí una casa y todo eso.” Bueno, pues luego yo voy y le digo a mi novio, digo, “¿Sabes que? Y le cuento lo que acabo de contar. Mi novio dice, “Estamos terminando de estudiar. Dinero no tenemos. ¿Cuándo nos vamos a casar, dentro de 14 o 15 años? ¿Y si nos casáramos y nos fuéramos para África o para algún sitio así?” “Ai, pues estaría muy bonito y estar así dos o tres años, lo que sea, y luego volver y comprar una casa.”*

**What if we got married and went to Africa  
or some other place like that?**

My boyfriend, at the time, was a student. He was a skilled-worker in industry. Later he studied to be a professional industrial engineer. As it was, the job scene was not very good in Spain in the late 1960s, in work or anything. The work was not very reasonable in those days. Then one day, it turns out that a friend of ours was saying, “Ah, well my sister is in Africa and is doing very well, they earn good money and they even have two or three cleaning ladies. Life is very calm and very happy. They went for a period, one year or two or three or whatever, and they are earning enough money to later buy a house and those sorts of things here.” So then later, I say to my boyfriend, “Do you know what?” And I tell him about the conversation between my friend and I. My boyfriend says, “We are finishing our studies. We don’t have any money. When are we going to get married, in 14 or 15 years? And what if we were to get married to go to Africa or to some other place like that?” “Oh, well that would be very nice. We could be there for two or three years, or whatever, and then return and buy a house.”

*Ontario Region in the 1960s and 1970s  
Through Immigrant Eyes*

Life in Ontario Region did not have the same *alegría* [happiness] that life did in Spain. Life was different from the life to which many of the women were accustomed. Open spaces and harsh winters made distances seem larger and what once were lives filled with daily social interaction turned into lives of solitude and isolation.

***Un pueblo que estaba muerto***

*Cuando me encontré con Francisco pues teníamos en el alto de una casa un piso. Francisco le había comprado el salecito y dormitorio. Tenía la cocina, los platos, las cucharas, los vasos de cristal. Muy bonito, todo muy bonito. Cristal tallado, todo muy, muy sencillo. Cuatro juegos de cada cosa pero todo muy bonito, muy sencillo. Yo traje dos manteles bordados, los manteles hechos por mí, por croché, los que he hecho de punto de cruz, las sabanas bordadas. Toda muy bonito, pero fue como si hubiera aterrizado en otra planeta, porque venir de España, la alegría que tiene, y ese sol, y ese día, y esa vida que tiene aquella ciudad, y venir a un pueblo que estaba muerto, porque aquella era muerto, nada más que mujeres europeas con los pañuelos amarados aquí [motioning to area under the chin], los domingos todo cerrados, todo, no había nada más. No sé si había algún restaurante, pero nada más que la iglesia estaba abierta. Lo de la televisión no se veía ningún negro ni se anunciaba ni una caja de cerveza, ni una cerveza. Estaba prohibido. Era una ciudad, rara, muy triste, muy sola.*

**The town was dead**

When I met up with Francisco, he had rented a small apartment in the attic of a home. Francisco furnished the living room and the bedroom. It had a kitchen equipped with plates, cutlery, and crystal glasses. Very pretty, everything was very pretty. Engraved crystal, everything was very, very simple. Four sets of each item, but everything was very pretty, very simple. I brought embroidered tablecloths, tablecloths that I crocheted myself, that I made with cross-stitch,

embroidered bed sheets. Everything was very pretty, but it was as if I had landed on another planet because coming from Spain, the happiness that it breathes and that sun, and those days, that life that I had in my city, and then to arrive in a town that was dead, because it was dead, nothing but European women with their kerchiefs tied here [motioning to the area under the chin], everything closed on Sundays. Everything, there was nothing more. I don't even know if there were any restaurants open on a Sunday. The church was open, nothing more. On television, you didn't see any Black people; there weren't even any beer commercials, not even one beer commercial. It was prohibited. It was a strange city, very sad, very alone.

***A mi se me calló el alma a los pies***

*Cuando yo llegué aquí, mira comparado con el estilo de vida de Madrid al estilo de vida aquí, a mí se me calló el alma a los pies. No te puedo decir nada más que eso. Tu te imaginas 20 años, casi 21, de 20 a 21 años, llego aquí a un país que no, no conoces a nadie, no hablas la lengua, y, económicamente teníamos un piso precioso, recién casados, todas las cosas nuevas y no los alojamos todo allí y llegamos aquí, había alquilado Mateo un apartamento en un basement y tenía unas cortinas naranjas que eran horribles. Yo cuando vi a esas cortinas se me calló el alma. Mira, puede haber cosas más importantes, pues esas cortinas, a mí, es lo que más me llegó, gracioso, ¿verdad? En fin, como eres joven. Estas enamorada. Hay el refrán que se dice, “Contigo pan y cebolla.” Pues hacer, a gusto, ¿comprendes? A pesar que yo, esto, a mí no me llenaba. No estaba amargada ni estaba descontenta. Siempre estábamos con la idea de volver a España un año.*

**My soul fell to my feet**

When I arrived here, I compared it to the style of life I had in Madrid to the style of life I had here and my soul fell to my feet. I can't tell you anything else.

Imagine, I was 20 years old, almost 21, from 20 to 21 years old, I arrive here, to a country in which I didn't know anybody, I didn't speak the language, and economically, well I had a beautiful apartment, I was a newlywed, the apartment was full of new things and we stored everything and we arrived here. Mateo rented a basement apartment and it had horrible orange curtains. When I saw those curtains my soul fell. Look, there could be other things that could have been more important, but those curtains, for me, that's what affected me the most, funny, no? We were young. We were in love. There is the saying, "With you, bread and onions." Well, you just make do, do you understand? From the beginning, I wasn't satisfied with this. We always had the idea to return to Spain. Be here for one year and then go back.

#### *Meeting Other Spanish-Born Immigrants in Canada*

The women immigrants had to make the best of their situations. They had to learn English in order to find jobs and earn money to supplement their husbands' income and provide for their families. The jobs that were available to most of the women who came to Ontario Region with very little English language ability and a basic education were limited to sewing in textile factories, working in the meat packing industry, or working as wait staff in restaurants. Some of the women were not able to work due to physical disabilities, while others chose or were encouraged to stay at home with their children. It was difficult for many of the women to make friends among the English-speaking community because of language barriers. It was difficult to meet other Spanish-speaking people because of the large distances and the relatively few Spanish-speaking people in Ontario Region. Some of the women reported that they had been living in Canada for several years before beginning to interact with others from Spain. The government-sponsored English language courses held at Capital College served as the primary meeting place for the Spanish-born immigrants. Friendships began to form and the Spanish-speaking circle began to grow.

### ***Allí conocí a Españoles***

*Yo he sido siempre muy independiente. He sido una persona que se hace su camino y ese es el camino que sigue, entonces aquí me dedique a explorar [laughter] y eso es lo que hice, explorar la vida social, las relaciones humanas que había, etcétera, etcétera, ¿no? No experimente ninguna dificultad, ninguna. Me moví naturalmente en inglés desde el principio. Mi inglés no era muy adecuado, pero, me las arreglaba porque podía leer y escribir, entonces era suficiente. Fue unos años más tarde cuando me encontré con gente de lengua española y la razón de yo encontrarme con gente de lengua española fue para aprender la pronunciación inglesa. Yo leía mucho. Siempre he leído y yo había adquirido cantidad enorme de vocabulario en inglés pero yo no lo sabía pronunciar. Lo sabía escribir y podía leerlos. Sabía lo que leía, pero “¿Como digo yo esto?” Entonces me tocó ir a Capital College. Dije, “Aquí vengo a que me enseñen a como pronunciar yo el inglés porque yo no lo sé.” Me pusieron en un laboratorio de lengua para que me corrigiesen la pronunciación. Allí conocí a Españoles.*

### **I met people from Spain there**

I have always been very independent. I was a person who chose a path to follow and followed it, so here, I dedicated myself to exploring, and that is exactly what I did; I explored social life, human relations, etc., etc. I didn't have any difficulties, none. I was able to adapt well to life in English from the beginning. My English was not very good, but I managed because I knew how to read and write, so that was sufficient. After a few years, I found myself among Spanish-speaking people and the way I found myself among them was because I went to learn how to pronounce the English language. I knew how to write it and I could read it. I understood what I was reading, but “How do I say it?” So I went to Capital College. I said, “I have come here so that they can teach me how to pronounce words in English, because I don't know how.” They put me in a language

laboratory where they corrected my spoken English. I met people from Spain there.

***Julia, Mateo nos invitó a casa  
a tomar Coca Cola***

*Nos toco muy duro al empezar cuando empezamos porque estuvimos solos. Nosotros no conocíamos a nadie. La primera persona que yo conocí que hablara español es Mateo y Ana. Teníamos casi la misma edad. Mateo y Javier iban al colegio, a Capital College a estudiar inglés. Yo todavía no había empezado porque yo decía, “después,” pero así fue como se conocieron, en el Colegio. Después que salimos del colegio Javier dijo, “Conocí a un español. Es muy buena persona. Se llama Mateo.” Todos los días se hablaba de él un día dijo, “Julia, Mateo nos invitó a casa a tomar Coca Cola.” [laughter] A mi nunca se me olvidara eso, “a tomar Coca Cola,” “Vamos estar un rato con ellos.” Digo, “OK,” y eso fue el primer día que conocí a Ana. Fue en 1975. Soledad estaba de meses. Creo que tenía cinco meses. Nos hicimos muy buenos amigos, en esa época y sufrimos bastante. Ellos sufrieron bastante. Ellos sufrieron bastante, tratando de romper las barreras de idioma y al mismo tiempo lo más duro yo creo que, tratando de romper las barreras y tratando de make a living, tratando de vivir bien. Había que producir dinero para pagar el apartamento, para pagar comida, para estudiar, para hacer todo.*

**Julia, Mateo has invited us to his  
house to have a Coca-Cola.**

Life was difficult in the beginning because we were alone. We didn't know anybody. The first people we met that spoke Spanish were Mateo and Ana. We were the same age. Mateo and Javier took English classes together at Capital College. I hadn't started taking classes yet. I always said “later.” That is how the boys met—at school. One night, after Javier finished his classes he said “I met a Spanish guy. He seems like a good person. His name is Mateo.” Javier talked

about Mateo almost every day and one day Javier said, “Julia, Mateo has invited us to his house to have a Coca-Cola.” – “let’s go and spend some time with them.” I said “OK” and that was the first day I met Ana. It was in 1975. Soledad was just months old. I think she was five months old. We became good friends, but at that time we suffered a lot. They suffered a lot too. They suffered enough, trying to break language barriers and at the same time trying to make a living, trying to live well. This was a maturing process. We had to make money to pay for the apartment, to pay for food, to study, to do everything.

***Yo fui a aprender inglés a Capital College. Allí conocí a una chica.***

*Conocíamos muy pocos Españoles. Era muy pocos Españoles que había aquí antes. Da la casualidad de donde Antonio trabajaba había un grupo de tres o cuatro Españoles y entre esos solos que nos conocimos. Allí es donde conocí Dolores que era amiga de unos de los que trabajaban con Antonio. Yo fui a aprender inglés a Capital College. Allí conocí a una chica, que su hermana es Santi. Entonces conocí a Santi.*

**I went to Capital College to learn English.  
That’s how I met Santi.**

We knew very few Spanish people. There were very few Spanish people here before. Coincidentally, in the place where Antonio worked there was a group of three or four Spanish people and those were the only ones we knew. That’s where I met Dolores, who was a friend of one of the people with whom Antonio worked. I went to learn English at Capital College. That’s where I met a girl, Loli, and her sister is Santi. So that’s how I met Santi.

*Relief from Solitude: The Spanish Women’s Association Begins to Form*

The Spanish Women’s Association was initially formed to alleviate perceived solitude and to fill a desire to meet with other women to speak in a “comfort” language: Spanish. As with



many families of the era, the husband was the primary wage earner. If the wife worked, she was likely to work part time or work a schedule that allowed her to fill her role of mother. Many of the women stayed at home with their children and, as a result, were isolated. It was this isolation that prompted a core group of women to organize a social group and recruit others to get out of the house and be with other Spanish-speaking women living the immigrant life. However, creating a social network was not easy.

There were few people of Spanish origin living in Ontario Region. Each woman came to Canada not knowing another person other than her spouse. There was no formal place to meet people; rather, the women began to meet each other serendipitously at immigration offices, English language courses, or places of employment. Friendships began to form and the Spanish-speaking community began.

The core idea of starting the Spanish school occurred from a simple, “What do you think about . . . ?” type of conversation. The following conversation is a representation of the original conversation, based on the recollections of various women interviewed. It is not the original conversation, but an attempt to recreate the way in which the conversation may have occurred. It is an elaboration to illustrate the co-construction of ideas and knowledge, the leadership taken by a few people, and the way in which social connections were made.

*Santi: Fíjate, Carmen. Estamos aquí todos tan lejos. No nos vemos nunca ni nada. Podríamos reunirnos una tarde, estar entre mujeres. Cada uno puede llevar un pastel. Podemos reunirnos para contar chistes, hablar, intercambiar ideas, hasta podríamos invitar mujeres de otros países, pero de nuestro idioma. Lo pudiéramos pasar en grande. Que bonito sería si fuese solamente una vez al mes o una vez de vez en cuando. Que bonito sería saber que nos vamos a reunir para hacer algo.*

*Carmen: ¿Y porque no lo organizamos? Pues por allí tiene que haber Españolas que estén como nosotras, viviendo una vida un poco solitaria. ¿Porque no nos organizamos algo?*

Santi: *Me parece una idea fenomenal.*

Carmen: *Yo conozco a unas cuantas Españolas, las mujeres de unos compañeros de trabajo de Antonio, unas vecinas mías, y también algunas que he conocido en el Capital College. Yo llamaré a quien conozco por esta zona y tu llamas a quien conoces en tu zona. ¿Te parece?*

Santi: Carmen, do you realize that we are isolated here. We barely see each other or anything. We could get together one afternoon, to be among women. Each person could take something to eat, like a pastry. We could get together to tell jokes, talk, exchange ideas, we could even invite other women from other countries, but who speak our language. We could have a lot of fun. It would be so nice if we could get together once a month or even every now and again. It would be so nice to know that we would get together to do something.

Carmen: So, why don't we organize something? There has to be other Spanish women out there like us, living solitary lives. Why don't we organize something?

Santi: It sounds like a great idea.

Carmen: Well I know a few Spanish women, some of them are the wives of some of Antonio's colleagues, some live in my neighborhood, and others I met at Capital College. I'll call the women I know of in this area and you call the ones you know. What do you think?

The idea to form a school was brought forward when Carmen called Dolores, who responded in the following manner:

Dolores: *A mi me gusta la idea de reunirnos, pero a mi hablar mucho, chismorrear, no me gusta nada. Una cosa si que me gustaría muchísimo es reunirnos por beneficios de nuestros hijos y enseñarles cosas de nuestra cultura, leer, escribir en español o algo.*

Dolores: I like the idea about getting together, but I am not sure about getting together to gossip. I don't like that sort of thing. I would really like to be able to

get together to help our children and teach them things about our culture, to read and to write in Spanish or something like that.

From that point forward, the women started to mobilize. They contacted one another by telephone, and the women held their first meeting in February 1977. The design of the Spanish heritage language school got under way with the idea that the women would offer the children of Spanish-born immigrants the opportunity to strengthen the Spanish language and cultural knowledge learned in the home. The organizational meetings brought the Spanish Women's Association women together to discuss the way in which the Spanish heritage language school was to be organized and the learning goals that they wanted for their children. These eventually became the explicit and implicit driving forces of the way in which the organizational committee and teacher ran the school in terms of its curriculum and the activities that were organized for the children who attended the school.

Initially, the women did not intend to create a formal organization; rather, the idea was simply to start teaching the children the Spanish language. When the group wrote to the Spanish Embassy in Ottawa, requesting funds for the school, they were told that, before monetary or resource support could be released, the women had to become a legal entity in order to protect the interests of the children as well as the group. The women contacted a lawyer to get the association incorporated under a name that included the word *mujeres* [women] in the title; however, the lawyer advised them not to use the word *women* in the name of the organization. He said that doing so might preclude receiving funding. The group then decided upon a different name that did not include the word women, but nonetheless, reflected their original plans to form the school for their children.

The Spanish Women's Association was open to any Spanish-speaking woman, regardless of country of origin, who was interested in the purpose of the association. The purpose of the Spanish Women's Association of Ontario Region, as listed in the constitution approved by the board of directors on September 11, 1984, was six fold:

- the betterment of its members in the human and cultural sense;
- the exchange of ideas of mutual help of all kinds between its members and families;
- to preserve the Spanish culture and traditions;
- to keep its members up-to-date in the various transcendental subjects such as physiology, arts, ethnics, sociology, family health, and other subjects;
- to help its members with their problems in integration in the Canadian society;
- to maintain and establish a Spanish school in which our children will receive instruction in the Spanish language, literature, history, and geography.

The primary function of the Spanish Women's Association was to direct the Spanish heritage language school. While there are no records of mission statements, goals, or objectives for the school, it was obvious that the school aimed to lend structure to what parents were trying to teach in their homes. As Fishman (1966b) noted,

Schools, as well as other formal ethnic institutions, became necessary because the complete ethnic pattern no longer functioned and automatic inculturation [sic] of the young via exposure to the daily activities of the family could no longer be counted upon to ensure ethnic continuity. (p. 93)

The heritage language school became the focal point through which all other language and cultural activities were organized, and the Spanish Women's Association became the structural support for the school and for the women.

#### The Design of the Spanish Heritage Language School

Two teachers played key roles in the design of the Spanish heritage language school. Clara had elementary teaching experience and a university degree from the University of Salamanca, Spain; Rocio had studied some courses at the University of Madrid and had experience in teaching Spanish as a foreign language at a private high school in the United States. Clara did not have any children; Rocio had children who were too old to attend the school. When asked about why they agreed to become teachers at the school, they responded in the following manner:

*Yo estaba ya viendo como la lengua corría el riesgo de perderse entre los descendientes de los Españoles. Sabe, un día, hace unos dos años, escribí una carta explicando las posibilidades que yo veía si los hijos de Españoles pudiesen mantener su lengua materna pero, como yo no conocía tantos Españoles me puse a buscar por aquella guía telefónica. Empecé a sacar apellidos españoles. Lo probable es que algunos fuesen portugueses [laughter] porque algunas veces son idénticos. Les mandé las cartas pero no tuve ninguna contestación. Me pareció que a nadie le haya interesado la idea. Si se organiza algo me gustaría participar.*

I was already seeing that the Spanish language ran the risk of being lost among the children of Spanish immigrants. You know, one day, about two years ago, I wrote a letter explaining all of the possibilities I saw for the children of Spanish immigrants that they could maintain their mother tongue, but I didn't know many Spanish people at the time, I searched for Spanish surnames in the phonebook. With all probability, some of the surnames could have been Portuguese because they are identical sometimes. I sent them all letters, but I never received any responses. I thought maybe nobody was interested in the idea. If you decide to organize something, I would like to participate.

*A mi la idea me entusiasmó desde el primer momento, primero porque la enseñanza para mi es una cosa importantísima que seguido luego enseñando el español a mis hijos siempre que he podido. Segundo porque yo tengo un entusiasmo por la lengua española enorme. No sé si llamarla patriotismo o que, pero a mi me encanta enseñar el español por el mundo. Me fascina porque la lengua es la única manera que podemos comunicarnos y yo en ese momento pensé que había unos niños que iban a perder la lengua española. Quizás con sus padres hablaban español pero llegaba un momento que estos niños estaban imbuidos en una cultura anglosajona, oían unas televisiones en ingles, iban al*

*colegio en el cual no se hablaban más que ingles, luego la inmigración en estos momentos en Gemini City no era como en Estados Unidos que había muchísimos hispano parlantes. Erramos poquísimos, entonces yo pensé que estos niños iban a perder un don maravilloso que es el don de hablar una lengua y hablarla bien. Poderse comunicar, imagínate, con todo Sur América, con España, y no sé porque yo pensé que estos niños cuando vayan a España, no van a poder hablar con su abuela. Fíjate que idea más absurda. Yo decía que no van a poder hablar con sus abuelas y esas pobres abuelas, ¿que van hacer? Entonces me entusiasmó la idea desde el primer momento. Fue un proyecto que yo verdaderamente acogí con gran entusiasmo.*

From the first moment I became very enthusiastic about the idea because teaching for me is something very important. I even taught my own children the Spanish language and they were always able to use it. Secondly, I was enthusiastic about the idea because I love the Spanish language. I don't know whether to call it patriotism or what, but I love teaching the Spanish language throughout the world. I am fascinated by language because it is the only way we can communicate with each other and at the time I thought that there were children who were about to lose the Spanish language. Perhaps they spoke Spanish with their parents, but there would come a time when the children would be completely surrounded by the Anglosaxon culture, they heard English on television, they went to a school in which only English was used. We were a very small population of Spanish-born immigrants in the region. It wasn't like in the United States where there were many more users of Spanish. So I thought that these children were going to lose a wonderful gift, and that gift is to speak a language and speak it well. To be able to communicate with all of South America, with Spain, imagine, they wouldn't be able to speak with their own grandmothers. What an absurd thought not to be able to speak with their own grandmothers, the poor grandmothers, what would they

do? So, I was enthusiastic about the idea from the very beginning. It was a project that I embraced enthusiastically.

It was a project that all participants embraced enthusiastically. The project was approached idealistically, optimistically (and looking back, perhaps a little naively). The women had an ideal but lacked the materials normally required for any type of educational program: space, books and other supplies, and funding. The space issue was first met by approaching the principal of Holy Trinity elementary school, where the Portuguese heritage language community was using space to conduct its Portuguese heritage language school. The principal agreed to give the Spanish Women's Association one classroom; hence, for the first few months children of various levels were taught by two teachers in a one-room school.

### *Al principio fue un caos*

*Las primeras clases eran muy avarunda con las cartillas de antaño y muy pocas.*

*Una sola yendo de un niño a otro niño a otro niño porque no había libros.*

*Algunas madres tenían [libros] en sus casas. Yo tenía algunas cosas también.*

*Entonces eso era lo que se usaba pero no había ni siquiera por cada dos niños.*

*Una era leer con este niño y llevármela al otro niño. Venía Dolores o algunas de ellas a ocuparse de aquel niño que dibuje, entretenerlo. Al principio fue así*

*porque era un caos. Fue después cuando el gobierno español fue muy generoso y nos dio, nos daba dinero para materiales. Entonces fue cuando pudimos*

*[comprar materiales]. En uno de mis viajes a España yo me fui a Madrid. Yo*

*había solicitado catálogos de casas editoriales y a la vista de lo que había en los catálogos yo decidí que editoriales podrían proveer algo que fuese interesante*

*[para la escuela]. Entonces Ana y yo fuimos a un editorial [en Madrid]. En*

*aquella editorial no nos interesaba las condiciones que nos ponían y fuimos a*

*otra editorial que producía o distribuía. Algunas cosas las producían, materiales de todo tipo. Compramos un buen montón de cosas, de libros, materiales*

*audiovisuales, manipulables, y eso fue el comienzo. Allí fue el comienzo gracias al dinero del gobierno español. Eso es la pura verdad.*

### **It was chaos in the beginning**

The first classes were very miserly. We used books from years gone by and we didn't have many. In many cases we just had one book that we passed from one child to another because we didn't have books. Some of the mothers had books in their home. I had a few things myself. So, those were the books that we used. There was barely enough books to use one for every two children. I had to read the book with one child, take the book and read it with another. Dolores came and maybe some other women to entertain the children while I was working with others. It was a chaos in the beginning. But then the Spanish government, who was very generous, gave us some money with which to buy some materials. So that is when we were able to buy some materials. In one of my trips to Spain I went to Madrid. I ordered catalogues from publishing houses in order to see if there was something that interested us. So then Ana and I went to one of the publishing houses in Madrid. In one of the publishing houses we didn't like the type of conditions they imposed upon us, so we went to another publishing house that produced and distributed materials. We bought a bunch of stuff from books to audiovisual materials, manipulative materials, and so that was how it all began. It began thanks to the money given to us by the Spanish government. And that is the complete truth.

### ***Estábamos en dos rincones enseñando***

*En Holy Trinity empezamos en una clase solamente. Una clase que estábamos Clara y yo en dos rincones enseñando. Me parece recordar que también Dolores enseñaba. No teníamos nada. Contactamos al principal de Holy Trinity. No sé quien lo conocía porque iban sus hijos allí, no tengo idea de quien. Este señor, muy simpático dijo, "sí, sí, pueden venir aquí los sábados." Naturalmente nadie*



*cobraba de los profesores. Nadie cobraba. Estuvimos bastante tiempo sin cobrar. Luego ya cuando se formalizó las cosas y empezamos a recibir. Lo primero que nos daban era la escuela gratis con todas las facilidades. Enseguida yo compré las cartillas pero del dinero de la asociación. Osea la asociación aportaba una pequeña cantidad que pagábamos las asociadas y de ese dinero se sacaba pues el dinero para las cartillas hasta que luego ya contactamos la embajada de España. Después fuimos hablar con el director del board católico y ya pues las cosas se formalizaron y empezamos. Había que hacer unos estatutos y todo eso se hizo poco a poco. En Immaculate Conception estuvimos pues yo creo que 12 años o una cosa así. La escuela maternal de origen de la madre, la lengua madre, pues se fue formalizando ya llegó hacer una cosa perfectamente estructurada, y eso, sería en el transcurso de un par de años, no más.*

### **We taught in two corners of the classroom**

We started to teach classes at Holy Trinity School in one classroom. In one classroom, we were Clara and I teaching in two corners. I remember Dolores was there as well. We didn't have anything. We contacted the principal at Holy Trinity. I don't know who knew him, but whoever she was, she knew him because her children attended the school. The principal was very kind and he said, "Yes, yes, you may come on Saturdays." Naturally, the teachers did not earn any money. Nobody earned any money. It was a long time before we started to earn anything. The first thing was that we got free use of the school and all of its facilities. Then we bought some books with money from the Spanish Women's Association. The Spanish Women's Association gave a little bit of money to buy books until we were able to contact the Spanish Embassy. After that, we went to talk with the director of the Catholic school board and then things started to become legalized and we started. We had to create some statues for the organization, and that was done little by little. We were at Immaculate

Conception's school for about 12 years or something like that. The mother tongue school, well it was forming and it ended up becoming something that was perfectly structured, and that came about in a couple of years, not more.

To maintain and develop a minority language without political, societal, and cultural support is difficult at best, impossible at worst. As noted in the review of the literature, heritage language learners must grapple with many issues that work against the maintenance and development of the heritage language beyond even a basic level, much less transmitting the language to generations of learners further removed. For a heritage language to coexist with the mainstream language, a community of heritage language users is crucial. Taking heritage language classes one or twice per week does not provide sufficient exposure to the language and culture to have significant benefits in terms of developing and maintaining the heritage language beyond a basic level of competence. Solely attending a heritage language program has been shown to have little impact on maintaining the heritage language, identifying with the ethnic community, and demonstrating a continued interest in learning the heritage language (Cho & Krashen, 2000; Chow, 2001). Variables that are better predictors of heritage language competence tend to favor a combination of community involvement, such as parental use of the heritage language, visits to the country of origin, reading, watching television in the heritage language, practical needs (e.g., children serving as translators for parents), attitudes, and contact with other speakers of the heritage language (Cho & Krashen, 2000). These variables can offer students opportunities to situate the language and culture in practice and learn the language overtly. The heritage language community becomes a community in which the learner is socialized into the community of language users and acquires the intricacies of the language rather than just learning them in an intellectual manner.

The notion of design with the theoretical framework outlined by the pedagogy of multiliteracies includes (a) situated practice, (b) overt instruction, (c) critical framing, and (d) transformed practice (The New London Group, 2001). The framework offers educators a concrete frame within which to help students use learned and acquired knowledge and apply it in

a way that will help each individual's social future beyond regurgitation of information. While this framework did not exist at the planning stages of the Spanish heritage language school, the concepts helped to identify important elements that render educational components useful to the language users in their environment.

The Spanish heritage language school offered more than just instruction in the Spanish language; it also offered ways by which various social and cultural contexts could be understood. Next, I discuss the pedagogical and cultural goals that the key organizational members and teachers had for the school's students. This is followed by a discussion of the way in which the students were overtly taught the Spanish language and culture. While students were not directly taught to critically frame and then transform the practice of the available designs as dictated by the notion of design of multiliteracies, examining the learning that took place over the long run demonstrates that learning from the Spanish heritage language school and its environment influenced the way in which the graduates are able to examine and make meaning of social and cultural contexts with which they come into contact.

#### *Pedagogical and Cultural Goals of the Spanish Heritage Language School*

Lee and Cardinal (1998) posited that "White, European, ethnic minority mothers seemed to be interested in teaching their 'home' language as a prevention, an inoculation against forgetting," while Swahili mothers, for example, tried "to find a balance across cultures, ethnicities, and languages" (p. 234) by building new structures and practices that recognize multinational and multilocational realities through cultural and political work. Certainly, one of the goals of Spanish Women's Association was to preserve the Spanish language in the family context. Spanish was not taught to the children to create an isolated Spanish-speaking community in Canada; rather, an overarching goal of instruction was to extend the language maintenance efforts of the home so that the children could know their linguistic and cultural roots and embrace, rather than reject, the Spanish part of their lives.

As the school began to take shape and the women began to make cultural goals for their own organization, the goals of the Spanish school also began to shift from simply teaching the home language for preservation purposes to incorporating those cultural structures and practices into the mainstream community. The Spanish Women's Association engaged in language maintenance primarily to transmit the Spanish language to their children for moral and economic reasons, as discussed by Mühlhäusler (2000). Despite many obstacles, members of the Spanish Women's Association persisted in teaching the language because they regarded it not only as a cohesive agent for family and community unity but also as a valuable resource that might enhance the social and economic futures of the graduates of the program.

The pedagogical goals collectively expressed by the members of the Spanish Women's Association whom I interviewed fused private and public spheres. The three primary goals that the women's association had for their students were (a) to know, respect, and feel comfortable in interacting with the cultures, customs, and traditions of Spain in addition to the cultures, customs, and traditions of Canada; (b) to become Spanish-English bilinguals; and (c) to have the linguistic skills to maintain contact with extended family members (e.g., grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins) who were not living in Canada. The Spanish Women's Association organized academic and social activities within the community in order to teach language, culture, customs, and traditions to the children. In addition, the group participated in multicultural social activities so their children would understand how and where their cultural and linguistic heritage fit in the mainstream. In these ways, the Spanish Women's Association enriched their own lives, created a structure to forge a foundation for their children to know the home language and culture, and built structures that recognized the importance of the Spanish language and culture in Canadian and global contexts.

*Goal 1: To know and respect the cultures, customs, and traditions of Spain in addition to the cultures, customs, and traditions of Canada.* The Spanish Women's Association believed that exposure to the cultures, customs, and traditions of various countries and their regions enriched a person's personal and professional lives. The Spanish Women's Association understood that the

Spanish immigrants had chosen Canada as their adopted home and, although many came with the intention of returning to Spain, most remained and continued to construct family life in Canada. Inevitably, most of the children of the Spanish immigrants were nationals of Canada and, as years passed, Canada was “home.” The Spanish Women’s Association recognized that the cultures, customs, and traditions of the country of origin formed a part of their children’s roots whose futures, for the most part, were to be in Canada. For this reason, during the focus group interview when Carmen said “First, we showed them our roots, and second, we gave them the wings with which to fly,” all members voiced their agreement. The women believed that the cultures, customs and traditions of Spain did not need to be foreign to the Canadian-born generation in contact with Anglo-Saxon culture; rather, they could form an integral part in the children’s lives in Canada.

*Yo comprendí que teníais que seguir unas costumbres de una sociedad anglosajona por el hecho de vivir [en Canadá], pero tampoco teníais que perder las nuestras. Yo encuentro todo lo que sea añadir culturas, añadir costumbres, añadir tradiciones enriquece las personas y lo lográbamos a través de la lengua y a través de libros españoles.*

I understood that you all had to follow the customs of the Anglo-Saxon society because you lived in Canada. But, there was also no reason that you had to lose ours. I find that adding culture, adding customs, adding traditions is an enriching experience for people and we that is what we tried to do that via the language and via Spanish books.

Language became a vehicle through which the Canadian-born generation would experience the enrichment of the Spanish cultures, customs, and traditions. The first generation of Spanish immigrants came to Canada knowing little English and, despite having to use English in the public sphere, it was necessary to create a sense of intimacy in the private sphere. For the most part, Spanish was the language that unified two generations of family members so that the older generation did not have to live their lives in translation and the younger generation could

expand their worlds with the knowledge of another language and culture. The Spanish language formed the linguistic and cultural tools used by the younger generation to know and respect the older generation.

*Yo quería que mis hijas me conocieran, que yo pudiera hablar con mis hijas como yo soy y me sintiera como yo soy, que no tengo que decir cualquier tontería sin español, que lo tengo que decir en inglés y ahora la traducción ya pierde gracia, ya no me expreso. Por ejemplo, a la forma de expresarme como encuentro me, “Ai, tengo un dolor de cabeza.” Saben. Lo digo tal como lo siento. “Ai, me encuentro mal. Ai, estoy harta.” Lo digo con mi expresión. La otra forma, “I don’t feel good.” Ya no lo digo como lo estoy sintiendo.*

I wanted that my children would know who I was, that I could speak to my children in the way that I am and that they would feel how I am, that I wouldn’t have to say something without Spanish, that I might have to say something in English would be lost in translation and then I wouldn’t be able to express myself. For example, if I needed to express how I was feeling, like “Ai, tengo un dolor de cabeza.” They would know what I meant by the way I said it. “Ai, me encuentro mal. Ai estoy harta.” I could say things using my expressions. The other way, “I don’t feel good.” It just doesn’t communicate how I am feeling.

Members of the organizational committee understood that Canada was their adoptive home and that it was their children’s birthplace and home. Their children had to live their lives in a culture different from their own. They realized that they could not recreate Spain in Canada and have their children grow up not knowing either culture or country, as many ethnic groups are accused of doing. The Canadian culture was respected by teachers and students as one just as important and relevant to life as the Spanish culture. The teachers incorporated parts of Canadian cultural traditions in their lessons.

*Las fiestas que nosotros no teníamos, Halloween por ejemplo, también tratábamos de cubrirlas para mantener un poco el equilibrio porque los niños*

*pensarían, “pues, ahora es Halloween o St. Patrick’s,” y aquí le daban mucha importancia a esas cosas.*

The holidays that we didn’t have, Halloween for example, we tried to cover those things in class equally because the children thought, “Well, it’s Halloween, or it’s St. Patrick’s” and there was a lot of emphasis on these holidays here.

Teaching and learning about the Spanish language and culture were not limited to the classroom. The women involved the children in the Spanish heritage language school in community-sponsored events in order to connect and share with other ethnic groups in the region, including the mainstream. The Spanish Women’s Association accepted invitations from the Multicultural Center of Ontario Region to participate in events organized to celebrate the multicultural heritage of the community, including making appearances on local television talent programs. Two community events were of particular importance to the group: the annual July 1 Canada Day Celebration held at Victoria Park and the *Trachtenfest* organized by the Oktoberfest committee to celebrate the region’s German cultural and linguistic heritage. These two celebrations were forums in which the folkloric dance group, organized by members of the Spanish Women’s Association, performed traditional dances of Spain. Members of the Spanish Women’s Association made elaborate and authentic costumes for the children (Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5) so that they could live that part of the culture as authentically as possible and share the Spanish culture with the ethnic and mainstream communities.



*Figure 1.* Students of the Spanish heritage language school in authentic costumes made by parents.



*Figure 2.* Spanish heritage language school students dressed in traditional costumes before a performance on a local television program.





*Figure 3.* Two young Spanish heritage language school students dressed in traditional costumes of Asturias, a region in northern Spain.



*Figure 4.* Two members of the Spanish folkloric dance group participating in a festival celebrating the German heritage of Ontario Region.



*Figure 5.* Spanish heritage language school children’s dance group performing at a senior citizen’s residence.

In a country where immigrants were not necessarily welcomed by the mainstream population, the Spanish Women’s Association tried to instill in the children a collective acceptance of the Spanish culture so that they would not be embarrassed by their parents’ immigrant status. One of the moments of pride was when Santi’s daughter, as recounted by Santi, responded to the question, “What nationality are you?”

*Yo nací en Canadá pero mis raíces son de España. Mis padres son Españoles y mis raíces son de España Canadá es mi país y yo lo quiero, pero mis raíces son de España y me siento muy orgullosa que mis padres fueron inmigrantes. Yo me siento muy orgullosa que mis padres son Españolas.*

I was born in Canada, but my roots are from Spain. My parents are Spanish. My roots are from Spain. Canada is my country and I love it very much, but my roots are in Spain and I am very proud that my parents were immigrants. I am very proud that my parents are Spanish.

The graduates interviewed for this study were proud of their Spanish heritage, even if they did not use the Spanish language much outside of the home context. When students respected both cultures and believed that neither was in competition with the other, the students felt freer to explore both languages and cultures.

I have to commend my parents because they never once said things were better in Spain and we should be in Spain and this country sucks. They never said that. I didn't realize this until I was about 16. I came back from Spain and I was talking to another girl. She was saying, "Oh yeah, my parents always said Spain is so much better." My parents never said that. They never made us feel like we were missing out for being [in Canada]. They were obviously very proud of Spain. They were very involved. They taught me *Sevillanas* from the beginning, they did the school. It was a big part of our lives, but it was never, it was never, "Oh, you're here. You're missing out." We never had that sense about it. It was like "Yeah, Spain is great, but we are living it here too." So, that came into my awareness when I was 16 when I had that conversation with [that girl]. I'm really glad my parents never brought me up thinking that it was better over there.

*Goal 2: To become Spanish-English bilinguals.* Spanish was the home language for all participants in this study. The adult members of the Spanish heritage language community did not believe that their children would be disadvantaged in the regular school system for having learned Spanish in the home. They believed that their children would learn the English language without much difficulty, once they entered the mainstream school system. Some of the students entered the school system without any knowledge of English and had some difficulty with the English language in kindergarten and first grade. However, those who remembered having difficulty and receiving some kind of intervention did not remember experiencing any significant language learning trauma. They were not placed at any academic disadvantage. In fact, most graduates of the Spanish heritage language school have achieved significant academic success, having achieved at least an undergraduate degree and some professional success. Three of the six

students interviewed had completed graduate studies: One has a Ph.D. in biology, another has a Master's degree in food science, and another has a Master's degree in English literature. The other three participants have undergraduate degrees in education, finance and economics, and health studies, and they have taken professional development courses specific to their respective fields.

**I remember, distinctly remember, playing with the kids  
and speaking English and not having any problems.**

I learned Spanish as my first language and my parents taught me some English. I don't remember learning English at all (laughter), but I know that I talked with the kids in the neighborhood. I had no problem communicating with the neighbors. I remember, distinctly remember, playing with the kids and speaking English and not having any problems. My mother told that when I was in grade one, which I have no recollection of, that I had difficulty learning at the beginning of the year. She came in to talk to the teacher and she said, "Please go a little bit slower with Maria because she doesn't understand," but I don't remember that because I remember meeting Kelly and playing with her and I remember you know, learning my writing and I remember being in class, but I don't actually remember any problems, so it must have been minimal.

**"You know, you have to talk through me  
because she doesn't understand you."**

I went by myself to grade one and I had a friend who um, for some reason, she didn't speak Spanish, but we ended up being the best of friends 'til now. She was the one who would protect me against everyone, and she told me just recently, actually, about 5 years ago, she said "do you remember when we were in grade one and people would try to talk to you and I would say, "You know, you have to talk through me because she doesn't understand you."

### **When I went to English school I didn't speak English**

When I went to English school, I didn't speak English. I was initially brought up very Spanish, spoke Spanish at home. When I went to English school, I didn't speak English, not for the first year and a bit, I started learning it, you learn it. I learned it very quickly, yeah. I was always a little bit behind for the first couple of years in English until I got caught up, because I lived, because I spoke Spanish at home, and I still speak Spanish at home.

Once the students entered the mainstream school system, English became the language of academic currency and the language that the children used primarily to socialize in their Canadian educational contexts. The Spanish language then became relegated to the "home" language; therefore, to continue with its development, more academic attention was required. One of the emphases in the school was to teach the children how to read and write in Spanish and to continue to develop their oral and aural competencies in the language so that they would have the same linguistic abilities in Spanish as in English. This goal was embedded with the assumption that knowing more than one language would give the students professional and personal advantages in the future, particularly because Spanish was a language widely used in the world and its use was on the rise in the United States, Canada's southern neighbor.

*Me molestaba extraordinariamente que los hijos, los niños de familias españolas perdiesen, olvidasen, o no adquiriesen el conocimiento de una lengua que es prácticamente tan extendida como el inglés, y que es posible que tenga un futuro muy importante porque esta lengua se hablan en países, que aunque económicamente son pobres, la gente es pobre, los países son muy ricos y pueden tener un tremendo futuro. Eso quiere decir que sus habitantes pueden tener ese futuro y los hijos, los descendientes de ellos. Yo estaba muy interesada que los hijos fueren bilingües, por lo menos, porque el conocimiento de lenguas abre muchos horizontes, les da la oportunidad de tener un futuro, incluso.*

It bothered me a lot that the children of Spanish families would lose, would forget, or not acquire the knowledge of a language that is as extended in this world as English, and that it would be possible to have a very important future with that language in the countries in which Spanish is spoken, that are economically poor, the people are poor, but the countries are very rich and they could have a tremendous future. That is to say that their people could have that future and their children, their descendents. I was very interested that the children become bilinguals, so that at least they would have the knowledge that knowing languages opens many doors, languages give the opportunity for a better future.

The parents and teachers assumed that knowing Spanish as well as English could give the students a competitive edge when they entered the job market, either obtaining jobs requiring additional language skills or searching for jobs in countries outside of Canada. However, none of the parents or teachers knew the type of job opportunities that would be available or the type of skills that would be needed. It was simply assumed that being multilingual would open doors. Naturally, some parents hoped that their children would return to Spain, but this rarely occurred. If a child returned to Spain, he or she had to obtain the credentials required by the Spanish educational system. For example, if a student wanted to get into a Spanish university, he or she had to pass a difficult eliminatory state-mandated entrance examination. Graduating from a Canadian high school was not sufficient to enter the Spanish university system.

The parents and teachers assumed that Spanish-English bilingualism would offer the students the ability to

*mover exactamente igual en un ambiente que en el otro. Que se encuentren en Canadá como Canadienses y cuando vayan al país de origen de los padres, que se muevan como están en casa también.* [to be able to function as well in one language environment as in the other. That the students could function as Canadians in Canada and when they went to their parents' country of origin, they would find themselves at home in that country as well.]

The hope of achieving composite monolingual abilities was unrealistic. The reality was that most of the students interviewed could not identify themselves with being either 100% Canadian or 100% Spanish and, even when they visited Spain, they had difficulty in contexts that required knowledge of the social rules. Not knowing all of the social rules proved disadvantageous, despite knowing the linguistic code.

Xavi explained the difficulties that he encountered in dealing with a bank in Spain. His mother, who accompanied him to the bank, knew that there might be problems. Xavi assumed that the rules of banking in Canada would apply in Spain. They did not.

I remember one time we went to Spain and I was there with my mom. We went to the bank. What had happened was I had paid for my mom's flight and because they had money in the bank [in Spain] and once we got there, you know, I would just take money out of the bank so that we didn't have to worry about the exchange and so on. We went to the bank to take out a bit of money and my mom, all of a sudden, like my mom is pretty street smart, she went to the bank and there was a line up of people, so I go toward the line up and my mom stopped and went over there and said,

Mom: No, we have to go over here.

Xavi: Why do we have to go there?

Mom: Because they are going to give us problems, they are going to give us problems.

Xavi: Why are they going to give us problems?

Mom: Because they are going to.

Xavi: I don't believe it. You have a passport. OK, we'll stand here.

I'm being kind of, I'm being stubborn. I'm thinking that she is crazy, that they are not going to give us problems. Anyway we go there and they start giving us problems. My mom is there with the passport, just to take out like 1000 dollars.

She had a bank book and a passport and I started kind of catching on to the conversation.

Bank Manager: You need this identification card to be able to take money out.

Xavi: Well, it's impossible for my mom to have this card because she's not a resident in Spain but we've had our bank account for 30 years. Here is a passport. It's the most official document you can have.

Bank Manager: It doesn't matter, you need this card.

So I started to raise my voice and getting really pissy and this guy was, OK, he didn't want to deal with me anymore, so he sent me over to the manager. It was the same conversation. I was just getting very angry because of the lack of consideration, you know, that would never happen here [in Canada], if you had a bankbook and you had ID, it would never happen.

The assumption that linguistic abilities would be sufficient to function as a Canadian in Canada and as a Spaniard in Spain was unrealistic. The Spanish Women's Association, in teaching the language, cultures, customs, and traditions of Spain, did so in order to secure the children's future, knowing that the Spanish language was important on a global scale. It was unknown how the Spanish language would help the students. The professional and personal opportunities of some of the graduates of the school are discussed later in this paper.

*Goal 3: To have the linguistic skills to be able to maintain contact with extended family members not living in Canada (grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins).* Many of the Spanish-born immigrants came to Canada leaving behind extended members of their families. For some, there was a sense of guilt that their children would not have the same type of interactions with grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins as they would have had, had the family unit been constructed in Spain. (Family relations, even extended family relations, are important to most Spaniards). This distance would have been extended had the children not learned Spanish because, across the distance, letter writing became an important connector of family members—especially to grandparents. Even if the child did not write much to extended family members,



they listened to the letters from the family members. This letter writing helped to build trans-Atlantic family relations.

Often [my parents] would send a letter to Spain, for relatives, like at Christmas time or whenever it would be and they would say, “Read this to us so you know what we are sending to the family back home.” So it was there way of making me learn to read and at the same time keeping on top of family that I never really got to see. It was actually a pretty good thing they did there.

Naturally, this practice was initiated by the parents. For the most part, the Spanish language skills learned by the students in the Spanish heritage language community were sufficient to establish and maintain an intimate relationship with extended family members.

#### *The Role of the Multiculturalism Policy in the Design of the Heritage Language Program*

The Multiculturalism Policy of 1971 offered limited financial assistance to minority language groups to maintain their ethnic languages and customs. The administrative portion of the policy was executed through the Cultural Enrichment Program, which allocated funds to each provincial Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education delivered the funds to local school boards. Each school board was responsible to provide a facility and hire instructors for a language group if the parents of 25 children requested it; assume full responsibility for the staff, curriculum, and supervision of classes in a school or a facility other than a school; and appoint administrative support personnel. The province of Ontario introduced funding of the Heritage Language Program in June 1977, and the Heritage Languages Programs was officially established in Ontario Region in 1978.

The school board assumed responsibility for the staff, curriculum, and supervision of the heritage language classes through mandatory participation of all heritage language teachers in two to three workshops during the school year. The emphasis of the workshops was curriculum design and planning, and attention was paid to the organization of instruction. The heritage language teachers were expected to create long-term and short-term learning objectives for their

students and were taught how to plan classroom instruction. This training also served the teachers in other areas of their professional and personal development.

***Los profesionales canadienses  
nos enseñaron hacerlo***

*Yo recuerdo muy bien que después de aquellos cursos, que eran muy técnicos y muy matemáticos, pues Clara decía “nosotros lo hacemos a nuestra manera” [laughter] y nuestra manera era a enseñar a los niños pero de acuerdo con unas normas mucho menos técnicas. Pero claro, lo que los libros españoles no nos decían y nos dijeron los canadienses era que te sentaras 24 horas antes [y organizar la enseñanza de las lecciones]. O sea que llegas de 9 a 9 y media, pues los niños llegan y tú les dices que “Hoy vamos hacer esto.” De 9 y media a 10 “se formaran de dos y harán diálogos” por ejemplo, de 10, los niños no deben de estar mas de ese tiempo, de 10 a 10 y 25 saldrán al recreo, durante el recreo se hablaran español durante todo el tiempo y se procurara aumentarles, cuando vuelvan escribirán frases en las cuales tu les vas a decir que el que hace la acción se llama el sujeto de una manera muy sintetizada. Y además nos lo exigían después, nos lo pedían que nos lo enseñaran. No creo que fue un inspector, pero vamos, nosotros debíamos de tener el plan de enseñanza. O sea una cosa que me sirvió muchísimo, porque desde luego te enseñaban organizarte. Entonces todo esa estructuración de una clase de 3 horas de 15 en 15 minutos o de 30 en 30 minutos, eso fueron los profesionales canadienses los que nos enseñaron hacerlo.*

**This is what the Canadian professionals  
taught us how to do.**

I remember very well, after having taken some of the courses, which were very technical and very mathematical, Clara said “we will do it our way” [laughter] and our way was to teach the children with norms that were much less technical in nature. But, of course, the books we received from Spain didn’t tell us what the Canadians did—to sit down 24 hours before the class and organize how the

lessons were going to be taught. In other words, when the students arrive, let's say between 9 and 9:30 in the morning you would say, "Today we are going to do this." From 9:30 until 10:00 "the children will form groups of two and create dialogues" for example, at 10:00, the children shouldn't be studying longer than that amount of time, so from 10:00 until 10:25 the children will go outside for recess and during recess time they will speak in Spanish in order to help improve their [language skills]. When they come in from recess they will write sentences that will explain what a verb is and who is doing the action in a succinct manner. In addition, we were expected to do this. We had to show our teaching plans. I benefited from this a great deal because [the Canadians] showed me how to organize myself. So, learning how to structure a three-hour class in 15 minute or 30 minute increments, this is what the Canadian professionals taught us how to do.

***Las reuniones eran para decirnos como podíamos  
aprender estructurar las clases***

*Empecé a enseñar grado uno y había que preparar la clase para dos horas, dos horas y media, pero eran en realidad dos horas, al principio no teníamos un currículo pero, cuando yo empecé, ya el Board se estaba metiendo entonces nos empezaban a dar a nosotros reuniones. Las reuniones eran para decirnos como podíamos aprender estructurar las clases, como podíamos aprender a enseñar, como podríamos programar la clase, como podríamos dividir el tiempo. Ellos se daban cuenta que las personas que estaban en las clases no eran personas que eran profesionalmente, que habían ido a la escuela a estudiar como ser una maestra. Ellos sabían que las personas que estaban aya, que querían hacerlo, eran personas porque tenían, querían hacerlo porque sabían que eran buenas en el idioma y que podían pasar eso. Pero entonces uno también miraba las personas que uno sabia que sabían. Por ejemplo yo siempre sabia que Rocio y*

*Clara estaban enseñando y yo observaba a Clara como ella era y Clara era muy metódica, muy entregada a su trabajo. Ella tenía una meta que era a donde quería llegar ella al final del curso, que era lo que quería hacer, donde iba con las lecciones, que era lo que estaba enseñando, que era lo que estaba enseñando para preparar algo, que era eso. Yo lo hacía observando a Clara y también cuando yo pedía consejos, como puedo hacer la clase, o que voy a enseñar o eso, entonces ellas me decían a mi, OK, puedes pasarte en un libro que se especialice en la edad de los niños, entonces vas a ver que es lo que vas a enseñar pero al mismo tiempo tienes que hacerlo divertido para que no se te vayan a aburrir, y lo haces un poco divertido y en eso entonces puedes integrar también no tiene que ser todo, puede ser 15 minutos de gramática, que tu sabes que es gramática pero que no les vas a decir a ellos que es gramática, ah 15 minutos de un canto, 15 minutos un juego, y en todo eso vas integrando la lengua, el tiempo va pasando y ellos [no se enteran que se van aprendiendo]. Yo creo que observé bastante a Clara y con lo que he aprendido con los cursos y lo de las clases que daban, porque todo ha sido como, todo esto ha sido como un desarrollo, un desarrollo que ha ido evolucionando y en todos estos años se ha aprendido mas y mas y nuevas ideas entran.*

### **The meetings were to teach us how we could learn to structure our classes**

I started to teach first grade and I had to prepare a class for two hours, two and a half hours, but in reality, the class was for two hours. At first, we didn't have a curriculum, but, when I started, the school board was already a part of the school and they began to give us workshops. The workshops were to tell us how we could learn to structure our classes, how we could learn to teach, how we could organize our classes, how we could organize our time. They were aware that the persons that were teaching in these classes were not persons who were

professionals, who had gone to school to learn to become a teacher. They knew that the people that were at the school, that they wanted to be there, that they were people who had to, who wanted to be there because they knew that they were good at the language and were able to teach it. At that time, one also looked to the people who knew what they were doing. For example, I always knew that Rocio and Clara had taught before and I observed Clara, she was very methodological, very into her work. She had a goal of where she wanted to be at the end of the year and what she wanted to do, where she wanted to go with the lesson, what it was that she was teaching, what it was that she was teaching in order to prepare materials. I did it by observing Clara and when I asked for advice, like how I could prepare a class or what I was going to teach or whatever. And so they told me, OK, you can look at a book that specializes in children of the same age you are teaching, so you will see what you will teach them but at the same time you have to make it fun for them or else they are going to get bored, and so, you make it a little fun. Not everything has to be [difficult], you can have 15 minutes of grammar, you know, grammar but you are not going to tell the students that it is grammar, that you know it is grammar but that you are not going to tell them it is grammar, ah, 15 minutes of a song, 15 minutes playing a game, and language is integrated in everything, time passes and the students aren't even aware that they were learning. I observed Clara a lot and from what I learned from the workshops, because all of this was like a development for me, a learning that evolved throughout all these years such that I learned more and more new ideas.

***Preocupaba del nivel de educación en las clases,  
tratando de ayudar a los instructores,  
¿comprendes?, cosa que era muy buena.***

*El school board a nivel de desarrollo para los instructores también hizo siempre un buen papel. El school board organizaba work shops para enseñarnos. Ellos*

*reconocían que no todas las personas que estaban de instructores eran profesionales. Es decir, a mí nadie me había enseñado a enseñar, ¿comprendes? Entonces el school board nos obligaba, o sea eran requisitos que teníamos que asistir a estos workshops y siempre se aprendía algo. El school board nos mandaba que nos teníamos que hacer el curriculum que es que vamos hacer en el año y teníamos que hacer evaluación de los niños. El school board ellos hacían la evaluación nuestras. Es decir el curriculum lo presentabas, eso casi siempre, antes de empezar las clases en Septiembre. Teníamos a lo mejor un weekend que teníamos que ir allí al school board. Allí había gente que hacía demostraciones o cada uno tenía que presentar una clase y demostrarla delante del resto de los profesores de otras lenguas. Entonces todo eso sirvió para un aprendizaje para nosotros que no estábamos preparados para hacer esto. Yo como te digo, yo ni idea, a parte que era relativamente muy joven, en esa época lo único que tenía era la voluntad de hacerlo y bueno pues que tenía un conocimiento, pues mi español era hasta cierto punto bueno. A ver si me entiendes. Podía escribirlo bien sin faltas de ortografía. Tenía buenos conocimientos de gramática, ¿entiendes?, suficientes para poder dar a los crios lo que necesitaban.*

*En estos cursos precisamente te enseñaba. Tenías que preparar por ejemplo una clase, entonces te enseñaron cuales son los componentes de la clase, cual es el objetivo en primer lugar, que es lo que quieres que aprendan los crios y después como lo vas a enseñar, entonces, cual es el objetivo, el objetivo es que aprendan esta, esta, y esta regla de gramática en esta clase, entonces, OK, que ejercicio de introducción le vamos a dar, y después como vamos a reemphasize con otros ejercicios y como vamos después close, summarize, para chequear si han entendido, habido comprensión o no habido comprensión. Entonces, pues eso, eso es un ejemplo.*

*Otro ejemplo puede ser de actividades. Que actividades o juegos les puedes hacer que son, digamos, didácticos, otro fue como, analizar, digamos, a los crios, que no todo los niños son iguales. Entonces cuando estas en una clase no puedes tratar todos los crios de la misma forma. Entonces estar un poquito más alerta a las diferentes formas que los crios pueden aprender. Pues hay crios que son más callados y le gusta aprender simplemente leyendo, otros tienen que hacer, otros tienen que moverse, esas cosas me vienen a la mente.*

*Casi siempre traían alguna persona especializada. Recuerdo una señora que se llamaba Karen Young [pseudonym] y era bellísima persona y muy inteligente y de hecho ha escrito muchísimos libros relacionado con la educación y como enseñar. Osea su fuerte era como enseñar a las personas como enseñar. Entonces casi siempre había algún speaker, alguna persona de autoridad o la misma gente fueran del board de Ontario Region o fueran de fuera. Esta señora quien venía bastantes veces ella era de [otra ciudad]. No sé si, estaba en la universidad en algún sitio de Toronto. Entonces había un señor que ha desarrollado material para enseñar segundas lenguas, especialmente el francés y el italiano. Ese señor tenía una cantidad de materiales interesantísimos. Entonces, nosotros nos fuimos equipando comprando cosas de estas y eso. Lo hacíamos bastante, bastantes veces, bastante a menudo, osea había por lo menos asistir a como dos o tres workshops al año. Después había unos grandes en Toronto. Allí en Toronto pues era ya un poco más comercial. En Toronto había ya gente que querían venderte sus materiales, ¿comprendes? Esto era otra de las contribuciones que el school board, digamos, aportaba al sistema, que no solamente nos daba las clases gratis, nos pagaba algunos de los maestros, sino que también se preocupaba del nivel de educación en las clases, tratando de ayudar a los instructores, ¿comprendes?, cosa que era muy buena.*

**They [the school board] cared about the level of education of the teachers in the classes, trying to help the instructors; do you know what I mean? It was a very good thing.**

The school board, at the level of developing its instructors, also played a good role. The school board organized workshops to teach us. They recognized that not all of the people that were instructors were professionals. In other words, nobody ever taught me how to teach, do you know what I mean? So, the school board made us, those were the prerequisites, we had to attend these workshops and I always learned something. The school made us make a curriculum, that is what we were going to do throughout the year and we had to plan to evaluate the students. The school board evaluated us, the teachers. That is to say that the curriculum we presented, which was almost always before beginning classes in September. We had, perhaps, to go to the school board to attend a weekend workshop. There were people who did demonstrations [of strategies] or each person had to present a class in front of the other heritage language teachers. So, all of this served as a learning experience for those of us who were not prepared to do this. And like I said, I didn't have a clue, a part from the fact that I was relatively young and the only things I had were the desire to do the job and a relatively good knowledge of the Spanish language. Do you understand? I could write without spelling mistakes. I had a knowledge of grammar, right?, enough to be able to give the young children what they needed.

In these workshops, they taught you, for example, you had to prepare a class, and they showed you the different components of the class, the primary objective, the learning objectives you had for the students and how you were going to go about to teach all of that. So, what was the objective? The objective was to teach the students such and such a grammar rule in class. So, OK, the introductory exercise that we would give the students would be this, and then what was it that we were going to do to reemphasize the lesson with other



exercises and then how were we going to close, summarize, to make sure that the students understood the lesson, to check if there was comprehension or not. So, that is one example. Another example could be the types of activities. What kind of activities can you do with the children, for example, didactics, or another would be analysis, for example, not all children are the same. So, when you were in class, you couldn't treat all the children in the same way. So, we were a little more aware of the different ways children could learn. Like there are children who are quieter and like to learn simply by reading, and others that have to be active and move around. Those are the things that come to mind.

They almost always brought in an expert in the field. I remember one woman by the name of Karen Young [pseudonym]. She was a beautiful person, very intelligent. She had written many books related to education and how to teach. Her forte was showing people how to teach. So, there was always a knowledgeable speaker or even people speaking from the school board, or whatever. There was this one woman who came from Toronto quite a bit. I don't know if she worked at the university or some other area in Toronto. We went to these workshops on several occasions. I would say about two or three times per year. Then there were some larger conferences in Toronto. But in Toronto the workshops were more commercial. There were publishers trying to sell us their resources, do you know what I mean? Then there was this guy who had developed material to teach second languages, especially in French and Italian. This man had a huge amount of interesting materials. So, we bought a lot of resources for ourselves and the school. This is how the school board contributed to the system. Not only did they give us the classrooms for free, but they paid for some of the teachers and they cared about the level of education of the teachers in the classes, trying to help the instructors; do you know what I mean? It was a very good thing.

Lee and Cardinal (1998) posited that the 1971 Multiculturalism Policy served as a language planning tool that relegated racialized and ethnicized women who worked in heritage language programs to the margins. They believed that the Multiculturalism Policy promoted female-gendered roles because many of the ethnic women continued their roles as mother, teacher, caretaker, and the like. Lee and Cardinal also posited that the Multiculturalism Policy did not allow ethnic groups the freedom to practice their traditional methods of education because heritage language teachers were rewarded by the system only if they met the teaching standards set up by each province. I found the opposite to be true. The teachers of the Spanish heritage language school, while initially resistant to the professional development courses offered by the school board in the beginning, found that they were useful and helped to develop their teaching pedagogy and professionalism. In addition, these professional development courses encouraged the heritage language teachers to organize monthly planning meetings to ensure that there was consistency in instructional materials across grade levels.

*Pero llegamos a la conclusión que se podía adaptar perfectamente. Sobre todo, los libros que venían de España ya eran parecidísimos a las técnicas que nos enseñaban, o sea que, que si nos decían, nos sirvió muchísimos porque los libros para enseñar estaban perfectos, los españoles, o sea un cuento, entonces el niño analiza el cuento, entonces el niño te dice quien es el principal personaje, entonces el niño te dice en este momento esta la acción en el punto más aullido, entonces hay que desarrollar todo esto en una manera muy simple. Aunque fue a veces un poquillo aburrido porque te dijeron que lo hicieras de determinada manera, en papel cuadriculado con no sé que, con letras mas bien negrillas para las ideas mas importantes, que subrayaras no sé que, pero en el fondo era interesantísimo, a mi me ha servido luego muchísimo. Nosotros debíamos de tener el plan de enseñanza, o sea una cosa que me sirvió muchísimo, porque desde luego te enseñaban organizarte. Yo creo que es esto más que nada, nos enseñaban básicamente la estructuración, a lo mejor nos hacían ver la*

*importancia de ciertas cosas que a lo mejor nosotros no nos habían pasado por, no sabíamos dar importancia y veíamos la importancia, y todo eso. Nos ha servido también como un poco de psicología porque ellos te decían estos niños tienen, por ser niños de inmigrantes pues tienen a lo mejor algún problema que tenéis que pensar, por ejemplo hablamos mucho de los hijos de los matrimonios mixtos, en los cuales llegamos a la conclusión que los hijos en que la madre era hispano parlante pues el niño tenía naturalmente mas tendencia hablar español, que cuando era el padre hispano parlante pues por estar en casa menos tiempo y tener menos tiempo a dedicar a estos niños, pues claro, el idioma claro era en un nivel mas bajo, de los que eran los padres, los que eran hispano parlantes.*

We came to the conclusion that we could adapt our teaching perfectly. Above all, the books that came from Spain were already similar in design and molded well to the technique the Canadians taught us. That is to say that courses offered by the school board served us well because the books from Spain were perfect, let me explain, a child analyzed a story then the child tells you who the main character was, and then the child tells you about the climax of the story. The development of all of this was very simple. Although at times it was a little boring because they told you how to do in a prescribed manner, like on grid paper with I don't know, with important things written in bold and then you had to underline I don't know what, but the foundation of it all was very interesting, and these techniques have helped me throughout my life. We had to have a teaching plan, something which I used a lot, because they showed us how to organize our teaching. I think, more than anything, they taught us about the basic organization, and perhaps they made us give more importance to different things than we normally would have. The courses also help us with psychology because they told us that these children, children of immigrant perhaps had some sort of a problem, for example, we talked about children from mixed marriages and we concluded that if the mother was

Spanish speaking well the child had a natural tendency to speak more Spanish, but when the father was Spanish speaking, of course, the level of the child's Spanish was lower than those children whose both parents were Spanish-speakers.

*Reading and Writing at the Spanish Heritage  
Language School: Graduates' Perspective*

The Spanish school was the focal point and support system that helped Spanish-born Canadian residents to provide their Canadian-born children with a way to learn the formal structure of the Spanish language, in conjunction with creating a community within which to share its rich cultures, customs, and traditions. The curriculum focused on language development, reading, writing, listening, speaking, and cultural development through literature.

In order to understand the way in which the teachers taught reading and writing at the Spanish heritage language school, I relied partly on the stories told by the graduates. Despite probing the graduates for memories of learning to read and write their heritage language, I elicited only vague memories. Below is an excerpt from one interview, illustrating how I attempted to elicit memories about reading and writing, with little success. One graduate, José, was unable to recall specific elements about reading and writing other than remembering that reading and writing were a focus in the school's curriculum.

Kristiina: What do you remember about Ana's class? Can you think about the learning in Ana's class?

José: hmmm, the learning in Ana's class?

Kristiina: Yeah, like Spanish language, reading and writing, culture, or whatever you can remember.

José: I don't recall [the classes] having a lot of structure. They weren't like going to traditional school, where we had set courses. I never found there to be a whole lot of set curriculum and, if there was, I don't recall, like I don't think there was a whole lot of curriculum necessarily, in the later years in particular. In the earlier years, we were definitely learning to read and write and there was something definitely happening there.

There was progress, whereas later on, I don't recall there being a set agenda, or at least my interpretation was that. If it was different, either I wasn't getting it or I just never interpreted it that way. I always thought that Ana's classes were fun to go to, and I don't know, I'm not sure, I don't recall.

Kristiina: I wonder what made the classes fun for you?

José: I think later on I would have fun with the people I would go with, and then Ana would make it fun with us.

Kristiina: Do you remember any of the things she did?

José: Not particularly.

Kristiina: You briefly mentioned something about learning how to read in the earlier years. Can you tell me about that a little more? What do you remember about learning how to read in Spanish, whether it was at home or at the Spanish School?

José: What are my recollections of learning how to read and write? I remember most definitely learning in both environments. I would go to school and learn how to read and write with Clara, and I would go home and my parents would put something in front of me and say, "Read it," and so I would read it. If I missed a word, they would correct me. So there was some definite teaching, let's say, from both environments. I would say more writing at school, less writing at home. For me, it was more reading at home than anything else. Do you know what [my parents] would do? They would send a letter to Spain, for relatives, like at Christmas time, and they would say, "Read this to us so you know what we are sending to the family back home." It was their way of making me learn to read and at the same time keeping on top of family that I never really got to see. I would write a passage [to them] on a separate piece of paper, then [my parents] would make corrections, and then I would write it in good [and send it in the letter my parents had written].

Other graduates were able to recall specific reading and writing activities, but again with some sense of vagueness. The following are stories as recounted by four graduates recalling classroom activities.

**“J” is pronounced like an “h” and “h” is not pronounced**

I remember learning the [spelling] lessons. I thought they were really good, like “j” is pronounced like an “h” and “h” is not pronounced. Those were good and then applying [those lessons] that to whatever little bit we read. I remember Ana would talk about things we were interested in like *la playa* [the beach]. She would say “Oh, *playa* is with a /y/,” and then you would go, “Oh yeah, it is with a /y/.”

**Now as an adult I understand what it is,  
what they are trying to say**

I definitely remember the dictations, the *dictado*, all of the time. She was very much into verbs, talking about *tilde* [accent] and I remember where to put the accent, like when you talk about the *penúltima sílaba* [penultimate syllable] and *antepenúltima* [antepenultimate], and all of that stuff. I think at the time I just regurgitated it but didn’t understand it, but now as an adult I understand what it is, what they are trying to say. I don’t remember Clara’s classes very well. I remember it was fun, more than anything. We would do those books with those little pictures. It was like putting together phonetics, learning how to read like, *Pepe fuma una pipa* [Pepe smokes a pipe]. Do you remember those? Then we had the different kind of phonetic books. She was with the younger kids. I remember just having handouts and stuff like that with her. Ana was much more laid back. It was more like you had to play games or you had to do some grammar, but we had discussion. It was much more of a laid-back class.

**I remember playing games, reading aloud, comprehension questions, dictations, and learning vocabulary**

I remember playing games, a lot [of games] in Dolores's class. We played one game that was like *Agacharte, y vuélvete agachar* [Squat down and squat down again] and then you always had to squat down, *agacharte*. I can't remember what the rest of the words are, but I remember that part. Yeah, it was a lot of games in her classroom. Do you know Laura? I had her for, I don't know if it was for a supply teacher or if she taught some of the classes, but she would always draw everything on the blackboard like the scissors, the tea cup, and then she would write the words underneath. That's how we would learn [vocabulary], like it was all drawing, so it was like *tijeras* [scissors], *plato* [plate], so the whole lesson was drawing pictures and writing the words and then repeating them. That's what I remember about her lessons. Julia's lessons were very interactive and Rocio's lessons were very "read out loud" things from the books. I can't remember exactly what, but just the lessons and everyone was allowed a certain turn. That always made me nervous, reading aloud. Even in English, I don't like reading aloud. I think just because I prefer reading silently. I guess it's nervewracking for anyone to read out loud. I remember always trying to read ahead of everyone just to get one practice run and then read aloud. It was predictable, like one sentence and then the next one. She was very patient. For example, if someone was stalled, she didn't help them for a while. I just remember like just feeling nervous for other people as well, just, [laughter] right? Oh, and then we would do the reading comprehension questions. Then we would do *dictados* [dictations] and have dictations with writing the words as well, so not only was she allowing us to read, that was predominantly, I remember that a lot, but also she would dictate words to us and have sort of spelling tests to make sure that we got those words from the vocabulary. I remember Clara was creative. I remember her being creative with

her classrooms, like bringing in things or allowing us to go outside if it was fall and pick leaves and come back and talk about fall words or Christmas.

**Rocio was a very big influence,  
in terms of the Spanish language**

The other book that I remember distinctly reading in Spanish was “*Platero y Yo*” [Platero and I, by Juan Ramón Jiménez]. I got that from, I got two books from Rocio. Actually, Rocio was a very big influence in terms of the Spanish language stuff for me. She was my favorite teacher at the Spanish school because she was very intelligent and she was very nice. She wasn’t condescending to the kids at all. She treated you like an individual. I remember being, how old were we, like 10, 11 or 12 years old and feeling respect from her, like that us as individuals, as a class, and it wasn’t just me, it was as a class. She treated everyone like that. I remember I really liked her classes because you felt that you were being, you were a vital part of the class, you know, she listened to you and respected you. She gave me two books. She gave me “*Platero y Yo*” [Platero and I] and she gave me *Le Petit Prince*, how do you say it in Spanish? *El Principito* [The Little Prince by Antoine de St. Exupéry]. Those were the first books that I read, like “book-books” in Spanish, and I read them straight. I remember asking my mom for a few definitions, like some of the bigger words and those were the first “book-books” that I remember. What else have I read in Spanish? I’m sure I’ve read more, because after Rocio’s class we went to Ana’s class and I’m pretty sure we read stuff in there, but I just can’t remember it right now. I think Ana had us reading stuff, because she taught us a lot of grammar. Another thing in Rocio’s class, she made us read in class, a lot, she taught us grammar. I mean, Ana taught us more advanced grammar, but I remember reading a paragraph and then Maribel would read a paragraph and then Isabel Maria would read a paragraph; everybody had to read a little bit. I think that was really helpful. Later on, I took Spanish in high



school and I took it in university, and in university I read a lot of Latin American fiction.

As can be gleaned from the graduates' stories, the primary curricular focus in the school was language learning and practice. Using the terms of the notion of design, the heritage language teachers focused on providing students with opportunities for situated practice and overt learning. When the school was functioning at full capacity, there were five classes for approximately 85 students. The class for the youngest children primarily involved the development of oral language through games. The teacher who taught the equivalent of first and second grades focused on teaching the students to read and write. The teacher who taught the equivalent of third, fourth, and fifth grades focused on literature, grammar, vocabulary, orthography, and presentation. The teacher who taught the equivalent of sixth, seventh, and eighth grades focused on reading comprehension and oral expression. The fifth teacher, who was not a part of this study, taught Spanish to students who did not use Spanish as the home language—primarily those from mixed-marriage families. I did not include her in this study for two reasons: first, because the Spanish for English speakers classes did not become part of the school course load until 1982, and second, because I wanted to focus on heritage language education for students who used Spanish as the primary home language.

The heritage language teachers tried to use Spanish exclusively in all of the classes except in the Spanish as a second language class, where the teacher used both English and Spanish during class time. In the heritage language classes the teachers encouraged the students to use Spanish only; however, this did not always happen. When the teachers supervised the students, the Spanish language was used; but when the students were not supervised, they communicated with each other using English during recess time, for example. The teachers' educational experiences and methods regularly practiced in Spain influenced the teaching methods used in their heritage language classrooms. Students were taught to memorize grammar rules, verb conjugations, and orthography rules. Dictation was given to allow students to practice spelling. Students had to summarize stories, read aloud in class, and answer comprehension

questions, oral as well as written. (Examples of student work obtained from the archival data are found in appendix G.)

*Reading and Writing at the Spanish Heritage  
Language School: Teachers' Perceptions*

The board of directors and teachers had full control over the curriculum. However, the Spanish government gently influenced the curricular content of the school because its initial support to the school was through materials provided by the *Instituto Español de Emigración* [Institute of Spanish Emigration], a section of the government of Spain. At the start of the Spanish school, the *Instituto de Emigración Española* provided class sets of 20 books for each grade level from first through eighth grade, comprising the *Educación General Básica* [General Basic Education] in Spain. These were the same textbooks used by children attending regular schools in Spain. The Spanish heritage language teachers used the textbooks for first through fifth grade extensively; however, the higher-level books were grammatically too complex for the students who were receiving only a complementary Spanish language education. In the following excerpt, Ana talked about teaching the older students with the textbooks from Spain and about her curricular emphasis in the classroom.

*Yo estuve con el grupo de mayores. Yo tenía el cinco y el seis. Entonces en esa época, los niños que estaban en mi clase casi todos sabían leer y escribir por supuesto entonces tratábamos ya un poco más a la gramática, leíamos pequeñas historias de literatura o biografías de literatos españoles. Si mal no recuerdo, el libro estaba organizado con un pequeño texto de algún libro famoso, de algún literato español y venía una pequeña biografía. En la clase se leía un poco de la biografía y del escrito que venía y después había preguntas acerca de eso, pues pruebas para la comprensión. Estábamos más para ver si se comprendía lo que se leía, aumentar el vocabulario, porque ya el vocabulario era un poco más avanzado. El problema que siempre tenía con esos libros de España es que era de un vocabulario demasiado avanzado. Era un vocabulario de estar todo el día*

*sumergido en la cultura española. Tu sabes la literatura española, la lengua española tiene un montón de palabras que uno normalmente no va usar corrientemente, entonces eso fue siempre un poco más problemático porque yo ni quería hacer el esfuerzo porque los críos comprendiesen eso porque yo decía, “What’s the purpose? Es demasiado profundo.” De todas formas era aumentar el vocabulario, la comprensión de las lecturas, aumentar el vocabulario y también avanzar en la gramática. Si mal no recuerdo, pues ya era completamente las frases compuestas. Hacíamos mucho énfasis en los verbos, las conjugaciones irregulares, etcétera, etcétera. Tratábamos de hacerlo lo más divertido posible para que hubiera participación a través de juegos. Yo recuerdo en los últimos años que casi siempre trataba de llevar algo, por ejemplo al final conseguí unos libros que era como una historieta, hice copias y después cortaba la historieta y después lo tenía que ordenar en el orden de la historieta. Uno trataba de buscar cosas que mantuviese a los críos estimulados en el sentido de que no teníamos mucho material. ¿Acuérdate de las copias que hacíamos con esas fotocopias? ¿Te acuerdas? No teníamos grandes [materiales] pero gracias que teníamos esa fotocopidora. Luego ya, en los últimos años nos dejaba utilizar la fotocopidora de la escuela. Yo recuerdo haciendo las copias en mi trabajo los Viernes porque me venía más fácil porque a veces te salían y a veces te quedaban allí pegadas todas [las paginas] en esa fotocopidora del rollo.*

I taught the older students. I used the textbooks from grades five and six. So, at that time, the children who were in my class, almost all of them knew how to read and write, so naturally, we looked at grammar, we looked at little pieces of historical literature or biographies of famous Spanish writers. If I remember correctly, the book was organized with a short text from some famous book, some famous Spanish author and there was a small biography of the writer. In class we read some of the biography and then answered some questions about the text. All

of this was to assess reading comprehension. We were more interested to know if the students understood what they were reading, to augment their vocabulary, because the vocabulary in these texts was already a little more advanced. The problem with these books from Spain was that the vocabulary was too advanced. It was a vocabulary for students who were immersed in the Spanish culture on a daily basis. You know, Spanish literature, the Spanish language has a ton of words that one would rarely use in everyday life, so that was always a bit problematic, because I didn't want to go to the trouble to get the children to learn this vocabulary because I said, "What's the purpose?" It's too deep. Anyway, the purpose was to increase the student's vocabulary, reading comprehension, increase their vocabulary and advance their grammatical knowledge. If I remember correctly, we were doing complex sentences. We emphasized verbs a lot, the conjugation of irregular verbs, etc., etc. We tried to make the learning as fun as possible so that there would be participation through games. I remember in the last years teaching at the school, I always tried to take something, for example, I got a hold of some history type of book, I made copies and cut the story in pieces, and then the students had to organize the story in the right order. We tried to find things that captured the interest of the students and stimulated them. We didn't have many resources, so we had to make do with what we had. Do you remember the copies we made with that photocopier? Do you remember? We didn't have a lot of materials, but thank goodness we had that ditto machine. In later years, we were allowed to use the school's photocopier, but I still remember making photocopies at work, because it was easier for me because sometimes the pages would stick together with the school's ditto machine.

The teachers used the textbooks provided by the Spanish government and emphasized Spanish authors when working with literature in the classes. By providing the Spanish heritage language school with the same textbooks as those used by children in Spain, the Spanish

government promoted the use of the curriculum as mandated by the *Educación General Básica* (EGB) [Basic General Education]. The following interview excerpt demonstrates how one teacher viewed language, particularly printed language, as a vehicle toward cultural learning. Other teachers who were interviewed shared this view.

*La lengua es el vehículo que se iba llevar a conocer otras cosas y de inculcaros con costumbres nuestras. Me apoyé muchísima en los libros que eran muy inteligentemente hechos. En realidad eran los libros que estaban estudiando los niños españoles en la escuela de primaria y naturalmente en estos libros pues hablaba, por ejemplo de una costumbre española “la venida de los reyes magos.” Naturalmente eso se inculcaba a vosotros.*

Language is the vehicle through which you were going to learn about our customs. I leaned on the content of the textbooks from Spain; they were very intelligently done. In reality, they were the same books being used by primary school students in Spain, and naturally those books emphasized the Spanish culture like the arrival of the Three Wise Men. Naturally, this was passed on to you.

#### *Language Learning Through Social Activities*

Classroom learning was integrated with social activities. One of the goals was to teach the children about customs and traditions specific to Spain. Christmas is an important time of year for Judeo-Christians. In Canada, Christmas is marked by the arrival of Santa Claus, a character well known to children. However, in Spain, one of the culminating Christmas activities is the arrival of the Three Wise Men. The children experienced this tradition through language and theater. The Three Wise Men became a part of the traditions of the Canadian-born children.

*Todo era un conjunto de esa cultura, de esa formación de mantener [la cultura]. Hacíamos mucho énfasis en las cosas españolas. Las fiestas, pues siempre en las navidades se ponían énfasis en lo que uno no conocía, lo que era, las navidades más españolas.*

Everything was part of the culture, of trying to maintain the culture. We placed a lot of emphasis on all things Spanish. The parties, well we always had Christmas parties that emphasized things that the children didn't know about. We emphasized the Spanish Christmas.

At Spanish school children learned specific words about Christmas in Spain. For example, in the writing sample in Figure 6, children wrote specific words related to Christmas celebrations in Spain, including the names of two of the three wise men, typical food for Christmas time (turrón, nubes), and activities done during the festivities (villancicos, zambomba, belén, persiana). It was through language that the children learned about the customs and traditions of Spain.

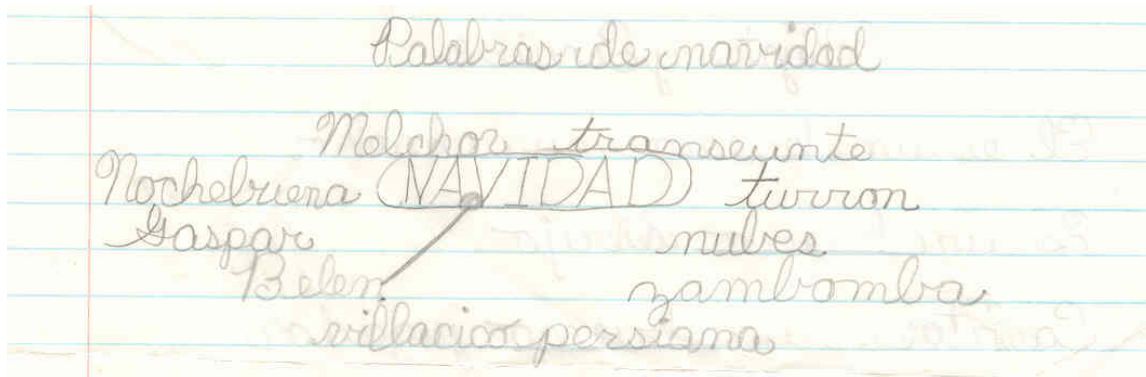


Figure 6. Sample of student's writing about Christmas.

Class time was also used to prepare for the Christmas parties organized by the women's association. Children prepared plays and skits, poems to be read aloud, and songs to sing, for example. All of these activities culminated in the arrival of the Three Kings, as do the festivities in Spain. Both the adults and the students fondly remembered the parties.

*Recuerdo las fiestas que dábamos que todas las madres disfrazaban a sus maridos de reyes magos. Y como Clara y yo nos rompíamos las cabeza para comprar 70 regalos para 70 niños de diferentes edades, y pues esto era una cosa que los niños de distintas culturas no sabían nada y vosotros sabían que venían*

*tres reyes magos la noche del cinco al seis y que venia con unas coronas. Os lo creéis a pies juntillas que venían aquellos reyes.*

I remember the parties that we gave for the children. All of the mothers dressed up their husbands as the Three Wise Men. And Clara and I cracked our brains to buy 70 presents for 70 children of varying ages. This was a part of the Spanish culture that most children in Canada didn't know about, but you knew that on the eve of January 5, the Three Wise Men arrived, with crowns on their heads. You totally believed that the Three Wise Men came.



Figure 7. Arrival of the Three Kings, Christmas party.

### *Efforts to Promote Heritage Language Study in the Community*

Contact time was one of the limitations of the nonintegrated, community-based heritage language program. The students met only once a week for a total time of 2.5 hours, including a break. This was a significant limitation, particularly if the students did not use the Spanish language outside of the heritage language program. One teacher described her frustrations:

*Yo creo que más que nada era que no practicabais en casa. Eran dos horas y media a la semana, entonces claro, si no has practicado en casa llegas a la semana siguiente y lo que hiciste la semana anterior no has tenido oportunidad*

*de manejarlo. Eso para mi fue un problema, la falta [de tiempo], que eran solamente dos horas y media.*

I believed, more than anything else, that you didn't practice in the home. There were two and a half hours of class per week, so naturally, if you didn't practice at home, you would arrive the following week and what was learned the week before, you didn't have the opportunity to use it. That was a problem for me, the lack of time, it was only two and half hours per week.

The idea to increase the contact time with the students from 2.5 hours to 4 hours per week was brought to the board of directors. The additional time was to be found on Tuesday evenings, 19:30–21:00. The Spanish Women's Association once again turned to the Spanish government for funding because the Canadian government would not fund these additional hours of instruction. The Spanish Women's Association had to recruit students to attend the classes organized for Tuesday evenings. They enlisted the participation of 33 students, of whom 24 were the children of Spanish-born residents of Canada. The remaining 9 students had roots tying them to immigration from Central and South America. It was important to list the number of children of Spanish heritage because the Spanish government would provide funding only if the student population was mainly of Spanish origin. This was one of the reasons that funding stopped from the Spanish government in 1988 because, by that time, children of Latin American immigration had replaced all of the children of Spanish heritage.

The Spanish Women's Association received approval to conduct the supplementary classes by agreeing to pay for the rental of the teaching space and the salaries of two teachers. However, the Spanish government reminded the Spanish Women's Association of the following: *“Es importante que el material escolar se adecue al método español.”* [It is important that the materials used in the school are suitable to Spanish methods.] The classes were held for approximately 3 months but were then cancelled due to insufficient student attendance.

The next idea to extend Spanish language training to the secondary school level was to continue the teaching within the community by again calling upon the generosity of the Spanish



government to fund secondary school training for the children of Spanish immigrants. However, this process imposed rules from the Spanish government with which members of the Spanish Women's Association could not comply.

*Se habló de pedir que pudiéramos seguir con el bachillerato como se había hecho en [otra ciudad] pero necesitábamos muchos mas profesores y además licenciados, que no teníamos. [Solo había una entre nosotras profesoras] que era licenciado por la universidad de todos los que trabajaban con nosotros. Y los demás, pues no. [El BA de la universidad] me servía para [enseñar en la escuela complementaria de español] pero no me servía para empezar hacer la categoría de high school porque de acuerdo con las leyes españolas el bachillerato no lo puede enseñar una maestra sino lo tiene que enseñar una licenciada. Yo hubiera tenido que volver a cambiar todos mis estudios de [la universidad] para España. Lo hubiera podido hecho pero bueno, se complicó tanto porque nos exigían tres o cuatro profesores licenciados y no había manera de encontrarlos.*

*Naturalmente, tenía que pagar unos sueldos muchos mayores porque teníamos que duplicar o triplicar las clases porque con tres horas de clases un día a la semana para el bachillerato no nos cubría. Teníamos que enseñar muchas más asignaturas porque tener en cuenta que la escuela complementaria, en realidad, complementaba los estudios de la escuela canadiense, de modo que cuando los niños estudiaban séptimo, pues sus matemáticas, sus ciencias, los que fuere, en el colegio canadiense lo complementábamos con el estudio de la lengua española, de modo que al venir un niño del grado siete del Canadá pudiera poder pasar al grado octavo con lo que sabía de la lengua. Para las otras materias, que naturalmente en matemáticas y ciencias, pues son los mismos en cualquier país y ese fue un gran paso que se dio pero ya para hacer el bachillerato tienes que pasar por lo menos tres días a la semana estudiando. Ya tienes que enseñarles literatura española, tienes que enseñarles historia española, tienes que, muchas*

*mas asignaturas. Fue una idea que se me ocurrió a mí. La abandonamos en vista de las dificultades. Entonces el gobierno español nos dijo que no podíamos enseñar más que hasta enseñanza general básica y eso comprendía ocho años.*

We talked about continuing to teach the *bachillerato* [high school diploma in Spain] like they did in another city, but we needed more teachers and licensed teachers, which we didn't have. Only one of the teachers was a licensed teacher. And the rest of us were not licensed. My BA from university was useful to me to be able to teach at the Spanish heritage language school, but it wasn't useful to be able to teach at the high school level because according to the laws in Spain, a licensed teacher can only teach the *bachillerato*. I would have had to change all of my Canadian university studies to Spain. I would have been able to do it, but it was complicated. The Spanish government demanded that we have four licensed teachers and we didn't have them.

Naturally, they would have had to pay a higher salary because we would have had to double or triple the contact time with the students because the three hours we had would not have been enough for the *bachillerato*. We would have had to teach many more subjects because keep in mind that the Spanish heritage language school was complementary to the Canadian studies, such that when the students were in grade seven, well they studied maths and sciences or whatever in the Canadian school and we complemented their studies with the Spanish language. This is to say that a grade seven student in Canada could pass to grade eight in Spain because he/she knew the language. For the other subjects, that naturally for mathematics and science, well, they are the same in any country. [The heritage language school] was one of our major contributions, but to do the high school diploma we would have had to be in class more hours throughout the week. We would have had to teach Spanish literature, the history of Spain, well, at any rate, many more subjects. This was an idea I had. We abandoned the idea

because of all of the difficulties. The Spanish government said that we couldn't teach beyond the Basic General Education of Spain, and that comprised eight years.

Heritage language programs have been criticized for placing minority language education at the margins of education with respect to funding, resources, and status of the language learners and those who teach in the programs (Feuerverger, 1997; Lee & Cardinal, 1998). Both the Spanish government and the Canadian government financially supported such programs only for the elementary school years. This meant that, even though a heritage language learner developed the heritage language to a satisfactory level with help of the heritage language classes, once the learner graduated and moved on into high school, heritage language learning stopped or at least significantly slowed down. The only way a heritage language learner could continue was if the heritage language was taught as a foreign language (such as German, Spanish, or French) in the secondary school system. However, such courses were and continue to be developmentally limiting to heritage language learners because the needs of a heritage language learner are different from those of a foreign language learner. A heritage language learner typically has more developed oral/aural skills than writing/reading skills (Valdés, 1997, 2001). But, at the time, it was viewed that some language development was better than none.

In order to continue to provide Spanish language education for this population of students, the Spanish Women's Association approached the Catholic school board, where the majority of the heritage language school graduates were to attend high school. When the first cohort of graduates went to high school, Spanish languages courses were not being offered. Only the public school system offered courses in Spanish as a foreign language. Before the beginning of the 1984/1985 school year, members of the group convinced the Catholic school board that a group of students needed to continue with their Spanish language education that had begun in 1977. The first Spanish language class taught at the Catholic high school was in the 1984/1985 school year. A Canadian-born teacher who had worked in Bolivia taught the course. The main problem with this class was that the teacher, although well intentioned, was not prepared to teach

Spanish to heritage language learners. The text book that the teacher selected was intended for teaching Spanish as a foreign language and emphasized Latin American vocabulary and content matter. The emphasis of the course was that of a foreign language learning class (the attainment of vocabulary, conversation skills, and grammar) as the teacher followed the lessons outlined in the textbook. She did not have experience in teaching Spanish to heritage language learners. Students often complained, “I can speak the language better than the teacher can. She is teaching us too much Latin American vocabulary. That’s not how my parents use the language at home.” The teacher, with the help of the Spanish Women’s Association, tried to incorporate Castilian Spanish and Spanish culture into the class by having a paella party at one of the student’s homes, for example; however, because many of the students lived at home in the Spanish style, perhaps the paella celebration taught the teacher more than it taught the students.

One of the younger graduates recounted her experience of taking a Spanish language course in high school.

The grade 11 course was brutal. In OAC you needed to have an independent study. There wasn’t no independent study, like it was just grammar. I don’t think she really kept me interested on one hand and I was also pretty young. I mean I was in grade 11. I would have been 16, so you are not really focused that way. There were only five of us in that class and I don’t think she really put time and effort into it either. I think she was a very hands-off teacher, you know, do this entire chapter, do all of the exercises and then we’d sit there and just take up our answers orally, you know, for an hour. It wasn’t stimulating in any way. I didn’t put a lot of time and effort into it. I think I got a 64 on the midterm or something. [The emphasis of the course was on] grammar. Like we did subjunctive. We did imperfect subjunctive. I mean it was very intense grammar. I can’t even remember a single essay. All I remember is this textbook. It was from a university textbook and it was just rote learning, doing exercises over and over, fill-in-blank exercises.

The regular school system was not prepared to work with heritage language students, who had developed oral and aural language skills but needed to pay more attention to authentic use of the language that extended beyond foreign language teaching. Despite the efforts of community members to provide their children further language training, they were limited to what the public educational system offered. Valdés (1997) noted that, among Spanish heritage language students in the United States, there was a variability of skills, depending on how they had learned the language in the home and how they were able to maintain it. For heritage language learners who have not consistently used the language throughout childhood, a foreign language learning situation may be appropriate; however, students who have used the language throughout childhood, such as those who participated in this study, require a pedagogy that takes advantage of the language abilities that they already possess.

Personal and Professional Language Learning Opportunities  
Taken Up or Resisted by the Graduates of the  
Spanish Heritage Language Program

The heritage language students who participated in this study seemed to have a false level of awareness of their language skills for use in the “real world.” Because the heritage language was used in the home with notable success, there seemed to be a general belief that there was no need to study the language further and a belief that such study would be easy. One student who did not study Spanish in high school decided to enroll in a university Spanish course. He reported the following:

I was in the Arts program and you were required to take all of these other courses outside of your field. I was having a hard time finding something that appealed to me. I had a heavy course load in economics and finance, so I thought, “Well I need something that I can just pay very little attention to.” I took the easy way out and took a Spanish course. What was really interesting was that I found that course difficult because my knowledge of Spanish is not in its technical background, like pronouns and verbs and adjectives, I just speak it. So when they say, “What are all of the tenses?” I mean I have no idea. Like it was ridiculous.

Honestly, it was hard for me and I thought it was going to be a breeze. So I ended up really challenged. I found very quickly that my knowledge of Spanish is not technical in nature. It's just because I'm Spanish. I speak it, but why it's this tense over another tense, I have no idea. I just speak and so I had to take steps back to understand the "why" we say it, whereas I just say it. So it was hard for me.

Another student, one who had taken Spanish language courses in high school, found the Spanish language courses offered at the university to be less challenging, explaining that she got "all A's in university Spanish" and, for this reason, chose to continue to study the language. Another graduate of the Spanish heritage language program chose not to study the Spanish language in high school because she "hated studying verbs."

I really hated it. When I went to France people were like going, "Well, why are you going to France to learn science?" I'm like, "I refuse to learn French in a French class. I refuse to learn French, '*je suis, tu es, il est,*' [I am, you are, he is] you know, '*yo soy, tu eres.*' [I am, you are] That's completely out of my understanding. I don't understand that, but when I went to classes in science I knew the technical words and then I just figured out everything in between. I wasn't going to spend a whole year in a French class reading, you know, a French book about some stupid kid that has French culture. And that is why I didn't take Spanish in high school or in university because I didn't care to read *Don Quixote* and all of those kind of books. I'll read it now in my leisure, but don't make me read it and write an essay on it.

Another student reasoned that she did not take Spanish in high school because she was more interested in learning about science and math and had to give up some elective courses in order to follow the line of learning in the sciences. She did not want to spend time in learning something in which she felt that she already had relatively good skills. During her high school years, rather than "studying" Spanish, she participated in other activities that helped her to

maintain her Spanish language skills. In the following interview excerpt, she shared her reasoning for not taking a Spanish language course in high school and took one in the university.

[I didn't take the Spanish language classes offered in high school] because I had confidence that I knew the language. That what was the point in taking those classes—[to learn the language]. [You were already] so limited with what you could take in high school. I really wanted to pursue sciences and maths so I had to use my elective credits to get those credits because there are so many. So that was my main sort of balancing act. If I would have had all of the options under the sun then I would have [taken Spanish in high school]. Same thing with phys-ed. I knew I was active enough that I didn't necessarily have to take phys-ed from grade 9 through OAC, but if I would have had time I would have taken it as well. So I kind of figured, "Oh, I'm already OK at those two subjects. I want to improve and get my credits for [maths and sciences]. That's why I consciously [didn't take Spanish and phys-ed in high school].

I took one Spanish course in university. It was my fourth year by the time I took a Spanish course. The reason I took [Spanish] in university was because I thought, "You know, if I work for a Spanish speaking organization I probably won't write well or read well in Spanish," so I wanted to give it a try again because I had taken Spanish school, I had worked as an assistant through high school and a bit in university, but in university there was no more consistent Spanish lessons, so I took a course. I took a business Spanish course at Wilfred Laurier University. The course was OK. I ended up getting a good mark, but I think it was just because of my Spanish background, but I learned a lot. I definitely learned a lot of different things and because some of the things were Latin America, I ended up learning some words that I used the next year working at the Pan-American Health Organization. So, [the course] was useful.

Kramersch (2002) noted a need for people who have the flexibility to deal with cross-cultural misunderstandings in the public sphere of a globalized and multilingual world. Similarly, Carreira and Armengol (2001) noted that nearly every sector of public life in a globalized economy needs a multilingual work force that has cross-cultural awareness. Multilingual and multicultural people are needed in the government in various departments and agencies that take care of justice, health, and security; in education to help learners of languages other than English to maintain and develop their home languages; and in business, the media and communications, and in the healthcare industry to meet the needs of growing number of consumers who do not use English as their primary language of communication (Carreira & Armengol). Also, multilingual persons with cross-cultural and multilingual knowledge are needed in multinational organizations such as the United Nations Economic and Social Organization, the World Health Organization, and United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Three of the six graduates of the Spanish heritage language school actively used their Spanish language abilities in their professional lives and one used her knowledge of Spanish culture and language to advance her artistic career. The other two students chose to keep the Spanish language in the private sphere.

Three of the students used their Spanish heritage language skills in professional settings. Each reported using the skills for international aid organizations such as the World Health Organization without having to provide proof of language competence other than through an oral interview. Taking on tasks requiring the use of the Spanish language came with some apprehension and nervousness because these graduates had "never done a formal presentation in Spanish" and they "did not have the content area vocabulary necessary for the task." Despite these linguistic limitations, the graduates moved ahead successfully by using language aids such as translation software, Spanish-English bilingual dictionaries, and colleagues with professional degrees in Spanish or who were educated in a country where Spanish is the language of currency.



Not to be overlooked is that all of the graduates of the program who used their Spanish language abilities in their professional careers had obtained postsecondary degrees from a Canadian university. Just as the language learning in the heritage language program was “enrichment,” the Spanish language abilities in their job searches were enrichment as well. The jobs that these students described were not ones that relied on a strict knowledge of the Spanish language, as would be necessary in the case of a translator (oral or written) or a language teacher in a secondary institution or university. The jobs that they described were ones in which oral language skills were more important than writing skills.

The following is Soledad’s story about how knowing some Spanish helped her to get two jobs—one working as a counselor at an international summer camp in Switzerland and the second working as an intern for a regional branch of the World Health Organization.

I heard about [this job at a camp in Switzerland] through my friend Anna. She is of a Dutch background. She had a cousin who lived in Holland, who worked at this camp in the ‘70s, so Anna randomly wrote to the camp and said, “Are you hiring? Do you still exist?” She worked there the first year and then the second year I was graduating university. I had no plans whatsoever and I thought, “Well, I’m going to travel around,” which I did for about five weeks and then I ended up working at this camp for two and a half months.

I applied during university, as an option. They required the applications in February. The application basically asked you your languages, like what language do you know and how well do you know them based on a scale of, you know, read, write, fluent. I said I was fluent in English and fluent in Spanish and just had basic French. There was no proficiency tests. They based it on your honesty and then after they see you and they see how you work they do realize what languages you know because there were so many opportunities to speak your different languages. So if someone lied and said, “I’m fluent in French,” then they get a

group of French campers, it would have been a problem because then the kids wouldn't have been able to communicate, right?

Then they also asked you your sport, like how well you do in different types of sports, so you know, archery, badminton, swimming, and you went through a list and then you had to say, you know nothing at all, good, excellent, and then based on that [information] they decided whether you would be a sports specialist and teach a sport at the camp or whether you would be counselor. A sports specialist taught that sport six hours a day to groups of kids and the counselor basically followed the kids around to each of the specialists. That's how the main camp ran.

I got hired first as a swimming specialist and then, three weeks into that I wanted to do the counseling because the counselors got to go on hikes and excursions. I wanted to see Switzerland so I figured I didn't want to stay at the camp the entire time. I wanted to go around and you know, hike in the mountains, you know, the beautiful Alps. So, I did that for the next two sessions, which were three weeks each, I was a senior girl's counselor. I [supervised] girls between the ages of 14 and 17.

So I traveled around [in Europe], worked [in Switzerland], came back to Canada. I had sent in applications for an internship with the Pan-American Health Organization in Washington, D.C.] a regional branch for the WHO [World Health Organization]. That's the regional office for the Americas, so from Canada down to Chile. I worked there for six months as an intern and then three additional months as a consultant on a project. The way I found the internship was in the beginning of fourth year [university] I got into the "Oh my God, what am I going to do after university stage." I ended up writing this introductory letter, like "Hi my name is Soledad. I'm going to be getting this Bachelor of Science. What would you recommend for me. Would you have anything for me." I sent that to a

lot of organizations I ended up finding in the library. I don't think there were as many internet sources as there are now, so it was like snail mail. I gave them an envelope to send me stuff back. The Canadian Society for International Health wrote me back saying, "Well, we don't really have jobs here, but we do have this internship program. If you are interested in this, go to our website." I looked and I think they had three internships posted. When I applied there were six internships, but I was only interested in two of the six posted internships. I ended up applying for both of those and ended up getting one of them. Basically, they wanted to screen the applicants in terms that they would recommend to the Pan-American Health Organization, like WHO, and then WHO would look at our criteria and see if we suited the project that they were planning for us to do. I was the top candidate for my project because it was so heavy in Spanish. At the time, the interns applying didn't have Spanish but were willing to learn Spanish. So that is how I got mine. It was quite a credit in the sense that every other intern except for me, when I was accepted, had their Masters degrees and I didn't. I was at a disadvantage for having a bachelors, but at an advantage because I was fluent in Spanish. [Knowing Spanish] definitely got me that job and I'm very happy about that. I think one more girl was accepted into the program with her Bachelors degree, but other than that they wanted Masters candidates to work in these internships. But the Spanish, you know, for that program, they were like, "Well, we need this girl to present [the project] eventually and write something, so we need someone who is fluent in Spanish right away and not just willing to learn on the job." At the top of my résumé, I put bilingual and then in brackets I put English and Spanish. Then in the cover letter I highlighted that I spoke Spanish. Then they talked to me on the telephone and they found out that yes in fact I spoke Spanish.

The job entailed doing a literature review on compliance treatment with Type II diabetes, adult onset diabetes. The research had to be conducted in English, translated to Spanish, and then presented to Central American Health Care workers who were treating patients with diabetes and just how to better deal with their patients when trying to get them to comply to treatment. The main thread through that was “Was there a difference between men and women in those nations with how they were treated [for Type II diabetes] and [understanding] the rationale for adhering to a healthy diet, doing physical activity, different factors [involved] to keep them healthy.” We found that there were gender differences, the researchers, I didn’t find this, but the researchers found that there were gender differences in what they would tell the women versus the men to motivate them to be healthy. Like they would tell the women, “You know, if you don’t take care of yourself you’re going to die and who’s going to take care of your kids.” Versus the man they would say, “You know you’re a man. You should get your wife to cook you all of the food.” So you could see the different issues that would come up from that and the quality of care. So my thing was to research whatever was done with gender differences, if there were any, if there was any research, quantitative, published, qualitative published with that area. I got to present that project in Spanish in Nicaragua. [My project] was sort of encompassed into a larger project.

I had to do the literature review from English and Spanish language publications. I wrote the paper in English because that is my stronger language, then using translation software I translated [the paper] into Spanish and then refined it to make sense because the translation software just goes, you know the same structure of the sentence and then they just translate the word so you still have to read it over and ensure that the context of how things are said makes sense. The presentation was done in Spanish because everyone spoke Spanish.

Before I had [the presentation] reviewed by my supervisor and a co-worker of mine. I was really nervous [making the presentation] because it was in Spanish. I was actually quite impressed that I got through the whole thing purely in Spanish because it was the first time I ever did like a scientific presentation in Spanish. Like when I first got to the organization I'm reading these documents and the same thing as with the Harry Potter book, you're reading words that you don't normally use in common every day language, like the medical words. That was really challenging for me. I had like a little cheat sheet on the front of my dictionary that I slipped in with the words that I would have all the time. It was impressive for me because I did presentations for my university or through my work, like when I worked as a lifeguard to teach people about swimming lessons or leadership, but never had I done anything in Spanish, like start to finish. That impressed me. [I was also impressed] that [I was using] health and medical terms [and] that I was able to speak and address questions about [health and medicine] to professionals. [In my language training] I just learned Spanish, like Spanish grammatical structures of sentences but I didn't enrich my language in science. I didn't do science in Spanish. I studied it in English.

Aurelia then talked about how she got a job working in the food safety industry after receiving a Master's degree in food science. The only formal level of study that she had had in the Spanish language was through the home, the heritage language school, and the Spanish language community. In her professional life, she used her oral skills primarily to make presentations to people working in the food service industry. Aurelia recognized the necessary skills to be a translator and the limitation of her abilities. She described how she uses the Spanish language in her professional life.

I refuse to translate anything at work. I am not a translator. I think you have to be qualified to be a translator. I will not translate anything. The power point and the manuals are ordered in Spanish. They make them in Spanish. [The presentations]

tend to be already prepared in English. I just go there with my English notes and teach the stuff. If you want to call it “winging it.” I just know the material and I just say it in Spanish. What I will do in terms of preparation is I will read the documentation to get the vocabulary because you have to learn the vocabulary specific to that topic you are giving, but all of the words in between I know and the topic I know. It is just a question of explaining it. So a simple thing would be like, “You have to wash your hands after you go to the washroom, smoke cigarettes, eat, and you when you come into work.” The slide presents the information. I know how to say bathroom in Spanish. I know how to say wash and I just say it. That is all it is. It’s not very much of a science.

I teach all the time. I teach food safety courses in French at least once a year, if not, once every two years. I teach the courses to people working in the feed industry, feed manufacturers. The courses are food safety related, how to manufacture, how to implement a food safety system, like ISO, but it’s called HASSA. It’s for the feed, for the food industry, same deal. One year I went to Cuba and gave the same type of presentation to the food service industry. We got funding through the World Health Organization. They funded a project to help hotels in developing countries, like Cuba, to have food safety programs. Somebody in the food safety department bid for it. She put my name on the contract as a person that would be going to teach, but I wasn’t involved in the administration of that one.

I have had opportunities to do audits in Spanish in Latin America, but I don’t want to travel anymore. See the problem with learning languages is that they want to ship you around the world. With a family it’s hard. I think as a scientist, the languages gave me a competitive edge because out of a pot of many people with science degrees, what can make me different? Well not experience, because I didn’t have experience. Not beauty. Not grades, definitely not grades

because I was so focused on life and everything that my grades weren't [important]. I figured that with languages I had an edge.

When I teach I always teach a very simple language because I'm not there to prove how much I know a language, so I speak in a very basic language when I teach. There are words that I emphasize that that's the word you use for this topic. For example in English if you talk about [food safety] we'll talk about words like "verification, validation, and monitoring." There is difference. I will look very diligently for the correct words in French and the correct words in Spanish. A non-food safety expert might say that they are something but that is not what they are. I will look within the science community and I will look with the people at Kodex and the World Health Organization and I will find out what are the real words. Even in English we were having troubles, you know, what are the real words that we use around this topic? What I might have found three years ago has evolved and changed now and that's the word we are using now so I will say "OK, this is the word we are using in Spanish to show this act. It might be a simple word like "verification," you know what verification is, but in our topic, "verification" means something very different to monitoring etc.

With all of the Spanish that we have learned, we learned good Spanish. I found working with different people, and like I said, I never translate and I'll get people to translate and their not real translators either. I found that even when I read stuff I would second guess myself saying, "Maybe that's the way you are supposed to say it?" You know, I learned house Spanish. I didn't learn you know university Spanish. But then when I got people to double check their work, they were like "No, no, this is the wording," and I would go "Yeah, that's the wording I would have used." I think if anything we learned the proper Spanish. People say, "Well, there is no proper Spanish, you know Mexican Spanish is completely different." But there is somewhat of a proper Spanish in the business world. There

is a right way and a wrong way. I know there is this one Spanish teacher in the university who says, “Any Spanish is good, you know, it doesn’t matter what you say,” but, *armario* is good, but ‘closet’ [said with a Spanish accent] is not good. When you are in the business world, like I can’t say, “Go get that from the ‘closet’” It is *armario* or whatever other word it is that they use, but not English-ized. I just found that when I read some of the stuff I would always double guess myself but then when people fixed it I would say, “Yeah, I had it right. I was right! I’m good at Spanish.” My parents did teach me the proper Spanish. My mom always made sure she spoke a proper Spanish.

Amparo, a teacher of Spanish as a foreign language in a public high school and recipient of an undergraduate degree in Spanish, discussed how knowing Spanish with little formal learning experiences helped her get work during her days as a university student.

As far as I can remember, I’ve always wanted to be a teacher. When I was 16, I started supply teaching at Spanish school. When Maria was on her co-op work term, I’d be the one going in for her. Soledad and I would be there. I had done that for a couple of years and then when I was 19, I in first year [university], in September of that same year, Antonio from Oxford asked if I would teach the “Spanish for Holiday Goers 1 and 2” for him. He used to teach Spanish at [the local high school], an interest course at night and he didn’t want to do it anymore. I started teaching right away. I was in first year university. I didn’t really have a lot of experience. I had done private tutoring a little bit before, but other than that I didn’t really have a lot of experience. Basically, we started out with greetings and salutations and numbers and colors. Students of Spanish for Holiday Goers just wanted phrases, but I thought it was really important for them to have verbs as well, so I did grammar and that kind of thing. It was a 6-week crash course kind of thing. I stayed there for five years. I created my own textbook. I tried to get that off the ground.



I also taught medical Spanish at a mental hospital. They were trying to get accreditation with the WHO or something like that. They had originally told me that they were going to be paired up with a Latin American country and [my job] was to get their doctors and nurses up to speed on Spanish so they could go [to a country in Latin America] and train their staff [to use] new technology. They needed vocabulary. They needed to be able to get around, get a hotel, etc. I did it for two years. I created a whole proposal. I was the language consultant. Kind of a fancy term, but they paid me well. As it turns out, the medical staff got paired up with Belize and they don't even speak Spanish in Belize. They speak English there. So I ended up starting to teach Spanish to the staff, like custodial staff, people who weren't even part of the special project. People wanted to study literature. This was not my area of expertise. I said, "if you want me to teach Spanish, call me and I'll do a crash course." I ended up leaving.

#### Transmitting Spanish to Future Generations

Among the graduates of the program there was a desire to transmit the Spanish language to their children or future children. For those who wanted to transmit the language to their future children, they envisioned doing so in the same way that they had been taught the language: in the home, sending the children to Spanish school, engaging them in cultural activities, and allowing them to participate in international exchanges. The graduates voiced their limitations in teaching the Spanish language to their children, namely because the home language would most likely be in English because most of their life partners were not or would most likely not be Spanish speakers. Similar to what Fishman (1966b) observed among some of the ethnic groups that he studied, when graduates of the Spanish heritage language school talked about transmitting the heritage language to future generations, they delegated the responsibility to the ethnic and language resources outside of the home. The graduates talked about sending their future children to learn Spanish at Spanish school, with their grandparents, or at camps organized by foreign governments. None of the students without children envisioned that they held a key to

intergenerational language transmission; the possibility of reading in Spanish to their children was never mentioned.

**I think I will throw my kids into Spanish school.**

I'm hoping I will [be able to teach Spanish to my children], but I think it is so easy to flip, because right now I flip in and out with my mother, so with my child having to think back to stuff. I think I am going try. I think I will throw my kids into Spanish school [laughter] to be honest. You throw them in on Saturday mornings. "I had to go, you have to go," [laughter] you know. I think it is good for them to have the base. I think it is not even so much about showing them their roots. I think that is really important but I think for business, for their own professional lives. Language itself is so important. I always say to my students, "How many countries speak Italian? How many countries speak Spanish?" Twenty-three including the States. I think [the Spanish language] gives them a passport to the world. I would like [my children] to learn [Spanish] for economic reasons and for cultural reasons as well. You know, I think my mom would like to be a Ya-Ya, you know Ya-Ya Carmen, and just to pass on these roots, you know. But I think it will be difficult for us. For example Sam is Canadian. He doesn't speak any Spanish. My mom flips in and out without her even realizing. She doesn't even know what she is speaking anymore. Matthew doesn't speak at all. I think for my children it will be a little bit more of an effort. I don't think they will be nearly as fluent as [my friend, who speaks Spanish with her children, as her] children will be. I think they should have a base at least, you know, same as I did. I don't think my Spanish was all that great when I went to university. When I first

started taking the courses, I went “Oh, that’s why we say that.” It all made sense and then you start developing it on your own, but the base is still there. As far as comprehension, I have no problem comprehending and I think that is the most important thing is knowing where one word ends and the next one begins. The vocabulary you can always pick up and the grammar you can always fine tune. Comprehension is the most important thing.

**I’m sure my parents will speak Spanish and would encourage them to do that, but day to day at home, I don’t know, it might be limited.**

I would like to instill [Spanish language and culture] in my children, if I have children. I’ve told this to my brothers because I’m sure my brothers don’t even think about it. I’ve told them before, “If you guys have kids, you bring them to me. I’m going to teach them Spanish.” I think it is important to keep the heritage going especially since we are in Canada and we are probably not going to marry Spaniards. I would like to at least expose my children, my nieces or nephews or whatever to the Spanish language and culture, whether they connect to it or not is up to them, but I’d like to at least expose them to it and have an understanding of it. I would probably take my children to a Spanish School. I also think that French is very important in Canada. They should also have French, so probably French immersion, but definitely Spanish. So, Spanish school and trips to Spain. I know that their trips to Spain won’t be the same as my trips to Spain. I am anticipating that I would probably go and rent my place or whatever and I would introduce them to their distant relatives. They might not have the same experience in the

Pueblo that we had, I don't know. I can't say. I don't know, but at least I'd like to have them there and be in that environment.

I'd like to have them in the environment where there is people speaking Spanish in the house because you know. The home language will have to be English. I think it also depends on the proximity that I am to my parents because it will probably be easier if I am near my parents. Like if we say, "OK, we are all going to speak Spanish so that they can understand." I'm sure my parents will speak Spanish and would encourage them to do that, but day to day at home, I don't know, it might be limited. I don't know, like maybe when we are alone we could do that but it will also be [difficult] because I speak English all of the time. It's not like it was for my parents. [Spanish] is their complete first language and they both speak it and they can speak it together. I don't know. I don't think I will be able to give it the way I had it because it's only me. I don't know where I'm going to be living. I think it is easier to do that if you have a support system like if I were to live in Gemini City and my parents are here, then we'll probably have that, but if I'm living in Toronto or wherever and it's just me and taking them to Spanish school. I would definitely try and get them to get into Spanish parties and things. I'll probably be active in the club or at least go to the festivals and things, because I like that. I think exposing them to that sort of thing is very beneficial. As to what happens day to day if my spouse speaks English and I speak English all day, you know, I don't know what will happen. We'll see what happens, but I would like to do that, ideally.

**It would be important for them to learn it in another environment**

I am really thankful that I can speak both languages. I would want my kids to go to school to learn Spanish as well. That would be important to me because it just kind of goes back to when you said, “What does being Spanish mean to you?” I think it is important to understand, that they know what their roots are, where they originated from, why they are part of culturally and the importance of learning the language. I would want them to go to Spanish school of some kind because I wouldn’t be able to teach them. They can speak with me at home and I would do all the same things my parents would do, probably, but it would be important for them to learn it in another environment.

**Maybe I could take them to my mom’s for lessons**

I know we want the child to know a lot of languages. I’d like them to definitely know Spanish, English, and French, so three languages at least. I’d like them to learn the languages when they are young because I find the accent won’t be so major if they learn the language before they’re like 12. I’d like them to learn those three languages. When I was younger I always thought that I would bring them over to my mother’s house so she could teach them because she was the Spanish school teacher and she would have all of the materials and so on, but not if I decide to move, I don’t know exactly how I’d facilitate that. Maybe I could taken them to my mom’s for lessons. I want them to do some sort of Spanish exchange where they could learn Spanish that way. I want to be able to teach them myself if they can’t sign up for any of sort of language program, but I would definitely sign

them up for Spanish school. I can see myself reading with my children or pronouncing words. They are definitely going to learn Spanish.

The reasons cited for wanting to teach future Canadian-born children the Spanish language had more to do with economic reasons than sociocultural reasons, whereas the emphasis on sociocultural reasons was greater for the Spanish-born immigrants than for their children. The economic reasons cited were to give the children an edge in the global market place, knowing that Spanish would be useful because it is a language used by millions of people worldwide. There was less importance assigned to the transmission of the Spanish language to future Canadian-born children for reasons of ethnic and cultural identity.

#### An Examination of Meaning Making Over a Period of Years

The boundaries of definitions of literacy have been pushed to extend beyond the “formalized, monolingual, monocultural, and rule-governed forms of language” (The New London Group, 2001, p. 9). The works of scholars such as Barton (1994), Barton and Hamilton (2000), Gee (1996), Street (1984), and members of The New London Group have challenged traditional definitions of literacy in order to understand literacy as social practices, as ideologies, as political goals as well as functional competencies. Because of their scholarly endeavors, the need to defend my desire to embrace a broadened definition of literacy is not urgent; rather I am able to examine literacy pedagogy, as posited by members of The New London Group as “the understanding of literacy and literacy teaching and learning to include negotiating a multiplicity of discourses” (p. 9). They stressed that literacy pedagogy must account for culturally and linguistic diversity present in globalized societies as well as the plurality of circulating texts associated with multimedia technologies. Negotiating meaning across a multiplicity of discourses is more specifically addressed in the theory of multimodal literacies.

The theory of multimodal literacies points to the use of designs (linguistic, audio, spatial, gestural, and visual) to make meaning of text. The definition of text, just as with the definition of literacy, extends beyond print-based materials to include art, dance, fashion, gestures, sound, and

space, as well as other variables. Proponents of heritage language education point to an intangible quality among heritage language learners that posits that learning a heritage language in the home offers the heritage language learner meaning-making advantages, but these meaning-making advantages are not described. Lemke (2002) argued that the traditional way to measure success in first and/or second language learning must be altered to address multiple timescales of learning. He challenged that fluency, for example, may not be the best marker for determining language-learning success, although the measure of oral language fluency is often a marker used in second language acquisition research. Rather, he noted a need to understand how people learn and to teach the human uses of language such that, over the long term, the learner may feel the subtlety of language use.

Exploiting the modes of meaning (The New London Group, 2001) I aimed to demonstrate the subtle ways in which people feel language and make meaning from text and communicate in text located in different cultural contexts, specifically in Spanish and Canadian contexts. Although the modes of meaning presented by The New London Group were used to understand how meaning is made from multimedia texts, I believe that the modes of meaning will also help in understanding how people feel the subtlety of language.

Through their life experiences, the graduates of the heritage language school acquired and learned the Spanish language in social settings in the home and extended family community, through spontaneous play and organized social activities, through travel experiences, and through formal study of the language and culture. As demonstrated in the history of the Spanish heritage language school, the students learned Spanish literacy skills through the eighth grade. This gave them at least a basic knowledge of the intricacies of the linguistic design of the language. The primary definition of literacy assumes the ability to read and write (Harris & Hodges, 1995). Therefore, to demonstrate how the graduates of the program are able to use Spanish language and culture to feel the subtlety of the language, I assumed that these individuals know how to read and write the Spanish language at an elementary level, at least. In the examples below I demonstrate how various modes of meaning learned over a period of years

have aided two of the graduates of the program to make meaning from text and communicate messages, using a combination of available designs.

I present examples from two of the participants interviewed for this study. The first example presents situations in which Maria described her understanding of literature written in Spanish, based on her experiences with the Spanish way of life, and how she came to understand and construct the meanings of “passion” and “bullfighting” by considering the cultural contexts of Canada and Spain. The second example presents how Aurelia communicated her “Canadianness” and her “Spanishness” through fashion.

Maria talked about how she connected to the poem “*Verde, que te quiero verde*” by Federico García Lorca, a celebrated Spanish poet who was killed during the Franco regime for his anti-Franco sentiments. Her understanding of the poem, particularly the title and recurring stanza, comes from how she felt love in her home and how her loved ones used the phrase “*que te quiero*” in the home.

I really like the Andalusian poets and painters and stuff, especially [Federico García] Lorca. When I read his stuff, I really understand it. I think “Yeah, this is it.” It just hits home. It’s just the way I really like to experience Spain, you know. I guess because my family is from there. [My favorite poem by Lorca] is “*Verde, que te quiero verde*” [Green, how much I love you green] [laughter]. That’s a good one. Well, the one thing I can think of without looking at the poem is, obviously, he is a fantastic poet, the way he writes. Just from “*Verde, que te quiero verde,*” [Green how much I love you green] “*que / te / quiero*” [emphasis on each word] is something that we heard a lot in our house. Like that phrase. My mother never even just said, “*Te quiero*” [I love you] or “*Te amo*” [I love you]. It was never that. It was “*Que te quiero*” [How much I love you or I love you so much]. You know, it was like “*Que te quiero*” [How much I love you or I love you so much]. Like it was even stronger, like “*tanto*” [how much, so much] you know. So I guess there is that whole thing that I associate with Andalusia like that



sort of, you know, joie de vivre, like that little extra, you know, “*Que te quiero*” [I love you so much], it really speaks to me.

The meaning that Maria made of one verse of the poem moves beyond an understanding of the individual words. Her understanding of the words extended to an emotional connection that she had made to the way in which her mother expressed love to her. She made a linguistic connection, but also the connection of feelings and affect and the sound of the way in which the phrase is uttered. Knowing Maria’s mother and having seen her in action, the words “*Que te quiero*” [I love you so much] do not come out of her mouth without close physical contact—a strong hug and often many kisses on the cheek—a physical demonstration of the power of the words. This type of meaning making is possible through the emotional connections made to the words, the gestures, and the sounds. Also, there is evidence of the importance of spatial design in Maria’s understanding of “*Verde, que te quiero verde.*” She referred to “that’s the way I like to experience Spain,” to which she made reference when she recalled her visits to Spain and her understanding of various elements of the Spanish way of life and, more specifically, the Andalusian way of life.

She did not connect to the poem by uniquely making meaning using the linguistic design—the words of the poem; however, without understanding the linguistic design of the poem, her understanding would have been halted. It is as Lemke (2002) argued, “You cannot, neither materially nor physiologically nor culturally, make meaning only with the formal linguistic sign system; other modes of meaning-making are always functionally coupled with language in real activity” (p. 72). The basic understanding came from understanding the language—something that could not be taught in a classroom. She could understand the grammar, the syntax, and the vocabulary; but what helped her to interpret part of the poem were the available meaning making designs presented to her in childhood. Her mother would say, “*Ai, que te quiero*” [Oh, I love you so much] and perhaps give her a hug in the process of saying these words, along with some kisses on the face while repeating these words. Maria received the message of true love—the love a mother could feel for her child. I am told that this kind of love

is like no other. When Maria referred to Lorca's poem (meaning coming to her in the form of a linguistic design), she connected to past designs—linguistic (the words) and gestural (hugs and kisses, the feeling of love). The meaning of the poem had been redesigned to understand perhaps the type of love that Lorca felt for the subject in his poem. The meaning was no longer intellectual; it was a meaning that joined intellect and emotion. This is a way in which a heritage language learner can make meaning from text that a foreign language learner cannot because the foreign language learner has not had the opportunity to feel the subtlety of Spanish culture.

In the next example Maria talked about how she understands bullfighting, a sport practiced primarily in the south of Spain. In the example she explained how she learned to understand why a sport often regarded as cruel to animals is a form of art—a dance. Her uncle taught her the meaning behind the gestures (the waving of the handkerchiefs, the cutting of one or both of the bull's ears and throwing them into the audience, the meaning of the chant "*Olé*," the physical space of the bullring, the colors of the costumes and bullfighting capes, etc.).

I stopped a couple of years ago, discussing bullfighting with anyone who is not from Spain, because, yeah, I just stopped. I love animals, but it's really hard to explain the beauty and the art [of bullfighting]. For me it's a part of Spain. I have been to [bullfights]. My uncle took me to one and he explained everything [to me]. My uncle knows everything like what this little colored handkerchief means, like he knows everything, so he was explaining everything to me and it's kind of like, I think, what [my brother] experienced when he listened to flamenco music and what I experience when I dance. It's that kind of, seeing it, there is something there that is very hard to quantify to explain. I always tell people that, or I used to tell people that it's an art form. There is respect for the animal because if there wasn't respect for the animal the moment that the bullfighter is in trouble they would take a gun out and shoot the bull, but they don't. They let the bullfighter die or get gored, but there is never any kind of, "oh, the moment he is trouble we kill the bull." It's a total respect for the bull because he can kill the bullfighter. So

it is sort of on an equal playing ground because [the bullfighter] is playing with [his] life, that in addition to the dance and the whole, you know, the man with the bull, but I think that there is a deep respect for the bull that people don't understand or appreciate because they think, "Well, you are sitting there and you're sticking the knives in and you are wearing him down, you know," [laughter], but it's all a whole process and honestly I think that if they really did feel no respect for the animal they would just shoot it the moment that he started having, you know, attack the bullfighter, but they don't. I consider it an art form, the bullfight, because it is, it is a tricky maneuver, but also the bullfight, that's why he gets *Olé* when he does it with style, *con arte*, you know. I think the bullfighter dances with the bull and it's a dance to the death, whichever one dies.

[Bullfighting] is a fundamental symbol of the country and its people, whether you agree with it or not, it's like, if the entire country respects enough to start it on time, [laughter] it says something, whether it's about the bull or whether it's about the man or whatever it is, there is something there that speaks to everyone that it is such a big part of Spain. . . . I find it also very strange to think about bullfighting in Canada, like in my normal, you know, Canadian lifestyle, you know, you see a bullfighting poster and stuff, it is totally out, I can see why people don't understand it, or don't, because when you are in Spain, it makes sense, [laughter] you know.

Maria understood the bullfight using all modes of meaning to make a judgment about bullfighting in a Canadian context. She recognized the disparity between a Canadian understanding of a bullfight and a Spanish understanding of a bullfight; she expressed this understanding by choosing those with whom she would or would not discuss bullfighting. She would discuss bullfighting only with someone who had a similar cultural understanding; otherwise she felt that the conversation could not move forward.

Similarly, Maria's understanding of passion encompassed her cultural knowledge of Spain. Her knowledge of flamenco dancing and her experiences of visiting Spain have enabled her to see beyond the stereotype of Spanish passion as she has experienced it.

I really hate, I really hate the stereotype of the passion of the Spanish person, you know, I hate it when other people associate that, [laughter] you know. What I hate about it is that all lot of people associate passion with sexual energy and that pisses me off. It really does. And they go "Oh, you're a flamenco dancer. Oh, you're Spanish." you know, it's like, go away [laughter]. I even had someone ask me once when I was talking about, when they asked me about, talking about flamenco dancing and they said "So, when you get off stage, do you feel 'spent'," and I said "No, you feel like you've just performed." Like there is this fantasy about you know, that we are out of control sexually, or you know that our passion is [sexual] and I really resent that because it's not, it's not about that. If you know anything about being there, it's, it's just happiness in the soul, a happiness in the spirit that you know, that transcends the physical, and so just, limiting it to or immediately associating it with you know, of all the physical things, the basest, you know what I mean? I think it's not doing it justice, but I just mean in general, that I sometimes get that from people.

Aurelia, using gestural and visual designs, communicated how she was neither 100% Canadian nor 100% Spanish. In Spain, a country where women do not traditionally engage in extreme sports, Aurelia showed her athletic nature by engaging in physical activity with "the boys" and "partying;" however, in her social circle in Canada she played up her Spanish femininity. She wore high heels when the rest of her girlfriends were wearing Birkenstocks. The clothing and accessories that she chose and the way in which she moved her body communicated to others the identity that she chose to highlight.

I have always been different, you know the kind of girls that always dressed the same, you know they are friends because they dressed the same, well I always try

to be different. When I am here I try to be more feminine and cook good home mommy foods and when I am in Spain I am like, “forget it, let’s go party,” [laughter] so I kind of take both ends of it, so there they are like “OK,” “let’s go biking,” so you know I’ll get some of the guys and we’ll go biking and all of the ladies are like “*ai, que muchacha, ha subido la montaña con los hombres hasta alli arriba,*” [Oh, what a women, she climbed the mountain with the men, all the way up to the top] and I’m like “yeah, because I can beat them. I kicked their ass!” you know, and here I would be like “OK, I’m coming in my high heels, here I come.” All the girls here are in their Birkenstocks, they are like “you are such a lady,” I’m like “OK” [laughter].

#### Summary of Findings

This study examined how the Spanish Women’s Association, the group that organized the Spanish heritage language school, contributed to the multicultural and multilingual nature of Canada through the members’ desire to organize a nonintegrated, complementary, Spanish heritage language program that aimed to promote intergenerational language transmission. Specifically, three areas were related to the work executed by the Spanish Women’s Association as it contributed to the creation of the Spanish heritage language school and community:

1. The pedagogical and cultural learning objectives implicitly and explicitly expressed by members of the heritage language community who organized the nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program, including how the school was formed, the types of academic and social activities organized, the role of the Multiculturalism Policy, and the ways in which the organizational committee exercised agency in the creation of the Spanish heritage language program;
2. Applying a multiliteracies framework, the current Spanish language literacy practices engaged in by graduates of the nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program; and

3. The personal and professional activities engaged in by graduates of the nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program.

The findings of the study can be summarized in the following brief overview:

- The Spanish Women's Association initially formed to get relief from social and linguistic isolation.
- The Spanish Women's Association was a forum through which the women could exercise human agency by finding ways to educate their children according to their values and beliefs.
- The women's agency was fueled by the way in which they embraced the role of motherhood, an uncontested role for women in Spain during the era in which these women had lived in Spain.
- The Multiculturalism Policy provided funding for the heritage language program and professional development workshops for the teachers.
- The pedagogical and cultural goals stemmed from the women's beliefs in multilingualism and value for the home language and culture (moral reasons, as defined by Mühlhäusler, 2000).
- Graduates who used Spanish in their professional lives relied primarily on their oral/aural language abilities.
- Most graduates reserved the use of Spanish for intimate settings, such as those involving family members and friends.
- Many graduates sought further language learning opportunities in Spanish for reasons of convenience (e.g., to increase grade point average or for economic advantage).
- All graduates relegated to the first generation the responsibility of teaching Spanish to the third generation. The graduates seemed to favor economic reasons over moral reasons (as defined by Mühlhäusler, 2000) as their primary motivation to plan to teach Spanish to their future children. The graduates did not discuss the option of using literacy resources

so they could be more directly involved with teaching the Spanish language to the third generation.

- To begin to illustrate how heritage language learners have a qualitatively different connection to the heritage language from the connection that a foreign language learner may have to the same language, I examined language learning over a long time scale with help from the multiliteracies framework. In this dissertation I provide four specific examples of how heritage language learners have a qualitatively different connection to the heritage language.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine how a group of immigrant women contributed to the multicultural and multilingual nature of Canada through their desire to organize a nonintegrated complementary Spanish heritage language school that aimed to help the children of the language community to maintain and develop the Castilian Spanish language and culture and to encourage intergenerational language transmission. The ecology of language metaphor guided the conceptual framework of the study. As a result, it informed the way in which I grew to understand how heritage language communities congregate within mainstream language contexts. When I started to plan this project, I thought that it would be sufficient to research the way in which the Spanish heritage language school influenced the language abilities of those who attended and graduated from the school. However, as I delved into the study, I realized that there was more to the study of heritage language learning than simply the outcome, and thus the ecology of language framework helped me to understand the learning context in a holistic manner.

The language ecology metaphor expanded my field of vision. When Haugen first introduced the ecology of language metaphor to linguists in the early 1970s, he challenged them to examine language systems within their broader language environment. In a similar fashion, I was reminded of Victor Hugo's (1873/1983) question, "Where the telescope ends, the microscope begins. Which of the two has the grander view?" posed by the editors of *The Handbook of Reading Research* (Kamil, Mosenthal, Pearson, & Barr, 2000), who noted the changing and expanding attitudes toward reading research and the need to broaden the way in which the field is studied. In this study I examined heritage language literacy through a telescopic lens. This study showed the evolution of social, cultural, historical, and political



contexts that made learning Spanish as a heritage language possible in Ontario. As such, it pointed to the areas that a community may need to address when designing community-based, nonintegrated heritage language schools organized at the grass-roots level or when engaging in formative evaluation of an existing program.

Most nonintegrated, heritage language programs are organized at the grass-roots level in Canada, the United States, and Australia. In Ontario, heritage language education is not a given—the ethnic group must express an interest to the school board and find enough students to sustain at least one classroom. Because heritage language programs are poorly funded, they are also poorly advertised, and assistance to such groups is not readily available. An ethnic group must actively pursue funding and other sources of public support. The women’s organization examined in this study exhibited human agency to organize a heritage language school by acting upon their positive outlook for home language education and the desire to transmit the language and culture to the next generation. Their agency would have meant little had there not been public agencies to respond to their acts, namely sections of the Spanish Embassy in Canada and officials of the local school board who responded in accordance to the Multiculturalism Policy.

A common criticism of heritage language programs is that they benefit only the ethnic language community. Members of the mainstream language group have complained that heritage language programs should not be supported with public funds because they do not benefit all taxpayers. However, the creation of the Spanish heritage language school that was the subject of this study not only benefited the children of the community but also benefited those who participated in the organization of the community and school. It could be argued that what benefits any marginalized group in a society also benefits the health of the whole society. There is much to be learned about heritage language learning by examining the community structure and how the community members mobilized themselves to formalize language learning from the private sphere of the home to the public sphere of the schooling institution. To examine heritage languages from a telescopic perspective there is a need to examine the language ecology—the

many variables that help to understand the people who learn a language, use it, and transmit it to others within their social and natural environments (Haugen, 1972/2001).

As previously stated, the intention was to examine the Spanish heritage language community in a holistic fashion, but this dissertation could also be viewed as three separate studies: (a) the first part dedicated to immigration and women's life experiences in Ontario, (b) the second part dedicated to the teaching methodology and practice, and (c) the third part dedicated to the students' experiences with the Spanish language as adults. Without all three "studies" the examination of the heritage language school and community would have been incomplete. An outcome of examining the three different, but connected, groups of participants of the Spanish heritage language community was a holistic picture of the design of the school, the maintenance and intergenerational transmission of Castilian Spanish, and the immigrant women's contributions to a multilingual and multicultural Canada.

The remainder of this discussion is taken from the perspective of language maintenance and language shift through the way in which instruction in the school was designed, the way in which the students experienced instruction and learning at the school, how this influenced their adult personal and professional lives, and the way in which this dissertation documents the voices of underrepresented women in the creation of Canada's multilingual and multicultural society.

#### Design of the School

According to Fishman's (1991) stages on the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, the work executed by the women's organization could be categorized at stage six, in which the minority language is orally transmitted to the younger generation in a demographically concentrated community of language users with some institutional reinforcement. The institutional reinforcement was provided by financial grants from the governments of Spain and Canada.

I do not consider the high school Spanish language classes offered at the local Catholic high school to have been valuable institutional support because the courses did not specifically

address the pedagogical needs of heritage language learners. Once the heritage language students reached high school, the students did not receive the type of education that would further their heritage language development; rather, the education was geared toward the foreign language learner. This corroborates Valdés' (1997, 2001) findings and that of other scholars working with Spanish heritage language learners in the United States who stated that heritage language learners, particularly those who use the heritage language in the home, have different language learning and motivational needs from those of foreign or second language learners. Thus, as Lynch (2003) appropriately argued, a theory for heritage language acquisition is needed in order to improve and advance the field.

Fishman's (1991) next stage toward language maintenance and development is stage five, in which minority language literacy is practiced in the home, school, and community but extracommunal reinforcement of this literacy does not occur. The women's organization wanted to take their efforts to this level but, due to external limitations, this was not possible. The Spanish heritage language community had to work within their financial and material boundaries.

As expected, the school was traditionally designed with respect to planning and curriculum. Because most of the teachers did not have teaching credentials, they had to learn how to teach, plan, and evaluate "on the job." As is common among heritage language teachers, they taught for the love of the children, the language, and the culture, and to complete a calling to transmit these elements to the children of the community. Not atypical with the teachers and members of the organizational committee of this Spanish heritage language school was their principal motive for creating the school. It was created to preserve the Spanish language so that their children would not lose the ability to communicate with their extended family members and so that they would not lose a valuable resource for their future. Similar to Whorf's (Carroll, 1956) belief with respect to the Hopi language, members of the women's association would not surrender to the idea that their children would lose a language and thus lose a way of interacting with the world. Their efforts were primarily motivated by moral reasons.

The women were well equipped to teach the language for moral reasons because it drew on familiar concepts—teaching the language and culture for use in intimate surroundings. The activities that they organized helped to preserve the language and culture within the community to the extent shown by the graduates’ positive Spanish identity and use of the Spanish language in the context of the home. However, the Spanish language was becoming increasingly important in a globalized world.

As the school developed, the women became more conscious that the Spanish language would be useful to the students of the school as countries where Spanish was the language of currency became involved in the world economy. Therefore, another motive in organizing and continuing with the school was an economic one—believing that an additional language would help the graduates of the program in their future lives. However, the teachers and organizational committee did not completely understand the type of language skills that their children would need for the heritage language to be useful in their future lives.

The members of the school’s organizational committee and its teachers assumed that learning Castilian Spanish in the home with some institutional support would be sufficient to be able to use the language in most professional settings. This assumption was perhaps naïve. They were not aware of the linguistic demands that would be placed on the graduates of the school when they entered the workforce if Spanish was to be a language used within professional settings. As a result, the graduates of the Spanish heritage language school generally believed that they had sufficient knowledge and command of the Spanish language and culture for personal reasons as well as to carry on conversations not requiring content-specific vocabulary. The graduates, however, did not believe that they had sufficient command of print literacy abilities that would be required of a profession that required significant Spanish language skills. The graduates interviewed for this study who used Spanish in their professional lives relied on their oral/aural language abilities more than on traditional literacy abilities. They recognized the need to be able to read and write effectively in Spanish and that they required external support in order to communicate in Spanish using printed text on a professional level.

The school's curriculum focused on teaching the children to develop their print literacy abilities in Castilian Spanish; however, due to limitations of time, resources, and pedagogical expertise, the students did not develop a level of print literacy in the Spanish language equal or similar to their educational experiences in the English language. If the goal of future heritage language teachers is to encourage heritage language students to engage with the heritage language and culture from an academic standpoint, then the teachers must lead the students to think critically about their language learning and use of the heritage language and mainstream language in their respective environments.

To understand this better, I borrowed the terminology from the instructional framework developed by The New London Group (2001). As such, the Spanish heritage language school's curriculum offered opportunities for situated practice through community-sponsored social events and overt instruction through the heritage language classes. One of the goals of the classes was to teach the students how to connect the oral language to the written. However, due to limited contact time in formal heritage language learning situations, the level of print literacy that the students achieved by the end of the eighth grade was comparable to that of a student in about the fifth or sixth grade in Spain, according to the type of text books used and the grammatical and sentence structures emphasized. If the graduates of the Spanish heritage language school stopped or dramatically slowed engagement with the heritage language after participation in the heritage language school, then their Spanish language development was negatively affected. The graduates needed to engage themselves with the Spanish language after graduating from the heritage language school. To this end, the graduate had to be internally motivated to seek out and/or take up language development opportunities.

In future planning of heritage language programs, if parents want their children to learn the heritage language for use in professional settings that require more advanced print literacy abilities in combination with oral language abilities, the design of the learning program must address these areas. For example, a conscious effort could focus on the third and fourth elements of the pedagogy of multiliteracies framework (critical framing and transformed practice) in order

“to provide ideas and angles with which to supplement what teachers do” (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000, p. 239). Because the goal of critical framing and transformed practice is to obtain a deeper understanding of the social issues in question, it may offer an instructional window to allow heritage language students to become conscious of the importance of refined linguistic abilities in a language other than English. Knowledge of this might provide additional motivation to seek language development opportunities for themselves and for their future children. This framework may also give heritage language teachers a different focus as they plan their lessons—one that might lead them to create learning situations that would challenge the students to make meaning using a variety of available designs. For example, I found that Maria’s interaction with a poem written in Spanish demonstrated the ways in which she made meaning from the linguistic design in terms of the words used in the poem, but her deeper understanding of the poem came when she was able to connect the meaning to gestural and audio designs. She was able to make meaning of the words *que te quiero* [I love you so much] by the way she experienced them spoken and acted in her family life. She understood the words to express something more than “I love you.” Heritage language teachers could ask students to think about and use the many available designs to make meaning and not simply rely on the linguistic design. There is meaning to be found across cultural contexts and this meaning extends beyond words.

The Spanish heritage language school and community offered the students opportunities to experience the first two elements of the pedagogy of the multiliteracies framework (situated practice and overt learning) primarily in family and home contexts. There was some reinforcement of the Spanish language in an academic sense, but reading and writing in Spanish were not consistently developed throughout the lives of the children. For all graduates who participated in this study, English language literacy dominated their personal and professional lives.

## Language Maintenance and Intergenerational Language Transmission

Minority languages are sustained in majority language communities via new immigration and language transmission across generations. However, immigration is not a reliable source to sustain a heritage language in a minority language environment because varying patterns of internal and external movement are neither consistent nor predictable. Therefore, a heritage language community must rely on its ability to transmit the language from one generation to another, if this is the desired outcome.

The maintenance and development of Castilian Spanish in Ontario Region was extended to the Canadian-born children of the community via participation in the Spanish heritage language school and community. However, the prospects of these same graduates transmitting the language to their future children do not look promising: The number of Spanish-born individuals is decreasing due to an elevated death rate, and the community is not being replenished through immigration. The problem is exacerbated because many of the graduates, who could potentially transmit the Spanish language to their children, are partnered with non-Spanish speakers and do not foresee a family situation with two languages. In addition, many of the graduates have chosen careers that have led them away from the Spanish heritage language community of Ontario Region, separating them from the main speech community. While some of the students participated in activities organized by the Spanish-born generation, a comparable organization has not been generated for the second generation and there does not seem to be much interest in creating one.

Fishman (1991) and Veltman (1983) understood language shift to occur within three generations in the United States. For many years, I believed that the heritage language communities in Canada were immune from this fate because of the existence of heritage language programs and Canada's greater desire to be a country that valued cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. However, because of this study, it has become clear that Fishman and Veltman's conclusions about language shift in the United States ring true in the Spanish heritage language community in Canada as well.

Community involvement and heritage language schooling are some of the only interventions to help to maintain and develop the language abilities of heritage language learners (Freeman, 2004). The Spanish heritage language school and community helped to transmit the Spanish language (mainly oral language abilities) to the second generation. Transmission of the language to the third generation was more complicated mainly for two reasons: (a) The second generation viewed their role in intergenerational transmission as supportive but not integral, and (b) most graduates gave more credence to the economic opportunities offered by knowing Spanish over a need to preserve the cultural heritage for moral reasons.

The first problem in the transmission of the heritage language to the third generation is that the second generation (the graduates of the heritage language program) did not view themselves as being capable of teaching the language to their offspring; they viewed their role as supportive but not integral. Many of the graduates envisioned that they would take their future children to a heritage language school, give them the opportunity to travel to a country where Spanish is the language of currency, and have their Spanish-born parents teach their future children the Spanish language and culture. The graduates, for the most part, said that they would be able to help their future children with the Spanish language but that it most likely would not be one of the languages of the home. Graduates of the school did not view literacy training in the heritage language as a way to involve the third generation with the heritage language. When I suggested that they might engage their future children with text written in Spanish, the graduates reported that reading materials written in Spanish were not easily available in Ontario or they didn't know where they could get such materials other than going to a Spanish-speaking country or accessing resources from the original heritage language organizational committee members. A heritage language community could intervene in this respect by focusing on establishing a children's library for use by the school and community members. This would fuse North American literacy practices with Spanish literacy practices and would perhaps be a way to encourage people to transmit the heritage language to future generations.



The second problem that affected the transmission of the Spanish language to the third generation was that the majority of the graduates did not view the Spanish language as important for identity construction for their children; rather, the Spanish language had more relevance for economic reasons. The Canadian-born generation recognized that multilingual abilities would open more doors in the professional world and help their future children to maintain contact with their Spanish-speaking grandparents, but the need to maintain contact with overseas relatives became less important. It was apparent that one of the dynamic forces behind the strength of the women's organization and their drive to build the Spanish heritage language school was that they connected to the language on an emotional level—it was a language that first helped to unite family and, as a bonus, offered economic advantages. However, with respect to the Canadian-born generation, it seemed that economics was more of a motivating factor for the graduates to teach the Spanish language to the third generation than were moral reasons.

#### Immigrant Women's Contributions to a Multilingual and Multicultural Canada

One of the underlying reasons for conducting this research was to understand why this group of women dedicated so much of themselves to the creation of a Spanish heritage language community. As a result, one of the goals in designing the study was to research and document women's contributions to Canada's multicultural history through oral history—a methodology conducive to these ends. In many historical documents, the contributions of women are not documented because women often fill the roles of caretakers, teachers, mothers, and volunteers—roles that do not impact a society over a relatively short period, as do wars, for example.

Throughout the study, I was reminded of the adage, “Behind every great man is a great woman.” The proverb comes from the recognition that, in many situations, women take on supporting roles and men fill the roles that are publicly recognized, as suggested by Portelli's (1998) analysis of war tales compared to hospital tales in his oral history account of Terni, Italy. Members of the Spanish Women's Association took traditionally regarded supporting roles

(mother, teacher, and volunteer) and contributed to the multicultural and multilingual nature of Canada by embracing the discourse of multiculturalism prevalent in a country that was trying to redefine itself as a country founded in diversity.

Canada prides itself on the multicultural nature of its citizens. It is a nation with worldwide recognition for its Multiculturalism Policy and for embracing philosophies that aim to acculturate, as opposed to assimilate, its immigrants as much as possible. The metaphors used to describe the philosophic differences are “cultural mosaic” versus “cultural melting pot.” However, the Multiculturalism Policy was never intended to allow ethnic groups to live in Canada as they lived in their home country; rather, in its cultural plurality, the policy was intended to respect the distinct languages and cultures while at the same time help diverse ethnic groups to integrate into Canadian society by becoming productive and contributing citizens (Hawkins, 1988). The multiculturalism discourse was about unifying its people by promoting a respect for ethnic and linguistic diversity. Financial support for heritage language programs was intended to facilitate an ethnic group’s desire to help the children of the community to maintain the group’s ethnic language and culture and thus to contribute to the nation’s multicultural and multilingual character.

The heritage language community was instrumental in the maintenance and development of the ethnic language for the children of the Spanish-born immigrants as well as in developing a sense of being Canadian. In this study, the heritage language school formed the core of the community, and all other cultural and linguistic activities were rooted in the primary organization of the heritage language school. As noted by both Shibata (2000) and Siegel (2004), the functioning of the school and community would not have been possible without the desire to teach the language and the culture to future generations and the leadership to do so, or without parental and community support, adequate teaching methods and materials, and the motivation by parents and students to address the school’s learning objectives. In addition, it would not have been possible had it not been for the contributions of the Spanish and Canadian governments, which responded to the collective efforts and effective leadership of the members of the

women's association. Further, the organization of the Spanish heritage language school reinforced the women's identity in motherhood and their involvement in their children's lives. The women were invested in securing a successful future for the children of community and chose to exercise individual and collective agency in this community to advance their agendas that ran against mainstream thought of the time.

Within this community, two discourses were prevalent: (a) At the policy level, the discourse embraced diversity, and (b) at the local level, the discourse marginalized diversity. According to Burr's (1995) understanding of human agency, "Change is possible because human agents are capable (given the right circumstances) of critically analyzing the discourses that frame their lives, and of claiming or resisting them according to the effects they wish to bring about" (p. 90). It is possible that interactions with the mainstream, in educational and other circles, placed the women of the Spanish heritage language association at the margins in terms of exercising their rights to teach their children the home language in a formal setting—a discourse of marginalization that they resisted; however, supported by the national multiculturalism discourse, they took up this discourse and found ways to accept responsibility for the actions they wanted to take to achieve their collective goals. For example, when the Spanish Women's Association was first forming, they had to become a legal entity. When the lawyer, who was incorporating the organization, told the group that they should not use the word "woman" in the organization's name, they simply changed the name of their organization and carried forward. A second example of agency was when the women found a way to get the Spanish taught as a subject at the local Catholic high school in spite of initial resistance exhibited by the high school's principal. The women organized themselves in ways to provide their children with as many opportunities as possible to become engaged with the Spanish language and culture and fuse these values into their children's lives in Canada.

Lee and Cardinal (1998) argued that the Multiculturalism Policy's funding of heritage language programs encouraged the marginalization of people involved in heritage language programs for the benefit of creating a diverse society for the public eye. However, my study

found that, because of the women's participation in the heritage language school and community through their roles as mother, teacher, and volunteer, the women were not marginalized. Rather, the heritage language school and community opened opportunities and resources for the women to carry out one of their primary learning objectives for their children: to instill in their children a respect for the Spanish culture alongside the Canadian through cultural and linguistic activities. In addition, each woman's efforts were validated through this organization, and this dissertation continues to validate their efforts by making their voices part of a public document and transmitting them to future generations.

### Limitations

Conducting an oral history of the Spanish heritage language community was an appropriate methodology to understand personal experiences and to capture the voices of those with less opportunity to have their voices heard. However, some limitations exist in oral history work and they should be noted. The most obvious limitation is that the data collected rely primarily on the way in which people remember past events and the way in which those events were experienced. There is always the risk that a participant tells a story in order to enhance her or his social situation or the possibility of phantom memories—those acquired from outside sources (Howarth, 1998). Triangulation across interviews and archival data were used to address this limitation and to minimize the presentation of erroneous information.

The second limitation of oral history work is the limitation of application of the findings. A common error made in the application of historical work is “making straightforward, one-on-one applications of the past to the present [because doing so] can distort the unique dimensions of each event and lead to erroneous conclusions” (Monaghan & Hartman, 2000, p. 109). The history of the Spanish heritage language community and the learning opportunities created for the children of the community have been documented and they are lessons from the past from which those situated in the present and looking toward the future can learn. Because of this, the results from this study are not generalizable to other learning situations; they are unique learning

experiences. However, they may contain ideas that could inform present heritage language learning contexts by encouraging reflexive thought and praxis.

While the next issue was addressed as an advantage during the course of the study, it could also be viewed as a limitation: my insider status in the Spanish heritage language community, examined in this dissertation. As noted in my subjectivities statement, I come from a family that actively participated in the creation of the school and its social activities; I was a student in the school and a member of the folkloric dance group. Consequently, I had my own ways of remembering these various experiences. In many ways, my own memories guided my inquiry, particularly when it came to wanting to understand the use of Spanish in the personal and professional adult lives of the heritage language school graduates. This in and of itself is not a limitation, but could have been one, had I allowed this bias to color the data. In order to address this potential problem, I tried to remain a “skeptic” by first understanding my own beliefs and assumptions about heritage language learning and then by questioning them throughout the process of collecting, analyzing, and presenting the data.

As with all studies using semistructured or unstructured interview methods to collect data, knowledge is co-constructed between the interviewer and interviewee. To quote Kvale (1996), “The research interview is an interpersonal situation, a conversation between two partners about a theme of mutual interest. It is a specific form of human interaction in which knowledge evolves through a dialogue” (p. 125). Consequently, phrases such as “I never thought of that before” or “I never considered that issue before” or “Good question” were uttered from time to time during the data collection. These types of responses indicated that this was perhaps the first time the interviewee was thinking about the issue in question, thus showing that knowledge was being constructed in the dialogue. Also, the research allowed for knowledge to be constructed across participants.

I interviewed seven key members of the Spanish Women’s Association who had been intimately involved with the creation of the Spanish heritage language school. The collection of

interviews made for a rich set of data. I could look across the data and see common as well as unique points of view. One participant described this research project in the following manner:

*Una vez las cosas pasadas se ven con otros ojos, y eso es cierto, uno hace las cosas, y las haces con la motivación que las hagas, ¿comprendes?, pero al final cuando todo ha pasado, y es curiosísimo porque es que cada uno lo veremos desde un punto de vista diferente, por eso tu tienes la ventaja, por eso te decía, “me encantaría después verlo,” porque es que yo estoy segurísima, que entrevistes a las personas que entrevisten, que tu vayas a entrevistar, coincidiremos en algunas cosas pero es que en otras, cada una va dar una perspectiva completamente distinta, porque es que todos vemos el mundo [diferentemente].*

Once the events pass, they are seen with different eyes, and it is true that one does things with a certain motivation, do you understand? But in the end, when all has passed, it is very curious that each one of us will see the events from a different perspective. For this reason, you have such an advantage. That’s why I said, “I would love to see the work when it is finished,” because I am certain the people you interviewed or will interview will come together on some things, but other things will be seen from an entirely different perspective. We all see the world differently.

This co-construction of knowledge and access to a variety of perspectives was an advantage of the study; however, my insider status may also have inhibited some of the participants from talking about certain issues.

When, as a junior member of the community, I approached each individual to participate in my research project, I did not perceive any hesitation. Each person willingly offered time and knowledge. I believe that they were so eager to talk to me not only because of my membership in the community but also because of the esteemed position that my parents hold in the community. My parents are well respected members and are seen as people who sacrificed much of their time

and efforts for the community. Therefore, when I approached the members of the community and asked them to be interviewed, I was well received. Although I had not seen many of these people in years, I believe that there was an immediate level of trust between myself and the participants. However, in one situation in particular I believe that my insider status proved to be a disadvantage to the study, and perhaps someone without insider status might have been able to elicit the information.

In the infancy of the Spanish heritage language program, a situation presented itself in which another group of Spanish immigrants wanted to have more say in the way the school was operated. The situation was volatile. The other group allegedly believed that the Spanish Women's Association was not capable of being the administrators of the school and tried to claim their stakes in the program. My parents were extremely vocal in the defense of the Spanish Women's Association as the appropriate group to continue to operate the heritage language program. Other members of the Spanish Women's Association and/or spouses did not believe in the accusations. A divide was created. Although the Spanish Women's Association maintained control of the heritage language program and ran the school successfully, some people were still divided on the issue. Some women left the association and took their children out of the school; others chose to ignore the conflict. However, the topic continues to be a thorny subject in some circles; in other circles it is simply taboo.

I knew about this conflict and wanted to explore it in depth. I felt that it might demonstrate powerfully the collective sense of agency that the Spanish Women's Association had in face of a serious obstacle. I believed, as did others who spoke to me in confidence about this issue, that one of the reasons the other group wanted to take control of the school was because the members felt that the women of the association were not capable of running the school simply because they were women. This was an area that I wished to explore; however, in most cases, my attempts were not very successful. I tried to address the issue through the back door by asking whether the Spanish Women's Association had any difficulties in its infancy. The

following is an example from one of the transcripts. (Note that the name used in this transcript is fictitious and does not correspond to any pseudonym previously used in this dissertation.)

Kristiina: ¿Y entre este grupo de mujeres, hubo algunos problemas o dificultades de algún tipo?

Aldara: Solo en su formación, en su formación cuando se hizo el intento de formar el grupo, entonces hubo dificultades. Hubo unas cuantas que se desaparecieron. Dijeron, “Nosotras, no, no nos interesa.”

Kristiina: ¿Por qué? ¿Donde fue la raíz de las dificultades?

Aldara: Para decir la verdad, no me acuerdo cual fue el roce, la causa del roce, pero, sí, hubo fricción, pero no me acuerdo exactamente que fue, pero hubo fricción.

Kristiina: And among the group of women, were there any problems or difficulties?

Aldara: Only in its formation, in its formation when we tried to create the group, then there were difficulties. A number of women disappeared. They said, “We are not interested.”

Kristiina: Why? What was the root of the problem?

Aldara: To tell you the truth, I don’t remember the friction, the cause of the friction, but, yes, there was friction, but I don’t exactly remember what it was, but there was friction.

Only two members of the organizational committee/teachers talked openly about this “friction.” I believe that most were reluctant to talk to me about this issue because my parents had been so involved in the defense of the Spanish Women’s Association and the heritage language school. Since my father’s death, participants were probably reluctant to talk about this issue because nobody wanted to disrespect either of my parents by offering an opinion contrary to what my parents had believed. Therefore, while I believe that dialogue about this situation could have offered insight to the study, my insider status in the community was a disadvantage



on this issue. However, overall, my insider status proved much more advantageous than disadvantageous.

### Implications and Ideas for Further Research

Research in heritage language school settings has served the purpose of demonstrating that learning two languages simultaneously or additively does not harm the cognitive or social development of the child. Rather, research has shown that simultaneous or additive bilingualism offers many advantages to children. Of particular interest to literacy researchers is the common underlying proficiency theory (Cummins, 1984) because it supports the beneficial effects of the development of a child's literacy abilities in her or his first language on the development of the second language (Cummins, 1984, 1994b). As reported in the literature review, little research examines heritage language learning contexts in their own right. Therefore, this study is relevant to those interested in heritage language communities and the maintenance and development of minority languages.

Although community-based heritage language schools have existed in Canada and the United States for 3 centuries (Fishman, 2001), they have functioned relatively quietly. As a field, heritage language education is only now beginning to break some ground in mainstream education (Peyton et al., 2001a). In order to move programs, policies, and research agendas forward researchers must find answers to define and shape the field of heritage language education, address educational issues, and examine research and practical needs of the field (Peyton et al., 2001b). Next, I present avenues for future research in heritage language education.

#### *Ways to Measure Heritage Language Acquisition*

Worthy of further research is the notion of different ways to measure heritage language learning success. The field of second language acquisition has historically idealized the native speaker such that the success of a second language learner is measured against the native speaker benchmark. Only recently has multilingualism been explored from a perspective that does not use the monolingual speaker as a reference point (Bauer & Montero, 2001). Specifically, the notion of the multicompetent mind is useful to move the benchmark away from the idealized

native speaker. Cook (1999) referred to the multicompetent mind as one that is qualitatively different from the mind of the monolingual speaker. With the shift from the idealized native speaker, the door is open to other ways to measure heritage language learning success.

Heritage language learners typically have strong oral/aural language skills (Valdés, 2001) because these skills are reinforced in most home learning situations. Consequently, their reading and writing skills are less developed, particularly because the mainstream education system does not normally offer heritage language learners the type of support needed to meet their unique language learning needs. As a result, heritage language skills are less valued in the mainstream because they rarely meet the standards of this idealized native language user (Valdés, 2001). However, heritage language learners have social and cultural knowledge about their particular language that a second language learner or foreign language learner will rarely, if ever, achieve (Valdés, 2001; Wiley, 2001). It is this qualitative difference that deserves to be further explored.

I have tried to address heritage language across long timescales—learning that is measured not in conversational interactions or activities that stretch over days and weeks but in activities that stretch over years, as suggested by Lemke (2002). As noted in the literature review, the psycholinguistic perspective has dominated second language acquisition research. Much of the research has revolved around variables that can be measured over a short period, such as aspects of interlanguage or corrective feedback given to second language learners. Firth and Wagner (1997) argued that SLA research has historically been “individualistic and mechanistic” (p. 285). They challenged SLA researchers to broaden their vision to examine individuals who use the language in question, learn it, and teach it within its natural social and cultural environments. A call for a theory of heritage language acquisition has been made (Lynch, 2003). Therefore, there is a need to examine heritage language learning that occurs over a long period, perhaps years or decades, so that heritage language learning is examined holistically. This may inoculate the field of heritage language acquisition from becoming an individualistic and mechanistic field of study—a characteristic for which the SLA field has so often been criticized.

Lemke (2002) proposed to examine language acquisition over a long period in order to respect the principles of language ecology. Similar to observing change, growth, or death in an ecosystem, it may be possible to observe the qualitative differences of heritage language learners only over a long period. In the findings of this study I began to explore this idea, using Lemke's idea coupled with the notion of multiliteracies and the use of the available designs, as explained in the review of the literature in chapter 2.

Because I was limited to the language learning stories told by the participants, I did not have the type of data that showed participants' interactions with text, so I could not specifically examine multimodal interaction with text. However, I found examples that suggested that heritage language learning offered an emotional connection to language and the way in which it is used. I noticed that Maria, in particular, made meaning across texts as well as cultures. This came about when I prompted Maria's memory of working with text written in Spanish by presenting her with a book of poetry. This inspired her to talk about some of the poems and discuss them in terms of the meaning that she had made from them. She connected to her family life and language learning in the home as a young child while she was making meaning of the poem. These emotional connections allowed the learner to make meaning from text that perhaps a monolingual learner would not have been able to make. These are the intangible qualities of a heritage language learner living in a globalized and multilingual society; they deserve further investigation. However, to examine these qualities would require a different research design from the one used in this study. They could be examined, for example, through literacy events diaries (Jones et al., 2000) recorded by heritage language learners currently studying texts written in their heritage language or texts written in another language. Through an examination of multilingual and multicultural literacy practices that take place over a long period, researchers may tap into the ways in which heritage language learners make meaning using the principles of multiliteracies and the emerging theory of heritage language acquisition.

Thinking of heritage language learning over the long-term may influence teachers planning future curriculum to emphasize print literacy skills without sacrificing the development

of oral/aural abilities. Perhaps this line of thinking may help heritage language teachers to consider different ways to encourage heritage language students to analyze the ways in which they use their languages in different environments. Educators may help lead students to consider their heritage language and culture as an integral part of mainstream education.

*Literacy Emphasis in Nonintegrated Heritage Language Programs*

As noted in the review of the literature, Valdés (1997), a proponent of heritage language education, particularly among the Spanish-speaking population in the United States, believed that the study of reading, writing, vocabulary development, and grammar, in addition to participation in the heritage language community, facilitates the intergenerational transmission of minority languages. This study demonstrated that the graduates of the school remembered literacy activities and talked about situations in which having literacy skills in the Spanish language had helped them in their adult personal and professional lives. They also talked about how their oral/aural skills were of more use to them in their personal and professional lives because, after participation in the heritage language school, they did not have access to programs that emphasized literacy skills geared toward heritage language learners.

As a researcher and educator of literacy education, if I were to be involved in the formative evaluation of a heritage language program, I would want to understand which were the teachers' and parents' learning objectives for the students. Assuming that knowing how to read and write was a desirable goal, I would make this a focus of the curriculum. To paraphrase what one of the teachers who participated in this study said, written language is an important vehicle through which one can come to understand local and global cultures, traditions, and ideologies. Written language is an essential tool that enables people to communicate across time and space.

The teachers in this study seemed to focus on the teaching of isolated skills, for example, rules that dictate spelling, round-robin reading, and grammar rules explained in isolation. Research in literacy education today has demonstrated the value of integrated curriculum (Gavelek, Raphael, Biondo, & Wang, 2000; Pearson & Johnson, 1984), content area literacy

instruction (Alvermann, Swafford, & Montero, 2004), and inquiry-based learning (Lindfors, 1999; Short, Harste, & Burke, 1996). These elements could be incorporated into a heritage language program. However, incorporating the principles supporting the value of integrated curriculum, content area literacy instruction, and inquiry-based learning, for example, would not be an easy task because funds continue to be sparse, heritage language teachers continue to be unqualified, and teaching time is limited to a few hours per week. If heritage language educators understand the boundaries of heritage language programs, it may help teachers to work within the boundaries and to search for ways to extend the boundaries in the effort to create a fruitful heritage language learning environment. An ethnographic study of a heritage language program with a documented literacy mission statement would be an interesting area to pursue in the future. In such an investigation, the researcher could learn about the ways in which literacy promoting strategies influence heritage language acquisition as a young child and later as an adult.

#### *Resources to Support Heritage Language Development*

To further the emphasis on literacy in a heritage language community, access to print resources in the heritage language should be available to heritage language learners. There is a need to understand the types of resources that would promote heritage language maintenance, development, and transmission. The women of the Spanish heritage language examined in this study gathered Spanish-language books and donated them to the public library with the intent that all members would have access to texts written in Spanish. However, as noted by the graduates of the program, there was a dearth of quality children's literature for use in the home. Most of the children's literature was obtained privately. Consequently, in this study the graduates did not consider literacy training as a viable option to teach future generations the heritage language. They blamed a lack of available resources.

Lo Bianco (2003) noted that, in order to understand intergenerational transmission of language, the heritage language research community would benefit from "descriptive accounts of

the genres of literacy and discourses of belonging particular to individual communities and their community schools or cultural settings where heritage language learning is encouraged or heritage language use occurs” (p. 3). Included within this notion of genres of literacy would be the genres of resources available to the heritage language community that would support literacy development. Future research could seek to understand the types of texts available to members of a heritage language community and the ways in which these resources are used. This line of research could address the areas of strengths and areas of need in the collection of literacy-promoting resources and understand the role of literacy resources in intergenerational language transmission.

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APPENDIX A

MATRIX OF RESEARCH QUESTIONS, DATA SOURCES, AND DATA ANALYSIS

RESEARCH QUESTIONS (What do I want to know?)	RATIONALE (WHY IS IT IMPORTANT?)	DATA SOURCES (Where will I find data to get answers?)	DATA ANALYSIS (How will I analyze my data?)
<p><b>Overarching question:</b> How have minority language individuals contributed to the multicultural and multilingual nature of a nation through their desire to promote intergenerational language transmission?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canada is often celebrated for the multicultural and multilingual nature of its people. Often times Canada’s policies that favor multiculturalism and multilingualism are praised; however, small groups that make up this multicultural and multilingual composition are less recognized.</li> <li>• The role and contribution of ethnicized and racialized women in the creation of a nation state has been glossed over, if not ignored completely (Lee &amp; Cardinal, 1998).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• interviews with organizational committee members</li> <li>• interviews with teachers</li> <li>• interviews with graduates of program</li> <li>• focus group interviews with organizational committee members and teachers</li> <li>• archival data</li> <li>• policy documents</li> <li>• research journal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Key word method—collapse information and categorize themes</li> <li>• Narrative analysis—Labov &amp; Welesky; Burke method</li> <li>• Content analysis of archival data</li> <li>• Triangulation</li> </ul>

<p><b>Subquestion #1:</b>  What were the pedagogical and cultural learning objectives implicitly and explicitly expressed by members of the heritage language community who organized the nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How was the school formed?</li> <li>• What types of academic and social activities were organized?</li> <li>• What was the role of the Multiculturalism Policy?</li> <li>• In what ways did members of the organizational committee exercise agency in the creation of the Spanish heritage language program?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Focus on the organization of the HL school, curriculum, and assumptions.</li> <li>• Enables access to information to understand the goals at the organization and implementation level.</li> <li>• Macro level view of the school, its organization, curriculum and its implementation, desired learning outcomes.</li> <li>• Examines the role of national policy as perceived by members of the organizational committee and teachers.</li> <li>• Examines personal beliefs about bilingualism and biliteracy of the heritage language in a mainstream language context.</li> <li>• Examines personal beliefs about education.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• personal and focus group interviews—organizational committee members; teachers.</li> <li>• archival data-- letters from government organizations (Spain &amp; Canada; minutes of the meeting).</li> <li>• policy documents.</li> <li>• research journal.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Find themes within/across interviews.</li> <li>• Highlight persons' agency in participation—demonstrated by collapsing interviews into narratives.</li> <li>• Archival data will be categorized according to themes.</li> <li>• Triangulation will occur across interviews and archival data—individuals will confirm or disconfirm information provided</li> </ul>
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<p><b>Subquestion #2:</b> Using a multi-literacies framework, what are the current Spanish language literacy practices engaged in by graduates of the nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The graduates participated in academic and recreational activities to support Spanish language learning, including literacy acquisition. The focus here is on the present use of past learning and the search for continued learning opportunities, if any.</li> <li>• Connects the past with the present.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal and focus group interviews with graduates of school.</li> <li>• research journal</li> <li>• Archival data—photographs, video recordings.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• collapse themes across interviews to identify what practices are mentioned and how the participant understands them.</li> <li>• content analysis of archival documents to see how they fit with the rest of the study; this information will also help triangulate information extracted from interviews.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Subquestion #3:</b> What are the personal and professional activities engaged in by the graduated of the nonintegrated, complementary Spanish heritage language program?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Focus is on the skills and knowledge learned by the graduates of the school and the ways in which these individuals use their abilities in the present.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal and focus group interviews with graduates.</li> <li>• personal interviews with members of organizational members who are also mothers of the graduates.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Narrative analysis of interview—initial themes obtained from keyword method.</li> <li>• collapse narratives to tell the story.</li> <li>• search for themes across and within interviews.</li> </ul>

## APPENDIX B

### GLOSSARY

*Acculturation*: An additive philosophy of integration into a new community. In the case of immigrants, acculturation describes how an immigrant adapts to the ways of mainstream culture while still having agency to maintain, preserve, and promote her or his own ways of life. Acculturation is normally contrasted with assimilation. The cultural mosaic and tossed salad metaphors are often associated with philosophies of acculturation.

*Additive bilingualism*: When a second language is ‘added’ to the language repertoire of an individual.

*Agency*: Describes the way a person accepts responsibility for his or her actions and/or inactions in the negotiation of meaning within power tensions in social groups.

*Assimilation*: A subtractive philosophy of integration into a new community that encourages annihilation of differences, in favor of the mainstream language and culture. In the case of immigrants, assimilation describes how an immigrant must adopt the ways of mainstream culture. The melting pot metaphor is most often associated with assimilationist philosophies.

*Bilingual education*: Bilingual education, a term largely used in the United States, refers to the various programs targeted for efficient and effective instruction of linguistically diverse children. Three primary bilingual education models existed in the U.S. All of the programs have the same instruction goals—the acquisition of English language skills and transition into an all-English classroom. Bilingualism is not the goal (Ramírez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991). The definitions below largely rely on information gleaned from Ramírez et al (1991) Executive Summary of the final report entitled Longitudinal study of structured English immersion programs for language minority children.

1. Early-exit transitional bilingual education program—limited instruction is provided in the child’s primary language for approximately 30–60 minutes per day. The remainder of instructional time is in English. The child’s primary language is only used for clarification purposes. The goal of this program is to transfer students into an all-English program by the end of first or second grade.
2. Late-exit transitional bilingual education program—instruction is provided in the child’s primary language for approximately 40% of instruction time. Language arts, reading, and other content area subjects (e.g., mathematics, social studies, and/or science) are taught in the child’s primary language. The children stay in this program through the end of sixth grade, regardless of English language proficiency.
3. Structured English immersion bilingual education program—instruction in the target language (English) is taught through the content areas. Students are expected to transition into all-English classroom within two to three years.

*Canadian language immersion model:* English/French bilingualism is the goal of this model. A program created approximately 30 years ago in Canada targeted for the non-French speaking population to learn enough French by the end of high school to be able to interact with the French-speaking community on professional levels. There are three levels of immersion type models:

1. Early immersion—this program is offered to children starting as early as Kindergarten or first grade. In this program students are taught entirely in the target language, French, for the first two or three years. After this time, a transition is made for more instructional time in English so they incorporate themselves into regular high school classes.
2. Delayed immersion—this program is offered to children in the fourth or fifth grades. Instructional decisions are made depending on the provincial goals.
3. Late immersion—this program is offered to children in seventh or eighth grade. In this program, approximately 75% of course work is in French, the rest of the time is



in English. The courses taught in English, usually consist of subject areas such as family studies, technology education, and physical education.

*Contact zone*: “The social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today” (Pratt, 1991, p. 34).

*Ethnolinguistic vitality*: “That which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977 as cited in Feuerverger, 1989, p. 51).

*Globalization*: Defined as, “the tendency for economic, social, political, and cultural processes to take place on a global scale rather than within the confines of particular countries or regions” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 165)

*Heritage language, colonial*: A colonial heritage language belongs to the heritage languages, introduced into a country during periods of colonization and existed before a country’s formal establishing constitution.

*Heritage language, immigrant*: An immigrant heritage language belongs to the heritage languages of a country’s immigrants who entered after colonization and the forming a country’s formal establishing constitution.

*Heritage language, indigenous*: An indigenous heritage language belongs to the heritage languages of the indigenous people of a land, before the arrival of colonization.

*Heritage languages*: This is a slippery term to define, because in reality, all languages are heritage language. Each person’s language belongs to his or her linguistic ancestry. The way I use this term in this dissertation proposal deals with immigrant heritage languages, as described by Fishman (2001) to describe minority languages used in the home as a result of recent immigration (see definition for immigrant heritage language).

*Heritage language learner*: There are varying degrees of heritage language learners. They range from those who are learning the language of their ancestry using foreign language

methodology through to those who have advanced knowledge of the heritage language. The heritage language learner could have varying degrees of oral and literate proficiencies.

*Heritage language speaker:* There are varying degrees of heritage language speakers, varying from little or no knowledge of the language to a high degree of language use in contexts where it is not part of the national languages.

*Integrated heritage language programs:* Where numbers warrant within a particular school or school district, integrated heritage language programs exist within the framework of an extended-day regular school program. In Toronto, the only city in Canada that can sustain this type of program, integrated heritage language programs take place at the end of the regular school day for 30 minutes each day—a total of 2.5 hours per week. The heritage language teachers are also members of the “regular” school faculty. This program has resources and space available from the “regular” school.

*Language shift:* Joshua Fishman (1991) coined this term to represent how languages move along a continuum from a necessary social and economic language to extinction.

*Linguistic Interdependence theory:* Proficiency and skill in both the mother tongue and the school language are interdependent systems to the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Ly if there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or in the environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly (Cummins, 1979).

*Meta-statements:* The “places in the interview where people spontaneously stop, look back, and comment about their own thoughts or something just said” (Anderson & Jack, 1991, p. 21).

*Narrative:* “Any sequence of clauses that contains at least one temporal juncture” (Labov & Waletzky, 1997/1967, p. 21).

*Non-integrated heritage language programs:* Many programs must exist within limiting boundaries, due to limited available instructional time, funding allocated for heritage language instruction, and number of interested students. Non-integrated heritage

language programs normally take place after school hours, one or two nights per week and/or typically on a Saturday morning. Depending on language policy, some public funds are available for the setup and maintenance of these programs.

*Pedagogy*: Defined by Lusted as “the transformation of consciousness that takes place in the intersection of three agencies—the teacher, the learner, and the knowledge they together produce” (as cited in Lather, 1991, p. 15). Pedagogy has also been defined as “a teaching and learning relationship that creates the potential for building learning conditions leading to full and equitable social participation” (The New London Group, 1996, p. 60).

*Subtractive bilingualism*: Describes a language-learning situation where a second language “replaces” a language in the language repertoire of an individual.

*Two-way or dual language immersion program*: Bilingualism and biliteracy are the goals of the two-way or dual language immersion program. In this program minority language students (most often Spanish language users) are combined with students from the mainstream, theoretically in equal numbers. The idea is that the minority language students learn English, and the Anglophone students learn the minority language. There are relatively few two-way or dual language immersion programs in the United States. The general philosophy of two-way or dual language immersion program is “language-as-resource” rather than “language-as-problem” orientation assumed in early exit, late exit, sheltered ESL, and pull-out ESL programs (Freeman, 1996).

APPENDIX C  
OVERVIEW OF PARTICIPANTS

Participant	Age	Schooling	Home language	Job during first years in Canada	Number of interviews	Total length of interview(s)
1	60	age 16	Spanish	seamstress	1	2 hours
2	55	age 16	Spanish	homemaker	1	3 hours
3	65	high school	Spanish	seamstress	2	4 hours
4	73	MA Spanish/French	Spanish	teacher	2	4 hours
5	80	MA Spanish	Spanish	factory	1	2 hours
6	53	High school	Spanish / English	waitress	1	3 hours
7	53	high school	Spanish / English	factory	1	3 hours

*Table 1.* Overview of Spanish heritage language school organizational committee members and teachers.

Participant	Age	Highest degree earned	Home language	Current professional position	Number of interviews	Total length of interview(s)
8	34	MA English	Spanish	media productions	2	4 hours
9	34	MSc Food Science	Spanish	food science manager	1	2 hours
10	31	BA Spanish	Spanish	Spanish high school teacher	1	3 hours
11	30	BA Health Studies	Spanish / English	health promoter	1	3 hours
12	34	PhD Biology	Spanish	post-doctoral research	1	3 hours
13	32	BA Finance and Economics	Spanish / English	financial planner	1	3 hours

*Table 2.* Overview of graduates of the Spanish heritage language program.

APPENDIX D  
SAMPLE PERMISSION FORMS

Consent Form: Individual Interviews

I, \_\_\_\_\_ agree to take part in a research study titled “The Role of Heritage Language Schools in the Construction of a Multilingual and Multicultural Canada: An Oral History of a Spanish Heritage Language School, Its Organizational Committee, Teachers, and Graduates,” which is being conducted by M. Kristiina Montero, Department of Reading Education at The University of Georgia, Athens GA, USA, under the direction of Dr. Donna E. Alvermann, Department of Reading Education. M. Kristiina Montero may be contacted in Georgia at (706) 583-XXXX and in Ontario at (519) 240-XXXX or via email at: kmontero@uga.edu. Dr. Donna Alvermann may be contacted at (706) 542-XXXX or via email at: xxxx@uga.edu. I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop taking part without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The purpose of the study is to examine the educational and cultural goals and outcomes of the organizational members of and participants in the Spanish Heritage Language School of Kitchener-Waterloo between 1977–1987. The study will also examine ways in which the Spanish language and culture are part of an individual’s professional and personal lives focusing on literacy.

I will not benefit directly from this research. However, my participation in this research may lead to information that could inform others’ efforts organizing community-based heritage language schools in Canada and the United States, programs that aim to maintain, preserve, and foster heritage languages and create multilingual opportunities for its participants. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

- (1) Participate in 2–3 individual interviews aimed to be no longer than 90 minutes in length. All interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed word for word;
- (2) Read through the interview transcripts and be given the opportunity to add and/or delete any information;
- (3) Be asked to clarify information via telephone conversations.

No discomforts, stresses, or risks are expected from participation in this research study.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with me will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with my permission or as required by law. If information about me is published, it will be written in a way that I cannot be recognized. All interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed word for word. I will be given a copy of the

audio-tape as well as a copy of the transcript so I may review their contents and make any additions or deletions as I see appropriate. The researcher will be the only person who will have access to these audio-recordings and transcripts in which I am identified. The researcher will manage all research materials. All audio recordings will be destroyed by the research by January 2009. The researcher will maintain those records that preserve my identity as confidential.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: (519) 240-XXXX or (706) 583-XXXX or via email: [kmontero@uga.edu](mailto:kmontero@uga.edu).

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Telephone: 519.240.XXXX  
Email: [kmontero@uga.edu](mailto:kmontero@uga.edu)

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

For questions or problem about your rights please call or write, Chris A. Joseph, Ph.D., Human Subjects Office, University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-mail address [IRB@uga.edu](mailto:IRB@uga.edu)

## Consent Form: Focus Group Interview

I, \_\_\_\_\_ agree to take part in a research study titled “A Look at Multimodal and Multilingual Literacy Practices in the Redesigning of Social Futures Through a Feminist History of a Spanish Heritage Language School,” which is being conducted by M. Kristiina Montero, Department of Reading Education at The University of Georgia, Athens GA, USA, under the direction of Dr. Donna E. Alvermann, Department of Reading Education. M. Kristiina Montero may be contacted in Georgia at (706) 583-XXXX and in Ontario at (519) 240-XXXX or via email at: kmontero@coe.uga.edu. Dr. Donna Alvermann may be contacted at (706) 542-XXXX or via email at: dalverma@arches.uga.edu. I understand that my participation is voluntary. I can stop taking part without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have all of the information about me returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The purpose of the study is to examine the educational and cultural goals and outcomes of the organizational members of and participants in the Spanish Heritage Language School of Kitchener-Waterloo between 1977–1987. The study will also examine ways in which the Spanish language and culture are part of an individual’s professional and personal lives focusing on literacy.

I will not benefit directly from this research. However, my participation in this research may lead to information that could inform others’ efforts organizing community-based heritage language schools in Canada and the United States, programs that aim to maintain, preserve, and foster heritage languages and create multilingual opportunities for its participants. If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

- (4) Participate in a focus group interview with up to a maximum of 6 other people. This interview aims to be no longer than 120 minutes in length. The interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed word for word. The interview will also be videotaped for the sole purpose of helping the researcher transcribe the audio recording, to help match faces with voices. Once the audio-recording has been transcribed, the video-recording will be destroyed.
- (5) Read through the interview transcript and be given the opportunity to add and/or delete any information;
- (6) Be asked to clarify information via telephone conversations.

No discomforts, stresses, or risks are expected from participation in this research study.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with me will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with my permission or as required by law. If information about me is published, it will be written in a way that I cannot be recognized. All focus group interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed word for word. I will be given a copy of the transcript so I may review its contents and make any additions or deletions as I see appropriate. I will not receive a copy of the audio recording so that the confidentiality of other participating members of the focus group is not compromised. The researcher will be the only person who will have access to these audio-recordings and transcripts in which I am identified.



The researcher will manage all research material. All video and audio recordings will be destroyed by researcher by January 2009. She will maintain those records that preserves my identity as confidential.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: (519) 240-XXXX or (706) 583-XXXX or via email: kmontero@coe.uga.edu.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Telephone: 519.240.XXXX  
Email: kmontero@coe.uga.edu

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

For questions or problem about your rights please call or write, Chris A. Joseph, Ph.D., Human Subjects Office, University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-mail address IRB@uga.edu

APPENDIX E  
INTERVIEW GUIDES

Graduates of Spanish Heritage Language School

N.B. TMA = Tell me about

1. Basic background information:
  - Place and date of birth
  - Estimate of socioeconomic and cultural status of origin

TMA your background.

2. Early family background information:
  - Influence of parents
  - Parents' occupation or caregivers' occupation
  - Other important figures
  - Family's education history
  - Home atmosphere
  - Role of religion
  - Relationship to siblings

TMA your parents and the family unit.

TMA how education and schooling was viewed in your home.

TMA a literacy learning experience(s) in the home.

TMA a memorable family vacation.

3. Schooling years (early and high school)
  - Location of school, nature of school
  - Teachers
  - Important events shaping future
  - Favorite subjects
  - Least favored subjects
  - Parents feelings of schooling at this level
  - Relationship to peers
  - Academic achievement
  - Extracurricular activities
  - Hobbies
  - Vacation activities

TMA a memorable learning experience at regular school.

TMA some things you did when you were alone as a child; with siblings; with parents; with friends.

TMA your first trip to Spain as a young adult, without the company of your parents.

4. Spanish heritage language school
  - Connection to other Spanish-speakers in Kitchener-Waterloo
  - School experience—regular school
  - Language learning experience
  - Thoughts about HL teachers
  - Integration of HL in regular school
  - Expectations
  - Struggles, challenges

TMA a memorable experience at Spanish school or any activity related to it.

TMA a memorable interaction with a teacher at the Spanish school.

TMA a memorable learning experience at Spanish school.

What did you think about having to go to Spanish school on Saturday mornings as a child; as an adult?

5. College years
  - Location of school, nature of school
  - Teachers
  - Important events shaping the future
  - Favorite subjects
  - Least favored subjects
  - Relationship to peers
  - Academic achievement
  - Extracurricular activities
  - Hobbies
  - Vacation activities

TMA your decision to go to university (or not to go to university).

What did you study and why?

What life opportunities were you trying to construct for yourself? Did your family approve of your choice? Friends?

TMA an activity you engaged in frequently in early adulthood.

TMA a memorable vacation.

TMA how you maintain contact with your family living in Europe.

6. Professional Life
  - Current job description
  - Type of personal and professional opportunities through your job
  - Use of Spanish in current professional life

TMA about your current job.

TMA the skills required of you to be successful in your current job?

TMA how you communicate with others in the context of your professional life.

TMA an enriching opportunity offered through your job—travel, culture, advancement etc.

TMA any cultural events in which you participate.

7. Personal life
  - Spouse
  - Children
  - Education of children or future children
  - Language use at home or with partner
  - Friends

TMA your thoughts on living in a “multicultural” Canada.

TMA what the future holds for your family—current or future.

8. Literacy learning background in Canada
  - Language spoken in the home
  - How learned to speak English, age, location,
  - How learned to speak Spanish, age, location
  - Thoughts about bilingualism—what is important to you
  - Perceptions of language abilities at home, at school
  - Trips to Spain, how often?
  - Visitors from Spain, how often?

TMA a memory you have of reading and/or writing in Spanish; in English.

Once all interviews are complete:

1. Tell me about what you think were the pedagogical/cultural goals of the Spanish heritage language school.
2. Tell me about what you think were the pedagogical/cultural outcomes of the Spanish heritage language school.
3. Tell me whether or not you feel you have benefited from participation in the school.
4. Tell me whether or not you feel your home life has benefited from participation in the school.
5. Tell me whether or not you feel your professional life has benefited from participation in the school.

Graduates of Heritage language school

*Supply teaching at Spanish School age 16*

*Spanish for holiday goers*

*Medical Spanish - Homecare WHO*

*photos 'El Condé de Flores'*

1. Basic background information:

- Place and date of birth
- Estimate of socioeconomic and cultural status of origin

TMA your background.

*typical immigrant family -*

2. Early family background information:

- Influence of parents
- Parents' occupation or caregivers' occupation
- Other important figures
- Family's education history
- Home atmosphere
- Role of religion
- Relationship to siblings

*values adjust to Canadian life July 24, 1973*

*immigrated to Canada Dad Mom '66, '68*

TMA your parents and the family unit.

TMA how education and schooling was viewed in your home.

TMA a literacy learning experience(s) in the home.

TMA a memorable family vacation.

3. Schooling years (early and high school)

- Location of school, nature of school
- Teachers
- Important events shaping future
- Favorite subjects
- Least favored subjects
- Parents feelings of schooling at this level
- Relationship to peers
- Academic achievement
- Extracurricular activities
- Hobbies
- Vacation activities

*read before kindergarten*

*OAC Spanish 71*

*1, 4, 8, (12/13) → (19)*

*School - Madrid*

TMA a memorable learning experience at regular school.

TMA some things you did when you were alone as a child; with siblings; with parents; with friends.

TMA your first trip to Spain as a young adult, without the company of your parents.

4. Spanish heritage language school

- Connection to other Spanish-speakers in Kitchener-Waterloo
- School experience—regular school
- Language learning experience
- Thoughts about HL teachers

*portrait of father*

*In the time of the butterflies*

*→ Isabel Allende*

*→ Paula*

*Rigoberta Menchú*

Figure 8. An example of notes taken during an interview with a graduate from the Spanish heritage language school.

## Members of the Organizational Committee and Teachers

### 1. Basic background information:

TMA your childhood in Spain.

- Place and date of birth
- Estimate of socioeconomic and cultural status of origin
- Living under the Franco regime—school, culture, and language

### 2. Early family background information:

TMA your parents.

- Influence of parents
- Parents' occupation or caregivers' occupation
- Other important figures
- Family's education history
- Home atmosphere
- Role of religion
- Relationship to siblings

### 3. Schooling years (early and high school)

TMA a memory of your early school years/ high school years / college (if any?)

- Location of school, nature of school
- Teachers
- Important events shaping future
- Favorite subjects
- Least favored subjects
- Parents feelings of schooling at this level
- Relationship to peers
- Academic achievement
- Extracurricular activities
- Hobbies
- Vacation activities

### 4. College years

- Location of school, nature of school
- Teachers
- Important events shaping the future
- Favorite subjects
- Least favored subjects
- Relationship to peers
- Academic achievement
- Extracurricular activities
- Hobbies
- Vacation activities

5. Immigration history

TMA why you immigrated to Canada.

- Year and city of immigration
- With whom
- Reasons for immigration to Canada
- Expectations of new life in Canada
- Struggles, challenges
- Language issues
- Employment
- Schooling for children

6. Family background in Canada

TMA your thoughts about raising a family in a foreign country.

- Language spoken in the home
- How children learned to speak English, age, location,
- How children learned to speak Spanish, age, location
- Thoughts about bilingualism—what is important to you
- Perceptions of children’s language abilities at home, at school
- Trips to Spain, how often?
- Visitors from Spain, how often?

7. Spanish heritage language school

TMA the inception of the women’s association.

- Connection to other Spanish-speakers in the area.
- Decision to become a member of the Spanish Women’s association
- Role in committee from the beginning through 1987
- Reasons why got involved starting the school
- Expectations
- Struggles, challenges

8. Post-1987 Spanish heritage language school

- Function of the women’s association
- Participation in the current Spanish heritage language school
- Participation in other cultural events

Once all interviews are complete:

1. Tell me about what you think were the pedagogical/cultural goals of the Spanish heritage language school.
2. Tell me about what you think were the pedagogical/cultural outcomes of the Spanish heritage language school.
3. Tell me whether or not you feel your children have benefited from participation in the school.
4. Tell me about whether or not you feel your home life has benefited from participation in the school.

Additional questions for the teachers of the school

1. School organization
2. Curriculum—organization
3. Resources—funding, organization
4. Opinion of students' abilities and learning
5. Opinion of influence of English
6. What would you have done differently?
7. What would you have done the same?
8. Credentials—teaching experience, history of educational background





2 sessions

- 7<sup>th</sup> floor apartment
  - tea with sandwiches - began our interview
  - arrived on metro
  - visit after long time.
  - we talked about the project - she expressed her pride in all of the children of the Spaniards who achieved high level of education and social position in life.
- She was excited when MRL called her about the school because she felt sadness about children who perhaps would not be able to communicate with their grandparents in ~~the~~ Spain.

to end the SP school - where there were no longer children of SP descent attending the school, she wrote a letter to the consulate to inform them of this - funds stopped coming.

Figure 10. An example of notes taken during an interview with a member of the organizational committee and teacher of the Spanish heritage language school, page 2 of 3.

① Ayer dijistes con  $\$$  certitud que tu eres feminista -  
 ¿Qué significa el feminismo para ti?

- Year and city of immigration
- With whom
- Reasons for immigration to Canada
- Expectations of new life in Canada
- Struggles, challenges
- Language issues
- Employment
- Schooling for children

② Why important to know if women?

③ \*organized a DR. to speak to group. What did he talk about: Why did you organize this?

④ Do you remember other activities of the ACH?

⑤ \* When did you stop teaching for The SHL school and why?

⑥ \* Why did you fight so hard to keep the school going? what were the reasons it was finally given up? what did you think about "una reunion de mujeres"?

⑦ What was the routine of your class → yesterday you said that each class began with a prayer. what was the situation w/ girl who didn't want to pray?

⑧ Why did you decide to return ?

6. Family background in Canada  
 TMA your thoughts about raising a family in a foreign country.

- Language spoken in the home
- How children learned to speak English, age, location,
- How children learned to speak Spanish, age, location
- Thoughts about bilingualism—what is important to you
- Perceptions of children's language abilities at home, at school
- Trips to Spain, how often?
- Visitors from Spain, how often?

7. Spanish heritage language school  
 TMA the inception of the [redacted]

- Connection to other Spanish-speakers in [redacted]
- Decision to become a member of the Spanish Women's association
- Role in committee from the beginning through 1987
- Reasons why got involved starting the school
- Expectations
- Struggles, challenges

8. Post-1987 Spanish heritage language school

- Function of the women's association
- Participation in the current Spanish heritage language school
- Participation in other cultural events

Once all interviews are complete:

- Tell me about what you think were the pedagogical/cultural goals of the Spanish heritage language school.
- Tell me about what you think were the pedagogical/cultural outcomes of the Spanish heritage language school.
- Tell me about how you feel your children have benefited from participation in the school.
- Tell me about how you feel your home life has benefited from participation in the school.

Barco de vapor

high school Mr.

politicos  
 artistas  
 alcalde de Kitchener  
 Barcelona

Figure 11. An example of notes taken during an interview with a member of the organizational committee and teacher of the Spanish heritage language school, page 3 of 3.

## Focus Group Interview

Setting the stage for the focus group interview.

1. Permission Forms
2. Microphone
3. One person speaking at a time

Pre-interview activity.

1. On the cue card, write a memory that you have of your involvement with the Spanish school or the women's association.
2. Share this writing with your neighbor.

Interview.

1. Begin with people introducing themselves, saying name and the role they played in the Spanish Heritage School and the women's association.
2. Tell us about a memorable experience in your work with the Spanish Heritage Language School—what stands out the most for you and why? And your role in the experience.
3. Tell us about a memorable experience in your work with the women's association—what stands out the most for you.
4. Tell us about any difficulties with the school and/or the association.
5. Tell us how the women's association has influenced your life professionally, personally, family.
6. Tell us how the SHS and the women's association have influenced your family.
7. Was it important that the women's association was uniquely a group for women? Explain.

APPENDIX F  
KEYWORD APPROACH, TRIANGULATION USING ARCHIVAL  
DATA, NARRATIVE ANALYSIS, RESEARCH DIARY,  
AND FINAL REPRESENTATION OF DATA

The following is an example how I analyzed the data for my dissertation study. As outlined in the methods section of this dissertation, the main part of the data was collected via in-depth, semi-structured personal interviews. These interviews were then transcribed and analyzed in the original language, either Spanish or English. I then coded the data using the keyword approach and used narrative analysis in order to obtain an in-depth analysis of the data, moving beyond just historical facts.

I coded the interview data using the keyword approach as explained by Coffey and Atkinson (1996). Figure 12 is a page taken from an interview with one of the school's teachers. In the margins of the transcript, I have summarized the contents of the interview using one or two keywords. In the interview, the participant explained how the school received financial and material support from the Spanish government and in particular, the importance of the textbooks sent to the school from the Spanish Institute of Emigration. This was a common point across all of the interviews with the teachers, as noted in the researcher diary (Figure 15) and further confirmed by the narrative analysis found on pages 251–252 of appendix F, which examines the minute details of the interviewee's explanation. In addition, using records found in the archival data (Figures 13 and 14), I confirmed that the books were in fact sent by the Spanish Consulate in Montréal and another record that indicated that the school's administration was controlled by the Spanish Women's Association. The historical data was analyzed according to this system and then represented according to the relevant stories told by the participants in the study. An excerpt

from the dissertation reflecting the above analysis is found on pages 251–252 of appendix F as well as on page 147 of chapter 4 and further discussed on pages 195–196 in chapter 5.

The example closes with an excerpt from the dissertation reporting on the books used by the teachers of the Spanish heritage language school.

01 SEPT 2003  
—Interview #1  
Oral History of a Spanish Heritage Language School

*Rules dictated by outside sources  
— SP Embassy  
— lawyer*

268 K: claro, y para recibir fondos según la póliza de multiculturalismo de Canadá, había  
269 condiciones a cumplir para recibir esos fondos, o simplemente el numero de estudiantes  
270 en la clase,  
271 no, primero, lo primero que hicimos fue ah, pues contactar a la embajada  
272 española, y la embajada española lo que nos dijo es que no se podía hacer una escuela así  
273 como así, que había que crear una asociación, esta asociación que se llamo escuela, no, se  
274 llamó Asociación Cultural Hispánica, tenía que tener un numero determinado de socios,  
275 ya no recuerdo, pero bueno, pues muchas señoras y sus maridos y todo el mundo, luego  
276 tenía que, tenían que tener pues naturalmente, una presidencia y un consejo, vamos se  
277 llamó un consejo administración que en esto formaba parte pues también la directora de  
278 la escuela y esto se llevaba unos libros y se administraba un dinero, el administración del  
279 dinero de España prácticamente no fue nada porque lo que fue es que mandaron  
280 muchísimos libros, pero vamos muchísimos, fueron muy generosos porque no solamente  
281 mandaron para los ocho cursos del primero a octavo del lenguaje más ciencias sociales,  
282 sino mandaron muchísimos libros de lectura y muy caros, diccionarios magníficos,  
283 mandaron incluso, recuerdo, unas copias de la constitución española aplicada a los niños,  
284 que es un libro muy interesante que me hubiera gustado tener, y, y diccionarios  
285 magníficos con pinturas, bueno, pues fue una gran ayuda, y luego verdaderamente el, el  
286 dinero, que recibíamos unos cheques del gobierno canadiense que para eso, pues me  
287 imagino, yo de eso no estoy muy segura, pero seguramente que te puede  
288 informar más de como se hizo, yo recuerdo que eramos dos o tres y luego pues con, a la  
289 parte de estar esto pues como en una nomina, de las profesoras de board católico, pues  
290 entonces estábamos unas cuantas que venían nuestros nombres en estas listas como  
291 profesores del board católico y además ellas organizaron unos cursos interesantísimos  
292 que teníamos durante 5 o 6 años, en los que te cuento, que nos enseñaban tácticas y  
293 procedimientos para enseñar, naturalmente, nos enseñaban en ingles pero todas  
294 dominábamos el ingles y entonces pues simplemente lo que teníamos que hacer, pues era  
295 transferirlos a la enseñanza de un idioma, que prácticamente es igual, nos enseñaron  
296 como se constituyen bueno pues una clase, el orden de una clase, las materias, y me  
297 parece que teníamos que cubrir un cierto numero de materias, las cuales las cubríamos,  
298 ósea que no había ninguna dificultad, y lo que si era que pagaban un profesor, si no  
299 recuerdo mal, por cada 25 niños, y como normalmente eramos 3 clases, pues teníamos  
300 que tener un termino medio de 75 niños, que era enseguida tuvimos como setenta y tantos  
301 niños, lo que pasó, yo no sé si recuerdo, desde luego a un congreso muy interesante a  
302 Montreal que lo promovió la, la Embajada de España en Ottawa y fue el agregado  
303 cultural a damos, muchísimos profesores de universidad español a enseñarnos, fuimos  
304 y yo pues esto era promovido por la embajada española y después y, y como  
305 se llamaba esa chica, ah, la,  
306 K:  
307 ... si, si,  
308 K:  
309 ah, exactamente, fueron me parece que fueron a Hamilton  
310 también con todo pagado, y me parece que el de, no estoy segura, que el de y  
311 era del gobierno del ministerio del multicultural del Canadá y entonces todo esto  
312 se promovía y teníamos una formación muy buena y un apoyo desde luego, enorme, y

*Spanish Embassy letter*  
*Creation of association not funding but books*  
*see letter 5 enero 1979 from Spanish Consulate*  
*part development of Catholic School board*  
*Congreso in MTL*  
*multicultural conference in Hamilton*

Figure 12. Excerpt from original transcript with keywords in the margins.



Consulado General de España

Montreal, 5 de enero de 1.979  
1 Westmount Square, Suite 1456

[Redacted] la

Muy señora mía:

El Instituto Español de Emigración me envía 11 cajas conteniendo libros, con destino a la Escuela Española Complementaria de [Redacted].

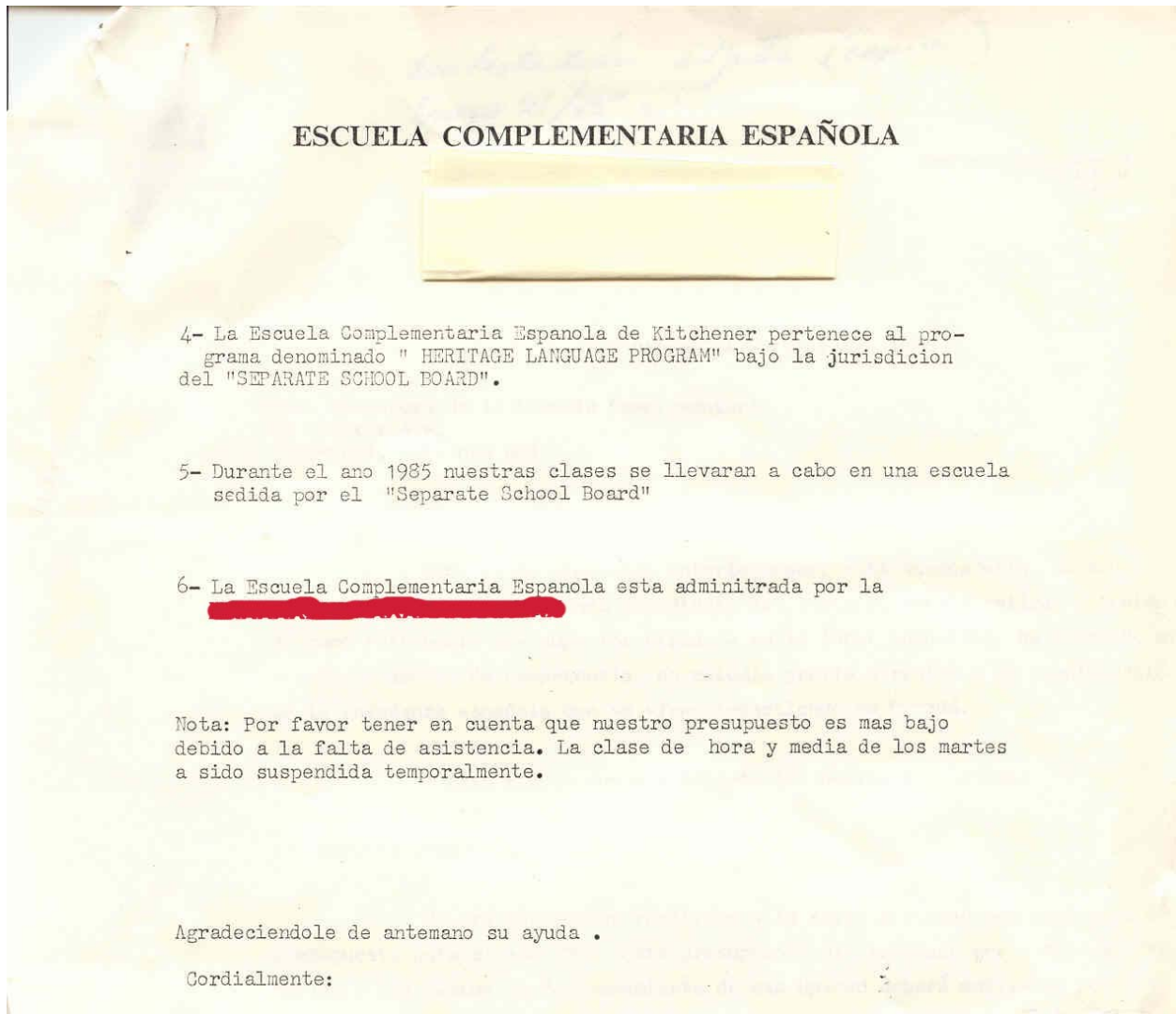
A fin de poder remitirles dichas cajas, es necesario me indique Vd. el nombre y señas de una persona ahí en [Redacted] que pueda hacerse cargo de las mismas, a cualquier hora del día, ya que el transporte lo efectuaré a través de la Compañía Canadian National y ésta no admite el P.O. Box.

En espera de sus noticias, le saluda  
atentamente,

[Redacted]  
Cónsul General de España

Figure 13. Triangulation of interview data supported by archival data in the form of a letter from the Consulate General of Spain in Montréal.

This letter was sent by the Consulate General of Spain to let the organization committee of the Spanish heritage language school know that the Spanish Institute of Emigration has sent 11 boxes of books for the school.



*Figure 14.* Triangulation of interview data supported by archival data in the form of a letter sent from the organizational committee of the Spanish heritage language school to the Consulate General of Spain.

This letter, written by the organizational committee to the Spanish Consulate explains some administrative matters of school. The letter states that while the Spanish heritage language school is belongs to the “Heritage Language Program” of the “Separate School Board,” the women’s association continues to be the sole administrators of the school.



5 de Enero del 1979

Instituto Español de Emigración →

"11 cajas de libros con destino a la escuela Española"

These were the books that all of the teachers spoke highly of. They said that they helped them with planning and teaching and for the most part followed its outline.

The outline is the same as for children students in Spain - The EQB.

The textbooks were intended for Spanish students and not heritage language students.

The teachers talk about the limitations of the books - particularly in higher grades.

Figure 15. Excerpt from researcher diary supporting data analysis.

## Narrative Analysis of Excerpt from Original Transcript

### Abstract:

(summary of the substance of the narrative. Narrative is complete without abstract)

- [Process of how the group got support from the Spanish Government].

### Orientation:

(time, place, situation, participants; answers: who, when, what, where?)

Women's association; Spanish Embassy; books, funding, external support

### Complicating Action:

(sequence of events; answers: then what happened?)

- lo primero que hicimos fue ah, pues contactar a la embajada española,

[The first thing that we did was contact the Spanish Embassy]

- la embajada española lo que nos dijo es que no se podía hacer una escuela así como así, que había que crear una asociación, esta asociación que se llamo escuela, no, se llamó [la Asociación], tenía que tener un numero determinado de socios, ya no recuerdo, pero bueno, pues muchas señoras y sus maridos y todo el mundo,

[The Spanish Embassy told us that we couldn't do a school unless we had an association, this association named alter the school, no, it was called The Association, had to have a determined number of member, I don't remember, but anyway, it was the women and their husbands and everybody]

- naturalmente, es que nos dijeron en Ottawa que no podía existir una escuela por si sola, que tenía que haber una asociación y fue cuando se fundó,

[Naturally, this is what they told us in Ottawa that the school couldn't function on its own, that there had to be an association]

- luego tenía que, tenían que tener pues naturalmente, una presidencia y un consejo, vamos se llamó un consejo administración que en esto formaba parte pues también la directora de la escuela y esto se llevaba unos libros y se administraba un dinero, /

[later we had to have a board of directors, a president, and other board members, it was like a board of directors and at the time formed the administration of the school and this collective body got books and administered the money.]

### Evaluation:

(significance and meaning of the action, attitude of the narrator; answers: so what?)

Creation of the women's association was mandated by Spanish government; in the end it was a positive step we took; books were important to the curriculum of school; appreciative of help from Spanish government

### Resolution:

(What finally happened?)

- el administración del dinero de España prácticamente no fue nada porque lo que fue es que mandaron muchísimos libros, pero vamos muchísimos, fueron muy generosos porque no solamente mandaron para los ocho cursos del primero a octavo del lenguaje más ciencias sociales, sino mandaron muchísimos libros de lectura y muy caros, diccionarios magníficos,

mandaron incluso, recuerdo, unas copias de la constitución española aplicada a los niños, que es un libro muy interesante que me hubiera gustado tener, y, y diccionarios magníficos con pinturas, bueno, pues fue una gran ayuda,  
[The administration of the money from Spain was practically nothing, but they sent us a lot of books, I mean a lot of books, they were very generous, not only because they sent us the first eight years of books, but other books in social sciences, reading books, and very expensive, magnificent dictionaries, they sent us also a copy of the Spanish constitution for children, it was a very interesting book that I would have liked to have had, and magnificent dictionaries with pictures, well, this was a great help.]

Coda:

(Returns the perspective to the present)

[The books were a great help to the school].

### Representation and Documentation of Historical Documents

The following is an excerpt taken from page 147 from my dissertation to demonstrate how I used the data sources in the creation of part of the oral history. The conclusions I made related to this data is found in chapter 5 on pages 195–196.

The board of directors and teachers had full control over the curriculum. However, the Spanish government gently influenced the curricular content of the school because its initial support to the school was through materials provided by *Instituto Español de Emigración* [Institute of Spanish Emigration], a section of the government of Spain. At the start of the Spanish school, the *Instituto de Emigración Española* provided class sets of 20 books for each grade level from first through eighth grade, comprising the *Educación General Básica* [General Basic Education] in Spain. These were the same textbooks used by children attending regular schools in Spain. The Spanish heritage language teachers used the textbooks for first through fifth grade extensively; however, the higher-level books were grammatically too complex for the students who were receiving only a complementary Spanish language education. In the following excerpt, Ana talked about teaching the older students with the textbooks from Spain and about her curricular emphasis in the classroom.

APPENDIX G  
SAMPLES OF STUDENT WORK

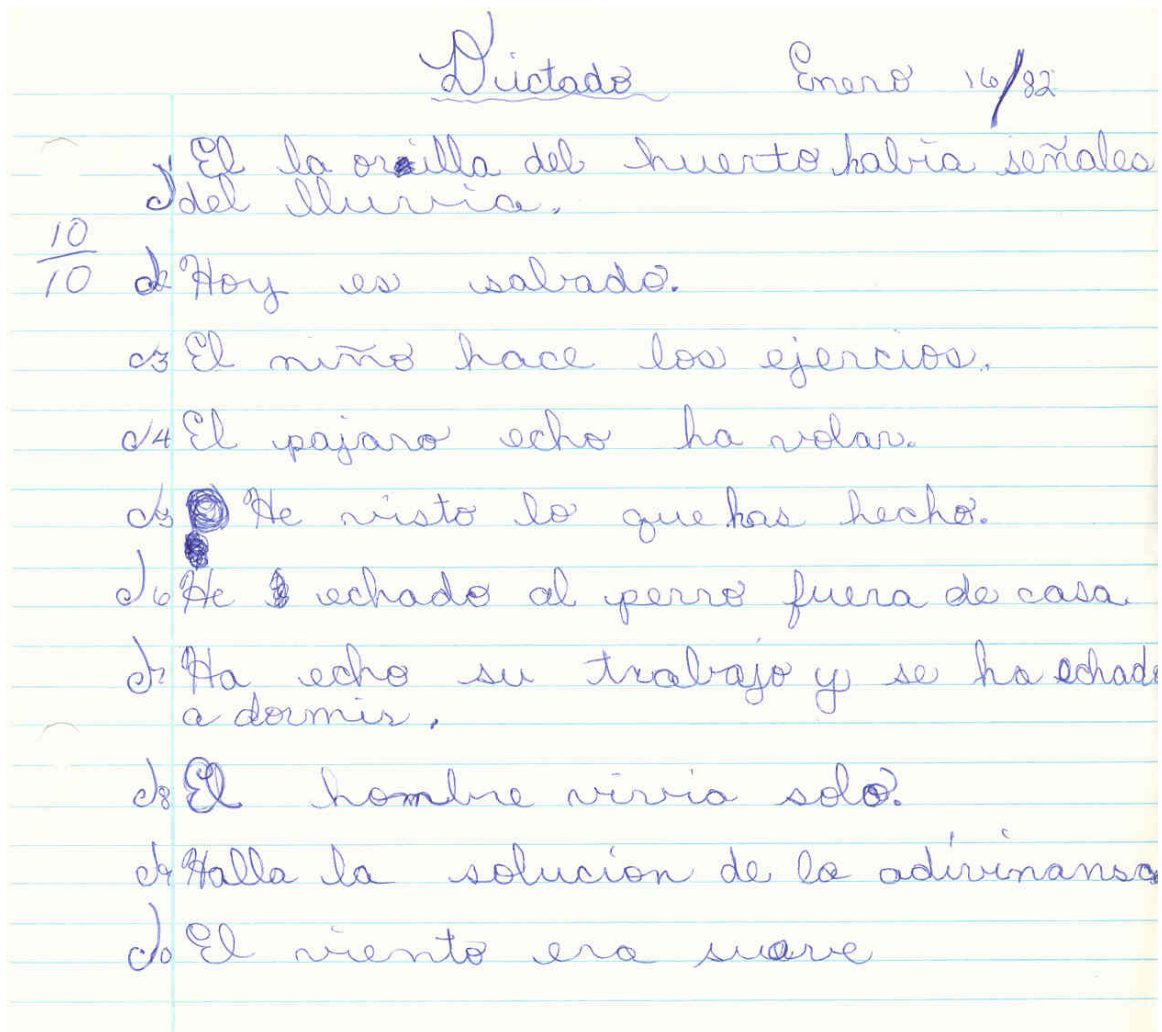


Figure 16. Example of a dictation from January 16, 1982 done by a student of the Spanish heritage language school, age 10.

## Ortografía

Regla 1] Antes de b y p siempre se escribe m y nunca n.

Regla 2] Todas las palabras que terminan en illo o illa se escriben con ll.

Regla 3] Los verbos haber y hacer se escriben siempre con h.

Regla 4] El verbo echar se escribe siempre sin h.

Regla 5] a e i o u  
C fuerte

Cama  
Queso  
Quiero  
Comer  
Cubo

C débil

Zapato  
Pena  
Cinco  
Zorro  
Jumo

Figure 17. Example of student work learning spelling rules, student age 10.

Un agujero en la alambrada

La Mosca

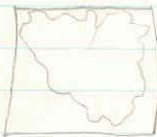
Un niño estaba perdido. El ha preguntado un guardio "como yo va ha casa" "ir ha casa sola. Ir afuera, y no viendá paca."

El reñion de niños ha ido ha un cafetaria, allí estava un mosca. El niños ha matado la mosca. Un hombre hadicho que "de du victoria tu nombre es moscador. y ahora yo va compra algun dulce. Mañana vamos ha ese sitio y cojamos mucho mas cosas que fresas.

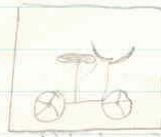
Francisco Sauterou - el ha escrito mucho libros de infantiles y juveniles. Algunos libros que el ha escrito son: Un Agujero en la Alambrada.

Figure 18. Example of a student's summary to the story "La Mosca," student age 10.

Recuerdo que;  
Las tres vacaciones del curso  
son en Navidad en Verano  
y en el Semana Santa  
Hay niños que pasan las  
vacaciones en U.S.A. y otros  
en cottages  
Mi pueblo se llama [redacted];  
es de la provincia de Ontario.  
Mi patria es Canada El Rey  
de España se llama Juan Carlos I  
Quien ondea la bandera a la  
Se dibujar.



España



Bicicleta

Figure 19. Example of student writing, student age 7, page 1 of 2.

Como son se mas cosas de  
las vacaciones y de mi Patria  
las voy a escribir.

Las vacaciones las pasare  
con mi abuelita matina en  
Murmo y veremos el sol  
de ~~med~~ media noche y  
tambien iremos a Laponia  
que esta ~~saco~~ ~~saco~~ ~~del~~  
polo Norte

Figure 20. Example of student writing, student age 7, page 2 of 2.