LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION IN CANADIAN HISPANIC COMMUNITIES: IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES

by

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Abstract

Recent scholarship has highlighted the importance of supporting home languages for linguistic-minority families in multilingual settings, as the family language is the means through which they can more successfully socialize their children into the beliefs, values, ideologies and practices surrounding their languages and cultures. Although there has been some research examining issues of Spanish acquisition, maintenance and loss in Canada, the language socialization ideologies and practices of Hispanic families have not yet been examined in this context.

This ethnographic study investigated language socialization in immigrant families from ten Spanish-speaking countries residing in Greater Vancouver. Thirty-four families participated, three of which were selected for intensive case study in their homes and in three grassroots community groups. More specifically, the study examined the families’ desires and goals with respect to Spanish maintenance, the meanings they assigned to Spanish, and the processes through which they attempted to valorize Spanish with their children.

The study found that many families formed support groups in order to transmit language and culture to their children. A cross-case analysis revealed that the families further exerted their agency by strategically turning these spaces into “safe houses” to resist assimilation and into venues for the Spanish socialization of their children, which enabled them to also transmit cultural values, such as familism. The families conceptualized Spanish maintenance as an emotional connection to the parents’ selves and as a bridge between the parents’ past and the children’s future. It was also constructed as a key that opened doors, as a bridge for learning other languages, and as a passport to a cosmopolitan worldview. Detailed discourse analyses revealed how the families utilized explicit and implicit directives, recasts, and lectures to socialize children into Spanish language ideologies. These analyses also showed how children at times resisted the parents’ socialization practices, but other times displayed their nascent understanding of their parents’ language ideologies in their own use of cross-code self-repair.

The study offers unique insights into the complexity of L1 maintenance and the dynamics of language socialization in the lives of linguistic minorities and concludes with implications for policy, pedagogy and research.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

“I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself”

1.0 Background

Language is a central aspect of human life, culture and cultural and ethnic identity for most groups (Fishman, 1989, 1999; Jasso-Aguilar, 1999; Kramsch, 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, 2000). It is central to shaping the worldview of cultures (Sherzer, 1989), the key repository of cultural values and meanings (Hall, 1997), and the primary means by which families socialize young children as members of a cultural community (Ochs, 1993, 1996; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 1986b). If language is essential to a wide range of human endeavours, fostering the family language becomes also a critical necessity for linguistic-minority families living in multilingual settings, as the family language is the means through which they can more successfully socialize their children into the beliefs, values, ideologies and practices surrounding their languages and cultures as well as into their conceptions of the world. This process of socialization also involves the shaping of children’s particular identities, drawing them to identify with a community of speakers (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008), and how these affiliations interact with the broader society. To investigate this process, this multi-site ethnography sought to analyze the language socialization of Hispanic families and their children in Metro Vancouver, Canada. The main focus of the project was on the maintenance of Spanish as a minority language in this English-speaking context.

First language (L1) loss and maintenance together form a field that had been largely neglected by applied linguists until the early 1980s (Merino, 1983; Oxford, 1982; Pan & Berko-Gleason, 1986; Wong Fillmore, 1991). However, in the last two decades, there has been an increased interest in investigating this area. The study, therefore, set out to examine language socialization objectives, processes and contextual factors in the language socialization of Spanish-speaking children in order to uncover key factors affecting their L1 loss and/or maintenance when making their home in this Canadian city.

The study is grounded in findings that substantiate work in this area. For instance, it has been found that L1 loss can disrupt family relations, often hampering immigrant parents’
efforts in helping their children manage their new life (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Additionally, although previous studies have examined issues of Spanish maintenance and loss in Canada (Guardado, 2002), general educational issues with some focus on language maintenance (Pacini-Ketchabaw, Bernhard, & Freire, 2001), and linguistic examinations of Spanish (Cuza, 2001, 2004; M. F. Hoffman, 2004), the processes of language socialization of Spanish-speaking families have not been addressed in Canada before.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

Still seen as an emergent area of study, a variety of processes are frequently investigated in connection with the terms language loss and maintenance. Several other terms are used to refer to language loss, such as language shift, language attrition, language forgetting, and language obsolescence (Fase, Jaspaert, & Kroon, 1992). There is an important distinction between the terms language loss, language attrition and language forgetting according to Weltens and Grendel (1993), but in this dissertation, the terms language attrition and language loss are used interchangeably to refer to “all types of decline of linguistic skills both in individuals and in speech communities” (de Bot & Weltens, 1995, p. 151). In the same fashion, the terms first language, home language, family language, heritage language, and mother tongue are also used interchangeably. The use of language maintenance in this dissertation assumes language development, and not just keeping an already-developed level of language ability.

My interest in this research arises from my own experiences of socialization in a new language as a young adult and also as a parent raising children bilingually and trilingually (English, Spanish, and French) in an English-dominant context. Reading Wong Fillmore’s (1991) seminal article greatly increased my personal and academic awareness and understanding of this critical issue. In her study, she found that first language (L1) loss can be extremely disruptive of family relations, jeopardizing child / parent communication, and rendering parents and grandparents unable to help their children cope with their new life experiences.

Influenced by Wong Fillmore and others’ work, I sought to determine the causes of L1 loss and maintenance and also parents’ perceptions of their children’s L1 loss and maintenance (Guardado, 2002). Such questions had not been focused on with Hispanic families in Canada before. The study revealed that the two families with a lower
socioeconomic status (SES) and lower educational background had been less successful in L1 maintenance than the two of higher SES and higher educational background. This finding was contrary to that of Schecter and Bayley’s (1997) study of 40 families in California and Texas, which found the opposite to be true for some of their participants. In addition, the preliminary findings of my 2002 study suggested that the promotion of the L1 culture, identity and family relationships was an important reason for maintaining Spanish for the study participants. Furthermore, the type of encouragement (i.e., coercive vs. supportive discourse) that parents gave their children to speak the L1 could have a facilitating or a detrimental effect. The families also felt that L1 maintenance strengthened their children’s sense of self and promoted positive moral and mental development.

Since Wong Fillmore’s (1991) publication, several important studies have focused on this topic in relation to a variety of languages and contexts (Aslinia, 2007; Bayley & Schecter, 2003; Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Coronel-Molina, 2007; Dagenais & Berron, 2001; Dagenais & Day, 1999; M. E. Garcia, 2003; O. Garcia, 1995; Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004; Guardado, 2002, 2006; Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Hamid, 2007; He, 2006; Kouritzin, 1999, 2006; Kravin, 1992; Li, 1999; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Pease-Alvarez, 2002, 2003; Sakamoto, 2001; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Schiff-Myers, 1992; Schiff-Myers, Djukic, McGovern-Lawler, & Perez, 1993; Tamis, 2005; Tannenbaum, 2005; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002; Thomas & Cao, 1999; Waas, 1993, 1997; Xiao, 1998; Zentella, 1997, 2005). However, most of the work on Spanish-English bilingualism in North America up until now has concentrated on Mexican Americans (e.g., Merino, 1983) and Puerto Ricans (e.g., Zentella, 1997), ignoring other Latin American groups whose diversity has sometimes been acknowledged, but not studied in depth. Work with a focus on Hispanic groups in Canada seems critical as the Canadian population changes and growing numbers of Spanish-speakers settle in the country.

This linguistic group is usually portrayed as monolithic and homogeneous in the research literature. However, the extensive diversity of the Spanish-speaking population (Guardado, 2003; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Zentella, 1996) calls for research that reflects the plurality within and across Hispanic groups of different national origins. Again in the Canadian context, there appears to be an even greater need for this type of investigation (as opposed to the U.S. context, where most of the work with this population has been carried
out), given the particular characteristics of the Hispanic population in this country. For instance, it is not common in Canada to find large concentrations of Hispanic people of a particular national origin in a given geographical area; rather, Hispanic groups are dispersed in the broader community. Even more importantly, the study of language issues among Spanish-speaking populations in the Canadian context is still in its early development stages and the need for comprehensive research over the next few years is likely to increase.

It is not surprising that over the last two decades the work on Hispanic communities and on Spanish as a heritage language has been intensified, particularly as it pertains to the United States. In Canada, on the other hand, there is only minimal work focusing specifically on language socialization and Spanish maintenance within the growing population of Hispanics. There is, however, a recent increased interest in examining language issues with this population with a variety of foci and from different methodological perspectives. For example, there is an emerging body of research with an exclusive focus on (micro) linguistic aspects of the acquisition, use or attrition of Spanish by Latin Americans in Canada. Work in this line includes studies by Hoffman (2004) and Cuza (2001, 2004).

As part of her doctoral dissertation, Hoffman (2004) conducted a quantitative sociolinguistic variationist study of the Spanish spoken by Salvadorean youth in the Toronto area. Hoffman sought to investigate questions related to the nature of variation, specifically, final -s and final -n, in the speech of Salvadorean youth living in Toronto. She also examined the linguistic and social constraints on variation and whether such variation carried any socio-symbolic meaning. Among other findings, she was able to verify that the aspiration and deletion of final -s is associated with Salvadorean Spanish, particularly with speakers from rural and uneducated backgrounds. Thus, she suggests that this and other populations of Hispanic youth use language and phonological variables as a form of identity. Furthermore, her study highlighted the importance of language retention and language choice for her participants who used English in public contexts, but spoke Spanish with family and friends. Among other recommendations directly related to sociolinguistic variation work in Spanish, she suggests that future research using ethnographic methods to examine language maintenance and loss in Toronto is needed.
Unfortunately, research focusing specifically on Spanish heritage language programs, in high school Spanish classes, or in home and community settings is still limited. Abdi’s (2006) master’s degree research is a qualitative case study that examines the identity negotiations and positionings of high school students – many of whom are of Latin American origin – in Spanish-as-a-foreign language classes in Metro Vancouver. Her study problematizes the labels typically used to refer to Spanish-as-a-heritage-language students, arguing that none of the terms commonly adopted by teachers and researchers (e.g., “Hispanic”, “Spanish”, “Latin, an English rendering of Latino/a”) seem to adequately capture the inherent complexity of Spanish heritage language learners. That is, such terms do not account for the potential multitude of intervening factors, such as the learners’ language proficiency (Valdés, 2000), level of emotional attachment to and affiliation with the L1 (Fishman, 2001), issues of inclusion and exclusion (Wiley, 2001; Wiley & Valdés, 2000), and other factors associated with the learners’ histories and identities.

Research of this nature (as described above) has provided significant insights into language issues affecting the Spanish-speaking population in Canada, yet further work on L1 maintenance issues is still needed given the considerable gaps in the understanding of the topic with this population in Canada. With the advent and recognition of language socialization as a robust theoretical and methodological paradigm in the last two decades, and considering there is no research of this nature with Spanish-speakers in Canada, research using this lens can potentially provide ground-breaking insights into Spanish maintenance and loss in this context.

Language socialization is currently to be understood as a non-linear, dynamic, complex, and multidirectional process (Duff, 2003, 2007b, 2007c; Duff & Hornberger, 2008; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008) in which individuals and families socialize others "into new domains of knowledge and cultural practice" (Bayley & Schecter, 2003, p. 2) so they can effectively and appropriately participate in the social life of their community (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Thus, immigrant family members are continuously and mutually socialized into systems of meaning-making in their own cultures and in the cultures in which they live. Because language and participation in cultural worlds are the primary means of

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1 Current work in progress within families with a focus on Spanish maintenance issues includes Master’s theses by Helen Baergen in Ontario and Luz Enith Cristiano in Quebec.
attaining membership in these cultural milieus, the study seeks to examine, interpret and document the interplay of factors and processes that create the experiences shaping these children’s multilingual and multicultural identities. Thus, it is critical to investigate how immigrant Hispanic families and their children cope with the challenge of being socialized into the various contexts of Canadian society in order to better understand the issues they face in relation to Spanish language loss and maintenance. Such research could also potentially reveal and help understand other educational concerns affecting them.

One of the concerns that a language socialization perspective can potentially address stems from Latin American children’s school experiences nationwide, but especially in Vancouver, where Hispanic children have some of the lowest performance scores in secondary schools, the highest drop out rates and the lowest representation rates at the university level (Gunderson, 2007). Similar results are also available in relation to this population in the Toronto area (R. S. Brown, 1994; Drever, 1996). In this vein, it has been reported (Ornstein, 1997) that in Canada, only 65% of Hispanics graduate from high school, and only 10% of them graduate from university. In Vancouver, the findings are even more disturbing. In a recently completed longitudinal study of 25,000 immigrant students, Gunderson (2007) found that only 36% of Hispanic students graduated from high school and of those, only 8% went to university. Furthermore, he found that bilingual immigrant students entering secondary schools fared better than immigrant students entering as monolinguals.

The above findings, along with the characteristics and current trends in the Spanish-speaking population in Canada and recent findings in relation to L1 maintenance and academic development, warrant further study in the language socialization of Spanish-speaking families in this context. Most of the Canadian research in this area has been done in Toronto, although Canada’s Spanish-speaking population has been growing steadily in the last two decades and is now the country’s sixth-largest non-official mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2006), with the highest concentrations in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. This omission is particularly alarming for the following reason: recent research shows first / heritage language maintenance does not hinder children’s linguistic and academic development in the dominant language (e.g., English) (Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002), a claim that has traditionally been made by “English-only” proponents in the United States.
(Crawford, 1992). On the contrary, it has been argued consistently that the maintenance of the heritage language fosters the development of oracy and literacy skills in a second language (Crawford, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Krashen, 1996), in addition to other potential or actual academic, social, economic, personal, and cognitive benefits (Colin Baker, 2001; Cummins, 1977; De Mejia, 2002; Dewaele, Housen, & Wei, 2003; Duff, 2007a; Hakuta, 1986; Heller, 1999; Moll, 1992, 1998; Moll, Armanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Moll & Gonzalez, 1994; Moll, Saez, & Dworin, 2001; Rumbaut, 1995; Worthy & Rodriguez-Galindo, 2006). Based on these premises, in-depth study of various issues, as well as family, community and school experiences with this population, including their language socialization and Spanish maintenance is an important step in understanding the challenges they face.

1.2 Research Questions

This study addresses how a number of immigrant families and their children coped with the challenge of socializing themselves and being socialized into Canadian society. More specifically, it examines the issues they faced in relation to the Spanish language loss and maintenance of their children in home, school and community settings. The research questions the study investigates are:

- What are the contextual factors and ideologies that impact the bilingual and multilingual language socialization of immigrant Hispanic families and their children in home, school, and community settings in Metro Vancouver?
- i) What are the language socialization desires and goals of the families in relation to L1 maintenance and how do they conceptualize L1 maintenance?
- ii) What are the practices through which the families socialize linguistic ideologies?
- iii) How are language socialization processes in the community related to language ideologies, practices and L1 maintenance?
- iv) What role does school play in the linguistic socialization and L1 maintenance of the families?

1.3 Significance of the Study

Despite some arguments that are still prevalent (i.e., English-only movements), there is overwhelming agreement among educators today that bilingualism and multilingualism offer many benefits to individuals, including minority children. The New London Group (2000),
for instance, maintains that cultural and linguistic pluralism offers cognitive benefits to both minority and “mainstream” children alike because “when learners juxtapose different languages, discourses, styles, and approaches, they gain substantively in metacognitive and metalinguistic abilities and in their ability to reflect critically on complex systems and their interactions” (p. 15). Thumboo (1992) asserts that the creativity of an additional language “provides for the possibility that the proficient bilingual has a sharper perception of reality because he [sic] is bifocal” (p. 271). Cummins’ Interdependence Hypothesis (Cummins, 1979, 1981) maintains that L1 academic skills transfer to L2. He also asserts that a strong L1 facilitates the acquisition of L2 and increases children’s chances of success in school.

Schecter and Bayley (2002) call for a restructuring of the terms of debate, away from the ones based on a deficit model of bilingualism prevalent on “English-only” agendas in the United States. According to Schecter and Bayley, those terms should include a focus on the additive potential of multilingualism and cultural pluralism and acknowledge the positive consequences of minority-language maintenance as experienced by individuals.

It has been suggested in recent years that orality and literacy in L1 transfers to the second language (L2) and can help children develop stronger academic skills (Crawford, 1992; Cummins, 2000; Krashen, 1996). Based on the Interdependence Hypothesis, one way to attempt to foster academic skills among Spanish-speaking students, and more generally among linguistic minorities, is through extensive research leading to a better understanding of the L1 maintenance and loss phenomenon and the transmission of heritage languages. Furthermore, given that very little research has been conducted on this topic and with this population in Canada, this study may provide a deeper understanding of Spanish-speakers’ need for linguistic and community support in order to increase their chances of success in school and attain better representation at the university level. Understanding the experiences and needs of linguistic minority students and their families may increasingly become an important goal of schools. Finding ways to address issues of first and second language acquisition, retention and use is one aspect that can contribute to this understanding. It seems reasonable to assume that by exploring issues of L1 maintenance and loss with this population, this study takes an important step in understanding the challenges they face in school, the home, and the community. This study also adds to the literature on language socialization and home language maintenance and loss, providing insights on issues affecting
families, especially those that have been identified by previous studies as critical, namely, key factors affecting the bilingual development process and its effects on intergenerational relationships and communication, biliteracy, multicultural and multilingual identities.

In addition, immigrant populations are growing in Canada and consequently, classrooms everywhere are becoming increasingly diverse. Since teaching linguistic minority students is one of the biggest challenges that educators are facing, I attempt to make a contribution in this regard by providing insights and pedagogical implications that may help minority students be better served in the school system. It is vital to draw on the linguistic and cultural resources and knowledge that these students and their families possess so as to foster a more inclusive education. Taking such an approach can also have important benefits, not only for minority language students, but also for “mainstream” students. Thus, the contribution of this project encompasses all of Canadian society.

Finally, because “local values, ideologies, patterns of social organization, and cultural preferences are inscribed in everyday discourse and social interactions” (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 341), the theoretical framework used enabled me to analyze the “relationship between everyday linguistic and discursive practices and broader social structures and systems of cultural meaning” (ibid). From this perspective, the study makes several unique contributions to the extant research. It provides an in-depth analysis and complex description of the families’ objectives for language socialization and maintenance. In this regard, it highlights the families’ constructions of language maintenance, adding multiple layers to the current understanding of this construct and expanding it with innovative insights. Additionally, it provides a micro analysis of the language socialization of the families in their homes as well as in key community settings by borrowing analytic tools from conversation analysis and drawing on notions from psycholinguistic perspectives of second language acquisition (e.g., recasts and self-repair). The study examines how recasts and self-repair played an important role in the socialization of children into particular linguistic ideologies. The resulting analysis reveals characteristics of the language socialization processes in the families, uncovers values and linguistic ideologies inscribed in their social interactions, and connects these issues to the macro sociocultural context. Finally, the study uncovers a novel initiative in the local Hispanic community: the existence of family
grassroots groups with the objective to transmit the Spanish language and cultures to their children.

Many issues not reported in this dissertation emerged from the data. Therefore, I had to choose and highlight areas that were groundbreaking, original, or seemed to be important contributions to the field. For instance, a key finding that strongly emerged in this study was that as part of L1 maintenance, families construct support networks, without which their children would be at greater risk of losing the language in new generations. Thus, this finding became a compelling thrust of the dissertation.

1.4 Outline of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework and the research literature on first language maintenance and loss. First, it provides an overview of language socialization and locates it within the field of second language acquisition. It then examines emerging conceptualizations of language socialization and its applications in monolingual and multilingual settings, with particular emphasis on Spanish language socialization. The second part of the chapter presents a literature review of first language loss and maintenance in general, with a particular focus on factors traditionally associated with first language maintenance and loss, such as linguistic ideologies, the role of schools, identity, and family factors.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology, ethnography, and describes the participants and the settings. The chapter also describes the design of the study, Phase I, Phase IIA and IIB, and outlines the data collection and analysis procedures. The next three chapters, Chapters 4, 5, and 6, present three families that constitute the core of this multiple-case ethnographic study.

Chapter 4 introduces the Fernández-Maradiaga family and examines the family’s constructions of Spanish maintenance through an analysis of interview data and participant observation. The second part of the chapter outlines the formation of a Spanish language Scout group, El Grupo Scout Vistas, and examines the factors and characteristics affecting the dynamics of language use and characteristics of the language socialization of the families.

Chapter 5 follows the same format as Chapter 4 and addresses some of the issues the Ruedas-Blanco family faced in relation to Spanish maintenance. It also describes the characteristics of El Centro de Cultura y Arte Latinoamericano (The Latin American Centre
for Culture and the Arts), a group in which the Ruedas-Blanco family’s children participated, and analyzes the types of language socialization that these and other children were exposed to in the group.

As in the previous two chapters, Chapter 6 introduces a family, the Aguirre-Ramírez family, and the grassroots group in which they participated, La Casa Amistad (Friendship House). It presents an overview of the family’s history and circumstances and an analysis of the family’s language socialization processes. It also provides an examination of the language socialization experiences of the family, along with the other group co-participants.

Chapter 7 synthesizes findings from the three case families and their grassroots groups and presents a cross-case analysis of the patterns emerging from these families, interweaving these issues with findings emerging from the broad survey of families in the initial phase of the study.

Chapter 8 summarizes the major findings related to the families’ aims of language socialization and the processes involved. It concludes with implications for language and educational policy, pedagogy and future research.
Chapter 2

SECOND LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND L1 MAINTENANCE

2.1 Second Language Socialization: Emerging Conceptualizations

Second language socialization research has evolved in response to critiques of traditional conceptualizations of second language acquisition (SLA) theory, mainly because these traditional approaches tend to emphasize individual cognitive processes in language acquisition, rather than processes of participation and membership negotiation in social worlds. Scholars working from an L2 socialization perspective seek to fill that gap by incorporating social and cultural domains into analyses of L2 learning and highlighting the situated nature of the learning process in general, but more specifically in relation to L2 learning and the socializing nature of linguistic interaction.

Current trends in L2 socialization also focus on issues affecting immigrants who typically seek greater participation and membership in the contexts in which they live, which are increasingly multilingual and multicultural. In these settings, a plethora of issues related to their linguistic socialization and acculturation arise, and individuals and their families need to negotiate their participation in such communities through complex systems of potentially unequal power relations.

The notion of L2 socialization is the result of developments in SLA over several decades. It draws on “sociological, anthropological, and psychological approaches to the study of social and linguistic competence within a social group” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b, p. 163), clearly situating language learning and L2 learning in the social realm (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1995, 2008). Language socialization refers to the process by which children are socialized both through language and into language use within a community (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1995, 2008; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 1986b). From this perspective, children’s socialization into the cultural practices of their group is mediated by language. Language is the chief tool that members of the social group use in order to transmit their values and beliefs to the child, and the language itself codifies many cultural elements, such as hierarchical relations, which helps form the child’s emerging sense of self. By the same token, through social interaction and “in the process of acquiring social knowledge, children acquire knowledge of language structure and use” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, pp. 163-164). It is through this process of socialization that children are taught to use language—and thus
acquire language. Hence, the language variety, language use patterns and communication style that children develop are based on the practices of the speech communities in which they interact.

### 2.1.1 A Multilayered View

Social theories of learning are also attracting attention in SLA. One such theory is Lave and Wenger’s (1991) communities of practice framework. From this theoretical perspective, newcomers must learn the language and skills of particular groups, and the explicit and implicit practices and attitudes already internalized and mastered by oldtimers. In such contexts, newcomers become integrated into communities through a process of interaction and socialization by *legitimately participating in the periphery*. Understanding language learning and socialization from this perspective of apprenticeship communities, immigrant minorities and language learners are *scaffolded* by established and more skilled individuals until they become skilled participants and *full* members of the community who smoothly move from the periphery to the center.

Given that language socialization can be defined as “the lifelong process by means of which individuals—typically novices—are inducted into specific domains of knowledge, beliefs, affect, roles, identities, and social representations” (Duff, 1995, p. 508), the concept referred to as ‘situated learning’ within communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) can help illuminate language socialization processes. In a community of practice, learning is connected to values, beliefs, identities, memberships and social relations. The concept of situated learning implies that participants—learners—are actively engaged with the context in which their membership and their identity are shaped and continually influence one another, one constantly and dynamically balancing and maintaining the other in a dialectical relationship. Just as membership in a learning context affords members a particular identity, their identities help them negotiate the existing power relations, obtain participation and facilitate the attainment of membership in those learning contexts. However, values, beliefs, and identities play a critical role in the memberships and social relations that newcomers are able to negotiate. These values, beliefs, and identities determine the extent to which novices succeed in that process, facilitate their integration, but often as the result of complex power dynamics, limit and even undermine their acceptance and eventual enlisting in those communities.
Newcomers may rightfully see interactions with oldtimers in communities as ideal opportunities for them to obtain knowledge, learn the cultural practices of the group (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002), and to develop their language skills as their social identities are constructed and reconstructed and they become competent members of these communities. In that process, community members and aspiring members are positioned and position themselves. This “positioning is constrained by wider socio-political factors that may be beyond the immediate control of the individual, e.g., racial and class inequalities, linguistic ideologies, unequal distribution of power and resources” (Leung, 2001, Membership section, para. 2) which are at the core of the difficulties in integration that immigrants face. Furthermore, these factors may also be rampant within the minority groups, as the group members further divide and classify one another by social class, education, ethnicity, language variety, linguistic and political ideology, generation, etc. The different types of social and cultural capital that they possess affect the dynamics within the groups, the social networks that are formed and the interactions that develop. These also affect the extent to which members of minority groups gain the “right to speech” and “the power to impose reception” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 75), which are key in the negotiation of new identities.

Due to the above—and possibly other complex factors—sometimes novices (immigrants) are not able to negotiate membership into their adopted communities and they are “ostracized and silenced” (Toohey, 2000, p. 2) by the very oldtimers that are assumed to induct them into new social networks. Additionally, oldtimers not only frequently fail to be effective socializing agents of newcomers, but also “actively exclude them from participation” (Kanno, 2003, p. 13). Thus, the process of language socialization cannot be seen as linear, unproblematic and unidirectional (Duff, 2003, 2007b, 2007c; Duff & Hornberger, 2008). For instance, Duff (2003) posits that some models of language socialization assume that novices “have sufficient access and exposure to the linguistic community, its speakers, and language practices, and there is sufficient goodwill and expertise on the part of the interlocutors to assist, mentor, and accommodate them into the target culture and its practices” (p. 315). In practice many new immigrants feel rejected and even ridiculed by the expert oldtimers who prove inaccessible to aspiring language learners, as was the case of Eva, an immigrant woman language learner struggling to have access to
Anglophones, but who found herself being excluded from the social network at work (Norton, 2000).

In conclusion, the processes of language socialization and identity formation are much more complex than what traditional models of language socialization based on monolingual small-scale societies might suggest. Lave and Wenger’s model, for instance, assumes that oldtimers are able and willing, at all times, to assist newcomers to acquire the rules and practices of the new community. It also assumes that newcomers are always able to access willing oldtimers and that they always desire to belong to and remain in the community. On the contrary, this process of language socialization is often “marked by peaks and valleys, progression and regression, times of learning and forgetting, of belonging and not belonging, of speaking and being silent, and all the tensions, confusion, and points in between” (Duff, 2003, p. 333). Frequently, the definitions of periphery and center, as well as those of oldtimers and newcomers, appear blurred and dynamic and the attitudes and enacted behaviors of these individuals do not support a linear and unproblematic language socialization. Moreover, the broader sociopolitical contexts inflict pressures on individuals (Worthy & Rodriguez-Galindo, 2006), favoring the advancement of some linguistic ideologies, practices and interests while holding back others, such as the use of home languages.

2.1.2 Current Trends in Language Socialization

In addition to the research trends focusing on L2 socialization, multilingual and multicultural populations are also attracting more attention among researchers interested in the particularities of socialization processes (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002), such as the processes taking place in vocational (Duff, Wong, & Early, 2000), occupational (Goldstein, 1997), and educational settings (see, e.g., Duff, 2008c, for a critical review). Recent research in educational settings has focused on various aspects of the academic literacy socialization of international students at the university level (Kobayashi, 2003; Morita, 2000, 2004; Morita & Kobayashi, 2008; Zappa-Hollman, 2007). Additionally, some of the L2 socialization studies with multilingual and multicultural populations have combined home, school, and community settings and have focused on a variety of issues. Some of these issues are related to cultural identity formation / maintenance and/or bilingual and multilingual socialization (Dagenais & Day, 1999; Guardado, 2002, 2006; He, 2006; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002),
attitudes toward L1 and L2 languages (Patrick, 2003; Pease-Alvarez, 2002, 2003), language socialization in Canadian Indigenous communities (Pesco & Crago, 2008), language socialization and social identity in doctrina classes (Baquedano-Lopez, 2000) and gendered second language socialization (Gordon, 2008). Others have examined teasing (Eisenberg, 1986), maternal teaching talk (Eisenberg, 2002), multimodality (Pahl, 2008), communication in online communities (Lam, 2008), and explanatory emotion talk (Cervantes, 2002), to mention just a few.

2.1.3 Language Socialization in Multilingual Settings

Many added complexities are presented by the language socialization of bilinguals (Luykx, 2003). In their language socialization process, bilingual and multilingual individuals must assign meanings to their developing selves and negotiate their identities in multicultural homes, schools, communities, and other settings and attempt to find their place in society. This, of course, is further complicated by many other factors when immigrants are involved (see e.g., Duff, Wong, & Early, 2000). They may face the devaluing of their languages and cultures, contradictory language and culture ideologies within the families, and the clashing of cultural patterns between the home culture and the dominant culture. The tensions generated by these issues may affect the languages spoken by family members or the degrees to which these languages are spoken within their families. Additionally, they may face linguistic, economic, social and political difficulties in their quest for integration. Some of the research cited in this chapter examines specifically some of these issues, providing many insights into the challenges immigrants face.

2.1.3.1 Language Socialization of Hispanics in Multilingual Settings

Several of the central issues studied in many bilingual language socialization projects involve a combination of cultural identity formation, patterns of bilingual development and attitudes toward the languages involved, as such issues are inherently tied to socialization and acculturation. Hispanics, usually Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and people of Mexican-descent in the United States, have been the object of major studies focusing on these important issues. Schecter and Bayley (1997, 2002) examined the language socialization of Mexican-descent families as well as their views of their culture and heritage language and its role in their cultural identity. Some of these issues will be discussed in the following sections that address the maintenance and loss of heritage languages in English-dominant contexts.
2.2 Language Loss and Maintenance

One area directly affected by the language socialization of linguistic minority immigrants in multilingual settings is L1 loss and maintenance. A new generation of researchers working in a variety of interconnected fields such as linguistics (Thomas & Cao, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 1991), applied linguistics (de Courcy, 2007; Kouritzin, 1999; Sakamoto, 2001; Suarez, 2007; Tannenbaum, 2005; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002), ethnolinguistics and sociolinguistics (Schecter & Bayley, 2002), anthro-political linguistics (Zentella, 1997), education (Torres, 2006), and speech-language pathology (Schiff-Myers, 1992) have completed insightful research projects in this field combining a variety of research methods, but mostly relying on qualitative approaches. These projects have contributed to new understandings of L1 maintenance and loss, providing the basis for further investigation in various directions. Despite significant advances, however, the current understanding of this field is still incomplete and ongoing research is required on issues such as: families’ perceptions of L1 and literacy development and strategies to support it; individual variation in L1 and L2 identity formation within families and groups; language shift in the home; the effects of child-rearing practices on L1 maintenance and loss; the families’ aims of language socialization and the processes of linguistic ideology socialization in home language interactions; and the challenges that minority language immigrant families face in their bilingual socialization efforts.

2.2.1 Forces against L1 Maintenance

There is a growing body of research indicating that there are numerous barriers to L1 maintenance for most linguistic minority groups in immigrant contexts. Zentella (1997) posits, for example, that L1 maintenance and/or development beyond basic skills requires much more than daily contact with a limited circle of two or three family members, even in cases where the child makes annual trips to the L1 culture. She argues that bilingual education is necessary in order to successfully foster bilingual skills, something that is unlikely to happen in most cases in Zentella’s research context, given the policies on bilingual programs in the United States, which do not accommodate English-dominant bilinguals, and continue to decline even for non English-dominant bilinguals. That hope becomes even more unlikely, given the tendency in many states to do away with such programs, rendering Hispanic children further disenfranchised. For minority children already
on the language loss path, this means missing an opportunity at struggling “to recover their lost humanity” (Freire, 1970, p. 44), or in Ofelia Garcia’s words, referring to minority language loss, putting minorities in a situation that “sinks them even further into the silence of the oppressed” (O. Garcia, 1995, p. 144). However, motivated by various factors, some families promote the language loss path, a point discussed in the Language Ideologies section.

2.2.2 Key Factors in L1 Loss and Maintenance

The maintenance and loss of heritage languages is a complex phenomenon which is affected by a variety of factors, both from within and outside the family unit. Although family language practices are the most critical and decisive in this process, these do not emerge in a vacuum and are also influenced by a number of complex forces that are largely out of the control of the families (see Figure 1 for a visual representation of some of the interacting factors).

As the downward dotted arrow in Figure 2.1 indicates, factors such as family and their aspirations and ideologies, the broader societal language ideologies, the role of schools and the community, and more broadly, the cultural, socioeconomic and political context, are some of the most critical elements that have a bearing on home language practices. Similarly, the upward dotted arrows suggest home language practices can potentially have an impact on these factors. Language loss and maintenance have important consequences for individuals and their families in various aspects of their lives and throughout their lifetimes. The solid outer arrows in Figure 2.1 delineate how the language loss and maintenance phenomena, along with the resulting identities of individuals, are the main forces that can influence community and school settings and contribute to the transformation of the linguistic ideologies of society.

For instance, scholars and researchers argue that immigrant parents usually concern themselves with their rapid integration into the host country (Merino, 1983; Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006). This implies learning the dominant language as quickly as possible as a means of securing employment, fulfilling their daily needs and establishing themselves as members of the community. It also implies encouraging their children to learn
the dominant language quickly and accurately in order to succeed in school, and later, in society in general (Cummins, 2000; Howard, 2008). Quite often, however, parents and
children face unforeseen toil and adverse consequences in achieving this integration. Parents often work hard and fail to acquire enough skills to attain adequate employment and end up with low-level, low-paying jobs,\(^2\) a fate immigrants cannot easily escape, even with sufficient English skills (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001). Their children move along the language-learning path at a much faster rate due to their extended contact with the dominant language and frequently end up dealing with adult situations as their parents’ interpreters at doctors’ offices, government agencies and other places. According to some accounts (e.g., Norton, 2000), children are sometimes asked to assist their parents in such challenging tasks as job-hunting, putting the children in an awkward situation, often witnessing their parents’ frustrations at repeatedly being refused employment. These circumstances further strain parents and negatively affect their sense of ‘adults in charge’ and their self-esteem, to the detriment of the well-being of the family. This perceived blessing—language acquisition ability—does not come without a cost for children and familial relationships. In the process of learning the dominant language, their L1 erodes gradually (Wong Fillmore, 1991).

### 2.2.2.1 Linguistic Ideologies

Another aspect of L1 loss and maintenance that requires more extensive research and analysis is the status of minority languages (and cultures) and minority language varieties (e.g., “Spanglish”) outside and also within minority groups themselves and how these ideologies are socialized through interaction. Language ideologies can be defined as the values and beliefs that individuals and communities espouse about the worth of their languages and how these languages should be used in their social lives (Baquedano-Lopez & Kattan, 2008). A focus on language ideologies becomes vital in studies of L1 maintenance as they “envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity…” (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994, pp. 55-56), making them particularly explicit in multilingual contexts (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1995). In these settings, the attitudes and beliefs of the community members about language are critical to their L1 maintenance success. These attitudes and beliefs evolve and change through the face-to-face interactions (Gibbons & Ramirez, 2004), as well as indirect interactions, of the members of the minority community with in-group and out-group members. However, we must not forget the enormous effect of the broader

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\(^2\) Even a decade after immigrating to Canada, as many as 47% of immigrants are still living below the poverty line (35% across Canada, 40% in Vancouver and 47% in Montreal, according to Statistics Canada (2004).
sociopolitical forces on beliefs and attitudes that people have about language (Worthy & Rodriguez-Galindo, 2006; Zhang, 2005) and the resulting behaviors (i.e., home language practices) (Morris & Jones, 2008), which ultimately help facilitate or hinder language maintenance. Thus, the linguistic ideologies of parents and children have a direct impact on L1 acquisition and maintenance (Howard, 2008; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1995, 2008). Understanding how these preferred ideologies and communicative practices are socialized is central to elucidating the processes underlying L1 loss and maintenance.

Through reflection, personal observation and a diary study of herself and her Chinese-speaking 12 year old daughter while living in Hawaii, Li (1999) provides important insights into these issues, including the valuing of the L1 and L2, parental attitudes about L1 and L2 and L1 and L2 cultures, and familial relationships. Li’s study recognizes that minority-languages are often marginalized in schools and in the larger community, causing those speakers to also feel marginalized. She declares that often “there is an invisible wall between the outside world and us” (p. 116). Her study also highlights the value that minority-language speakers should assign to their languages as an important prerequisite in minority-language transmission, a point also made by participants in other studies (e.g., Guardado, 2002).

Just as so-called “non-standard” varieties of English are devalued in the English-speaking world (e.g., African American and Appalachian English in the U.S.) (Lanehart, 1999; Tamura, 1996), some varieties of Spanish are often devalued in Spanish-speaking contexts. In Schecter and Bayley’s (1997, 2002) study, the participating parents reportedly felt that Spanish in general was devalued in the community and that certain varieties of Spanish (e.g., Spanglish, Latin American Spanish) were devalued by speakers of “prestige” varieties (e.g., Spanish as it is spoken in Spain). This points to a growing sense that many minority groups continue to devalue, or suppress at home (Howard, 2008), “less desirable” varieties of their own language and in many cases, their own variety. This suggests that the hegemony of English and of Standard colonial varieties (e.g., Continental Spanish) continues to have serious consequences for underprivileged groups in the United States (and quite possibly, in other English-speaking contexts), and as Schecter and Bayley argue, many of whom are convinced that English monolingualism and Americanization offer a fast track to
success and a possibility of access to the *American Dream*, a hope that continues to elude most members of minorities.

While making important contributions to the literature and to the understanding of the field, some studies unfortunately do not emphasize important factors affecting the L1 maintenance and loss process. These studies do not address the status of the participants’ languages in relation to English within the community and fail connect the issues discussed to the larger sociopolitical context (e.g., Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Thomas & Cao, 1999). As has been argued so far, those external forces have a major impact on the home language use patterns of linguistic minorities.

**2.2.2.2 The Role of Schools**

Another powerful influence on heritage language maintenance and loss is the role of schools. Baquedano-Lopez and Kattan (2008) argue that schools are “one of the primary sites in which the legitimacy of one language or another is contested” (p. 169). While school policies and practices are directly affected by the larger sociopolitical context (Baquedano-Lopez & Kattan, 2008), including the community language ideologies, schools have a more direct bearing on the language practices of children (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Kouritzin, 1999, 2000, 2006; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991), both in the home and in the community. Schools are usually the main L2 socialization milieu (Howard, 2008; L. Moore, 2008), providing children a novel language alternative that they happily bring home and use with their siblings (Howard, 2008).

For example, soon after starting school, children often start speaking the dominant language to siblings and friends—and even to their monolingual or nearly monolingual parents. Sometimes in response to the tensions created by the experience of being a subordinated cultural and linguistic group, and also because of the various outside pressures, families adopt home language practices that favor the decline of the mother tongue. There are several cases of this nature reported in the literature (see e.g., Kouritzin, 1999) as well as informal accounts related by those who have had this experience. On other occasions parents and other adults in the family encourage the children to speak the dominant language at home, turning the children into resources from which to learn and with whom to practice.

However, frequently the influence of schools on home language practices goes well beyond the natural embracing of the L2 by the children. Often, parents are encouraged by
school personnel to speak the dominant language at home (Kouritzin, 1999; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002), to the detriment of the home language, and when that happens, the primary means by which families and their children are socialized begins to crumble (Wong Fillmore, 1991). For instance, Schecter and Bayley (1997, 2002) explain how the teachers of some of the children in their ethnographic study recommended to parents to speak only in English to their children in order to facilitate their integration into the schools, an issue that has repeatedly emerged in the literature (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Kouritzin, 1999; Lawson & Sachdev, 2004; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Rodríguez, 1982; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2001) recently reported on an exploratory study as part of a larger project of 45 families from several different Spanish-speaking countries. The main focus of this study was on the influences of school on home language practices. Many of the parents had received specific instructions from school personnel to only speak English to their children. Moreover, whenever there was a deficiency in the performance of the children, school officials would often suggest that it was caused by the use of Spanish at home. Many language programs—and public schools—have rules making the use of L2 in the classroom, and indeed, on the entire school grounds, mandatory, banning L1 use altogether and punishing its use (M. E. Garcia, 2003; Hurtado & Rodríguez, 1989; Rodríguez, 1982). It is likely that such practices contribute to shaping students’ ideologies about the value of their own languages and cultures and reinforce the hegemony of English. These emerging linguistic ideologies have the potential of causing children to resist their parents’ efforts to socialize them into Spanish ideologies and Spanish practices for family interaction.

2.2.2.3 Identity

In relation to language acquisition in general, and particularly concerning the issue of L1 maintenance and loss, it can be argued that people’s interactions fully shape their language growth or lack thereof. This can be understood as an identity issue, as identity refers to the different meanings that individuals ascribe to themselves (Kleine, Kleine, & Kernan, 1993) and how these meanings fundamentally shape, and are shaped by, the types of interactions in which they engage.
Schecter and Bayley (1997) found that all the participants understood L1 loss as cultural identity loss. Although all the parents in the study reported having a strong Mexican cultural identity and were attempting to pass down their cultural roots to their children as a way of maintaining their heritage, not all the families succeeded. Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2001) also reported that the participating families saw L1 maintenance as a way to foster family unity, Latino identity and future professional advancement.

Sakamoto’s (2000) findings suggest that cultural awareness and the connection of L1 maintenance and identity are also important factors, as the parents’ understanding of this complex issue is one of the keys to success in L1 maintenance, coupled with the complete cultural, social and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) necessary to provide children with an enriching experience. In other studies, L1 has been seen as “a necessary social resource for maintaining cultural tradition and ethnic identity” (Schecter & Bayley, 2002, p. 79). While the ability to successfully maintain the home language in a dominant language environment gives minority language speakers a stronger identity and sense of self, a strong L1 identity has been identified as one of the most critical factors conducive to L1 maintenance. Thus, I posit that the relationship between language maintenance and cultural identity is a dialectical one.

In this vein, children who do not develop a strong L1 attachment may even be ambivalent about their identity and feel “shame about the home language and culture” (Cummins, 1984, p. 119). If identity can be defined as “how the self conceives of itself, and labels itself” (Mathews, 2000, p. 17), how does someone “label” themselves when there is a contradiction in how they ‘perceive’ themselves? If the “individual and culture are inseparable” (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000, p. 203), how can they acknowledge and value who they are? This raises a myriad of questions about the study of L1 loss and retention, between the interests of different generations and how the research can serve these interests.

In relation to forces supporting minority identities, it can be argued that ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural groups have unique characteristics that help shape the degree of success they can expect in L1 maintenance. For instance certain groups, like Japanese families in Canada, have at their disposal a number of symbolic and material resources (i.e., Japanese Saturday School) (Bourdieu, 1986) that enable them to pursue their goals more successfully (see e.g., Sakamoto, 2001) than other groups that do not have those kinds of resources, and
therefore, are unable to operate such programs. Certainly, not only the material resources play a crucial role in L1 maintenance, as some forms of cultural capital, such as cultural and linguistic awareness (Guardado, 2006, in press), seem to strengthen cultural identities, which give families the potential to more actively pursue the preservation of their heritage and heritage languages by consciously or unconsciously implementing language ideologies in the home (and enacting home language practices) that are more conducive to the multilingual and multiliterate development of their children. As argued above, I posit that this linguistic socialization in turn strengthens the individual cultural identity, turning this process into a dialectical relationship with the potential of infinite iterations.

2.2.2.4 Intergenerational Communication and Family Cohesion

As described in the above sections, there are many factors that affect and shape the home language ideologies of linguistic minorities, promoting certain language practices in the home. The language use choices that parents and children make have immense consequences for their future ability to communicate well with kin in any language, especially at more complex levels. Thus, L1 loss and maintenance has a direct impact on intergenerational communication (Guardado, 2002; Kouritzin, 1999; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Thomas & Cao, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 1991), most often between children and extended family including grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc. The majority of studies in the field speak to this issue. For instance, an important goal in maintaining Spanish reported by the participants in Schecter and Bayley’s (1997) study was having a connection with family and family history. Li (1999) also addressed the crucial role that L1 maintenance has in ensuring familial unity and bridging generation gaps. In Pacini et al.’s (2001) study, among other findings, the families saw L1 maintenance as a way to foster family unity. Sakamoto (2001) emphasized that for her Japanese participants, family cohesion was the most important factor. In her qualitative study of adults who had experienced language loss in childhood, Kouritzin (1999) found that the great majority of participants reported many negative familial effects. Likewise, in a sociolinguistic study of a Chinese community in Britain, Wei (1994) details generational changes in language choice among Chinese immigrant families.

An interesting case illustrating intergenerational communication issues is provided by Thomas and Cao (1999). Among the findings documented by the researchers, the frustrations
of family members in communicating with one another in their daily lives was one of the most salient issues. The children communicated with their parents with difficulty and only barely with grandparents, a situation that created a tense atmosphere in a home where different languages and cultures collided and where generation gaps exacerbated the situation of family members. All of the children had almost completely shifted to English, a language not mastered by the parents or grandparents. The researchers observed that parents could not even “know” their children or what kind of persons they were, they felt that they had lost authority over their own children, and that they were unable to deal with or even understand the different aspects of their children’s schooling, advising them to do what they thought was right while hoping for the best. It is clear from this study that in relation to the issue of parent-child distancing due to the lack of a shared language, the issue of L1 maintenance is not only important based on nostalgic grounds, as has been suggested in the past. Although nostalgia may play a role in the desire of minority groups to transmit the home language and culture to their children, family cohesion and harmony is jeopardized when the lack of a shared language in the family brings misunderstandings and frustrations to its members and they gradually choose to spend less time attempting to communicate or share experiences as a result. Parents and grandparents are also unable to succeed in the transmission of family traditions to their children or to help them understand and cope with their experiences as they are growing up. Thomas and Cao also provide an analysis of how parents are no longer able to participate in their children’s education and academic decision-making process and feel they are not in control of their children’s lives.

When the L1 loss process is underway many “parents often feel that they are losing their children” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, p. 47) because they are no longer able to fully reach them in the language in which they are most competent. For the children, the nuances of the L1 are often lost in the messages. In connection to the issues discussed above, this situation presents obvious implications for identity and possibly a sense of alienation between children and their parents and grandparents. There is no doubt that as this process progresses, not only language is lost.

2.3 Hispanic Diversity

The importance of focusing on the diversity of the Spanish-speaking community has recently been raised by scholars (Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Zentella, 1996). Because this
linguistic group is usually portrayed as monolithic and homogeneous, especially in the United States, Schecter and Bayley claim that their study can be interpreted as a response to Zentella’s (1996) call for efforts toward better understanding the diversity of the Spanish-speaking community, even within an individual ethnolinguistic group. Furthermore, common assumptions about facilitating factors in L1 maintenance (i.e., the concentration of Latinos in a region, language policy) were found not to be true for all the participating families, demonstrating the diversity of the Mexican-descent population in the United States. This not only suggests that further exploration in this field and in relation to Spanish-speaking populations is essential, but also that work across diverse Spanish speaking populations is needed, in order to more adequately understand the complexities of the issues associated with language socialization and L1 loss and maintenance across ethnic groups. Unfortunately, in the United States most of the work in this field so far has focused on Puerto Ricans (Fishman, Cooper, & Ma, 1971; Zentella, 1997) and Mexicans (Hakuta & D'Andrea, 1992; Merino, 1983; Silva-Corvalán, 1991), possibly due to the large numbers of these populations and their earlier immigration or presence in the country. The present study can also be interpreted as a response to Zentella’s (1996) and Schecter and Bayley’s (2002) call for more in-depth study of diverse Hispanic populations.

2.4 Summary

Clearly, many schools in Canada and in the United States continue to privilege English, especially the variety spoken by white, upper-middle class individuals, at the expense of the languages spoken by members of minorities. It is evident that many teachers lack an understanding of minority language issues when they encourage parents to stop speaking the only language they may know at home. There is a need for teachers to become more aware of issues of home language use and of the need to maintain the L1 for educational and social reasons. Rather than asking parents to stop speaking it, teachers should be recommending that families increase the uses of L1 at home and suggest strategies and resources for doing so. Fortunately, many teachers do encourage parents to foster their heritage languages with their children at home, a trend that is bound to increase if more awareness of the issues involved are more broadly researched and disseminated.

Educational policy has the potential for playing an important role in promoting or hindering the development of heritage languages and multilingualism. Amid all of the
complexities raised above, this is a relatively simple issue, for which teachers can be better prepared in finding ways to value and take educational advantage of the multilingual resources in their classrooms (Moll et al., 1992). Learning about, understanding, and promoting these linguistic resources can be extremely important in constructing a more positive view of minority students. Likewise, this is also a positive step in valuing the languages, cultures, skills and rich experiences of students and their families, which has an important impact on the identity formation of students as well, because as their cultures are recognized, highlighting their intrinsic value, they develop a stronger connection to their cultural roots.
Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:
THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will provide a detailed discussion of the research methodology used in the study, the ethnography of communication. Secondly, I will present a general profile of all the participating families. Then I will describe the data collection and analysis methods for the study, as well as the research settings. Finally, I will describe how I attempted to enhance the trustworthiness of the study findings.

This study employed qualitative research methods to examine the contextual factors and ideologies of the language socialization of immigrant Hispanic families and their children in home and community settings in Metro Vancouver. I chose an ethnographic approach for several reasons. My theoretical framework, language socialization, is solidly grounded in ethnography (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Additionally, ethnographic interviews and participant observation with Hispanic families in various settings provided me with an opportunity to conduct an in-depth investigation of the complex nature of language socialization in these families. These observations and interviews allowed me to examine the processes and outcomes of the implicit and explicit language socialization that the child participants experienced at home and in the community and the effects of these processes on their multilingual and multiliterate development. Moreover, the combination of a language socialization perspective with an ethnographic approach allowed me to focus on both micro and macro levels. As argued by several scholars (e.g., Bronson & Watson-Gegeo, 2008; Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002), a combination of linguistic tools and social theory allows researchers to connect micro processes to the macro context. Using these combined perspectives allowed me to conduct close analyses of the data while connecting the emerging issues to the broader sociopolitical / sociocultural context. This enabled me to conduct a more empirically-grounded analysis of the issues related to language and cultural maintenance, reproduction and transformation (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). An ethnographic approach, then, was the most suitable method for the specific research questions I attempted to address in this study. I believed that an analysis of the micro-and

3 Detailed descriptions of the case families will be provided in the findings chapters.
macro-level factors affecting the families’ language socialization would provide a more accurate and holistic depiction of this process than by analyzing only one of these domains independently of the others.

3.1 Ethnography

Ethnography emerges from one of two main research traditions, quantitative and qualitative. As opposed to quantitative approaches that go back to the positivists of the nineteenth century, qualitative research paradigms are quite new. They have their origins in phenomenology, a philosophical perspective that maintains that “any effort to understand human behaviour must take into account that humans are cognitive beings who actively perceive and make sense of the world around them, have the capacity to abstract from their experience, ascribe meaning to their behaviour and the world around, and are affected by those meanings” (Palys, 1997, p. 16). Qualitative research is interpretivist and seeks to vicariously describe and obtain a more in-depth understanding of people’s experiences, the meanings behind these experiences and what role these play in their relationships with others.

According to Fetterman (1998), “ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture” (p. 1). Doing ethnography is often seen as a synonym of doing fieldwork, the heart of ethnography. Ethnographers—or fieldworkers—spend considerable time in a particular setting engaging in participant observation, participating in local daily life (Duranti, 1997), taking notes in order to describe, explain and interpret the everyday as well as the distinctive practices of the culture of that setting. Several academic traditions have embraced ethnography as a valid research methodology because of its robustness. In this vein, as posited by Duff (1995), “representing a range of possible techniques, levels of analysis, and domains of inquiry, ethnography offers a holistic, grounded, and participant-informed perspective…” (p. 507). This versatility of techniques, types of analysis and areas of research in which they can be applied make ethnography an appealing methodology, particularly in the social sciences, enabling researchers to provide a more complex, richer portrait of a group or phenomenon from an *emic* as well as *etic* perspective.

3.1.1 The Ethnography of Communication

The object of ethnography is to describe and interpret cultures and the object of linguistics is to systematically analyze language codes. The goal of the ethnography of communication, as part of the field of sociolinguistics, is to study communication in different
communities. Since language is inseparable from culture and language is one of the systems of culture, this ethnographic orientation provides methods for studying various linguistic issues in communities. To that end, the ethnographer of communication needs to possess the necessary tools for the task: linguistic knowledge and ethnographic techniques. In a specific research setting, the ethnographer of communication studies a variety of issues that might include:

- language socialization and enculturation
- social interaction
- communicative events
- communicative strategies
- communicative functions
- communicative patterns
- communication behavior
- ways of speaking
- routines and rituals

In some settings, it may also be significant to focus on issues of code-switching and style-shifting, intercultural communication, cross-cultural communication and the display of identities and linguistic ideologies in talk. When examining any of the above issues, the researcher might endeavor to provide an in-depth description and interpretation of how social meaning is conveyed, and how the speech community is affected as a result.

From an ethnography of communication perspective, understandings of cultural systems are connected to language. Language is directly implicated in how communities are socially organized and in how role-relationships are understood and enacted, and in the transmission of beliefs, values, shared knowledge and accepted patterns of behavior (Saville-Troike, 2003). All of these are transmitted from one generation to another in the process of socialization. In the field of applied linguistics, “one of the most significant contributions made by the ethnography of communication is the identification of what a second language learner must know in order to communicate appropriately in various contexts in that language, and what sanctions may be for various communicative shortcomings” (Saville-Troike, 2003, p. 9). Because of these potential contributions, certain research areas within applied linguistics with close connection to sociolinguistics, such as language socialization and bilingualism, are increasingly utilizing the ethnography of communication as a research method (Duff, 1995, 2002; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Zentella, 1997).
The ethnography of communication is mainly interested in uncovering the patterns of language use and interaction in speech communities. Both in English as a first language and English as a second language settings, as well as in other linguistic ecologies, the ethnography of communication focuses on how individuals are apprenticed in language use, through language and in the “lifelong process through which individuals are initiated into cultural meanings and learn to perform the skills, tasks, roles, and identities expected by whatever society or societies they may live in” (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 582). The ethnography of communication has been established as a viable method of inquiry in a variety of monolingual, but not necessarily mono-dialectal, speech communities (see, e.g., Heath, 1983). Although this type of work has been very important in monolingual communities, following the advent of the ethnography of communication there has been an increased interest in multilingual speech communities as well in order to locate the patterns of language usage of the group members.

With globalization evolving rapidly over the last decade and increasing immigration (e.g., United States and Canada), more languages and cultures are coming into contact than ever before and populations are becoming more culturally and linguistically diverse. This poses an important challenge to researchers who need increasingly more effective and sophisticated research approaches to address issues that arise in those diverse contexts, including schools and communities. The ethnography of communication in multilingual and multicultural settings offers possibilities for investigating pertinent language-related issues in these communities. Duff (2002) contends that the ethnography of communication offers advantages “as a culture- and- context-sensitive method for conducting research” (p. 315). Both in and out of the classroom, this method offers appropriate tools for interactional and linguistic analysis, as well as the ethnographic research tools for exploring, describing and interpreting the beliefs and attitudes about language in speech communities, as well as the communication behaviors, strategies and patterns of language usage that may reveal underlying relationships and power dynamics within those communities.

Given that with the development and wider application of ethnography in recent times this method has become so diverse that it is now applied in a “vastly expanded subject matter, limited only by the varieties of experience in modern life” (Vidich & Lyman, 2003, p. 95), ethnography is a viable method for informing the field of applied linguistics. Therefore,
ethnography, and more specifically, the ethnography of communication, can be a powerful research tool in understanding language acquisition, socialization and use. Thus, the study reported here utilized an ethnographic methodology to examine the language socialization of Hispanic families in Metro Vancouver with a focus on the development of multilingual and multiliterate identities and sociolinguistic practice. The following research questions were investigated:

What are the contextual factors and ideologies that impact the bilingual and multilingual language socialization of immigrant Hispanic families and their children in home, school, and community settings in Metro Vancouver?

i) What are the language socialization desires and goals of the families in relation to L1 maintenance and how do they conceptualize L1 maintenance?

ii) What are the practices through which the families socialize linguistic ideologies?

iii) How are language socialization processes in the community related to language ideologies, practices and L1 maintenance?

iv) What role does school play in the linguistic socialization and L1 maintenance of the families?

3.2 Access, Settings, and Participants

3.2.1 Access

The participating families were recruited through a combination of purposive sampling (Patton, 1990) and snowball sampling. Palys (1997) states that “all sampling is purposive to some degree, since identifying a target population invariably expresses the researcher’s interests and objectives” (p. 137). Thus, participants were recruited through various contacts, including: community organizations; non-governmental organizations that provide services to the general population, including recent Hispanic immigrants; Vancouver School Board (VSB) Hispanic multicultural workers; interviews in Spanish language radio programs; and acquaintances (see Appendix A for information provided to potential participants). Additionally, many participants were recruited through snowball sampling when several of the early participants contacted and invited other families of their own initiative. The multicultural workers also invited me to events organized for Hispanic parents at different elementary and secondary schools (e.g., meetings with VSB Trustees) where they introduced me to the parents. In these events I first gave a brief description of the project to
the families and circulated a sign up list for parents interested in taking part in the project. The level of interest in these events was quite high, although not all interested parents met the study participant criteria. When inviting families to participate, they were offered a Spanish language children’s book from the *Barco de Vapor* series. I had a selection of books for different age levels available from which parents could choose.

### 3.2.2 Settings

This was a multi-site ethnographic study. The initial phase of the study consisted of in-depth interviews with families. These interviews generally took place in the families’ homes, but in some cases, the families chose a setting that was more convenient to them (e.g., workplace). Participant observation and other forms of ethnographic data collection in the second phase of the study took place in families’ homes and in grassroots groups in which they participated. The homes and the groups were located in three different municipalities of Metro Vancouver. Specific details of the settings will be provided in the sections below.

### 3.2.3 Participants

My criteria for recruiting participating families for the study included:

- national origin: variety of origins
- length of residence in Canada: broad range
- children’s ages: school age
- family status: one-parent and two-parent families
- immigration status: refugee applicants excluded

Potential participating families needed to have at least one child of school age, preferably attending elementary school. I hypothesized that the most influential language socialization milieu for immigrant children in terms of language maintenance or shift outside the home was the school environment. Therefore, studying school-age children was a strategic decision in this investigation. In order to obtain a somewhat comparable group of participants, an effort was made to only recruit those families who had arrived as landed immigrants, excluding refugee claimants. The rationale for excluding refugee claimants from the participant pool was that refugees might present additional post-traumatic-related issues and barriers to their integration. Other forms of diversity were desired and sought in recruiting study participants, such as length of residence, national background, and family situation.
This section will provide a general profile of the participants, but the three case-study families will be introduced individually in their respective chapters. The participants in the study were 34 Hispanic families living in Metro Vancouver and with ties to ten Spanish-speaking countries (see Table 3.1 for details), mainly Mexico, El Salvador, and Colombia. Of these, four were one-parent families and ten consisted of mixed-language parents. The families’ length of residence in Canada ranged from eight months to 25 years. The average length of residence was 10 years. The number of children varied from one to six, with an average of 2.2 children per family. The average age of the children in the study was approximately ten years and their gender representation was close to 50 percent male and 50 percent female. These family characteristics reflect the diversity of the Hispanic population in Metro Vancouver. However, the overwhelming majority of parent participants were college or university-educated (29 out of 34 sets of parents) and had lifestyles considered middle-class in Canada, which was in sharp contrast to the actual overall profile of the Hispanic population in Metro Vancouver. Therefore, the participants cannot be considered typical Hispanic immigrants, but privileged members of the educated middle class.

Table 3.1: General Profile of Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Children’s age and gender</th>
<th>Length of residence in Canada (years)</th>
<th>Main language spoken at home</th>
<th>Years of parents’ formal schooling</th>
<th>Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Fernández Mr. Maradiaga (Focal family-El Grupo Scout Vistas)</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>13 (F), 8 (F)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>16/17</td>
<td>I, IIA, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Ruedas*6 Mr. Blanco (Focal family-El Centro de Cultura)</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>12 (F), 11 (M), 4 (F)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>15/17</td>
<td>I, IIA, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Aguirre Mr. Ramírez (Focal Family-La Casa Amistad)</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F), 7 (F), 3 (F)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>I, IIA, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Pérez* Spain  Mr. Feiz Afghanistan</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>8 (F), 6 (M)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Spanish/English</td>
<td>17/12</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4 Only children living at home were included. Two of the families had adult children not living at home.
5 All names are pseudonyms.
6 When only one parent participated, an asterisk (*) indicates the participating parent.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family5</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Children’s age and gender</th>
<th>Length of residence in Canada (years)</th>
<th>Main language spoken at home</th>
<th>Years of parents’ formal schooling</th>
<th>Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Asturia Mr. Morales</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>9 (F), 5 (F)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>22/21</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Palencia Mr. Palencia</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Marshall* Mr. Marshall</td>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>4 (F)</td>
<td>17/-</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>13/-</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Ibarra* Mr. Piccio</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F), 1 (M)</td>
<td>10/-</td>
<td>English Spanish</td>
<td>17/12</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Steinberg* Mr. Steinberg</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>9 (F), 5 (F)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Juárez</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>English/ Spanish</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Hernández Mr. Hernández</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>9 (F), 7 (M), 6 (M)</td>
<td>2.5⁸</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Solis* Mr. Solis</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Martínez* Mr. Hengeveld</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>18 (M), 16 (M), 14 (M)</td>
<td>20+/-</td>
<td>English Dutch Spanish</td>
<td>14/18</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Nieve* Mr. Harris</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>9 (F)</td>
<td>10 +/-</td>
<td>English / Spanish</td>
<td>17/-</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Damas* Mr. Brown</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>-/-</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>14/-</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Kyllonen* Mr. Brown</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F), 3 (F)</td>
<td>20+/-</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>23/-</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Bedward* Mr. Kyllonen</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>7 (M), 3 (F)</td>
<td>20+/-</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>19/19</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Nakayama</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>11 (F), 8 (F), 5 (M)</td>
<td>17/-</td>
<td>English Spanish</td>
<td>18/19</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Herrera</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>11 (F), 8 (F), 5 (M)</td>
<td>17/-</td>
<td>English Spanish</td>
<td>18/19</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Clavel Mrs. Galdámez* Mr. Galdámez</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F) 4 (F), 0.8 (M)</td>
<td>11 20+/5</td>
<td>Spanish Spanish</td>
<td>17 17</td>
<td>IIB IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Puñez Mr. Pedroza</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>7 (F)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>23/17</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Corral Mr. Novoa</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>18 (M), 16 (M), 9 (M)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/19</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. San Martín Mr. San Martín</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>6 (M), 10 (M)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Vanegas Mr. Vanegas</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>18 (M), 17 (M), 13 (F)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>14/17</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁷ A dash=information not available or not applicable.
⁸ The children were born and raised in Chicago, Illinois, until the family’s relocation to Vancouver.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Children’s age and gender</th>
<th>Length of residence in Canada (years)</th>
<th>Main language spoken at home</th>
<th>Years of parents’ formal schooling</th>
<th>Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Ovando*</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>9 (M), 7 (M)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Ovando</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Castillo</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>5 (M)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>16/16</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Castillo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Calles*</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>12 (F), 8 (F)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>14/-</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Calles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Amado7</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>8 (F), 14 (M)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Delgado</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>10 (F), 9 (M), 7 (M)</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>16/12</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Delgado</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Alarcón</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>19 (M), 17 (M), 11 (F), 8 (M)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Alarcón</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>13 (M), 11 (M), 6 (M), 4 (M), 4 (M)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>8/-</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Batres*</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>18 (M), 15 (M), 16 (M), 15 (M), 13 (F), 12 (M), 4= 20+</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/-</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Batres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Enríquez*</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>5 (M)</td>
<td>3/-</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>16/-</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Telasnikov</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Canales*</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>19 (F), 19 (M), 16 (M), 16 (M), 15 (M), 13 (F), 12 (M), 4= 20+</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Canales</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Flores</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>19 (F), 19 (M), 16 (M), 16 (M), 15 (M), 13 (F), 12 (M), 4= 20+</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 is organized by the families’ level of involvement in the study. The three case families participated in all phases of the study and are listed first (in bold). These are followed by families who participated in the broad survey of families (Phase I) and in the groups (Phase IIIB). The families that only participated as additional group members (Phase IIIB) are listed next. The final cluster shows the families that only participated in the broad survey of families (Phase I). Ten of the Phase I families (including the focus families) also participated in Phase IIIB, totaling 24 families in Phase I. Table 3.2 shows the total number of families per phase. The numbers in parentheses are already included in Phase I.

Table 3.2: Summary of Participating Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase I</th>
<th>Phase IIA</th>
<th>Phase IIIB</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>(3=Focal families)</td>
<td>(7=out of 24)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 additional families</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Only one name=one-parent family.
3.3 The Fieldwork: Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

As described above, the fieldwork for this study was divided into two distinct phases and one sub-phase. Phase I consisted mainly of in-depth ethnographic interviews with a group of 24 families. Phase IIA consisted of a multiple-case ethnography of three Hispanic families in their homes and in the three grassroots groups in which they participated. Phase IIB consisted of data collection with ten additional families participating in these groups, in addition to those group members who had already been part of Phase I. The total number of participating families who were also group members was 20. The total number of participants in the two phases was 34 families.

3.3.1 Phase I: Identifying Cases

In this section, I describe the data collection procedures used in the initial survey of 24 Hispanic families. Figure 3.1 shows how the phases of the study were related and how Phase I fit within the study design. Phase I had two main objectives. One of the main objectives was to map the research population and obtain a sense of their experiences, ideologies and practices in relation to the research questions. As Figure 3.1 indicates, the other purpose this phase served was as the starting point for recruiting participants for the multi-site ethnographic work described in section 3.3.2.

3.3.1.1 Informed Consent and Assent

Phase I began in April 2005 and ended in July of the same year (see Figure 3.2 for a timeline). Initially, I recruited 24 families for interviewing and preliminary observations, providing a broader survey of issues related to the research questions. Following university ethical guidelines (see Appendix B for Certificate of Approval), all parents provided their signed informed consent (and the children provided assent for participation) prior to being interviewed. The parents and their children were given enough time to read the information (forms provided in Spanish and in English) and I explained the purpose of my visits to children under 13 years old (see Appendix C for informed consent and assent forms and an oral script for children). Subsequently, the parents and their children were invited to ask any questions they might have regarding the research. Once I was satisfied that they understood

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10 Please note that the number of families in the two phases does not add up to 34 as several families in Phase IIB had participated in Phase I of the study.
all the information, and if they had no further questions, they were asked to sign the consent and assent forms and were given copies for their records.

Figure 3.1: Project Design
3.3.1.2 Demographic Questionnaire

Before starting the formal interview, the parents were asked to fill out a questionnaire containing general demographic questions as well as some preliminary questions regarding language use (see Appendix D). The parents were often asked to elaborate on some of the information provided in the questionnaire after its completion, which was used to formulate further questions during the interviews.

3.3.1.3 Interviews

I used semi-structured interviews as I considered this strategy valuable in order to “respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent[s], and to new ideas on the topic” (Merriam, 1991, p. 74). These interviews were mostly conducted in the families’ homes and always in Spanish, lasting an average of two hours of recorded time, although the actual meetings lasted longer. In some cases, the interviews lasted as long as five hours and were conducted in two different sessions, usually a week apart. The first 30 to 60 minutes of each session were spent in casual conversation. In preparation for each interview, I reviewed the major areas of examination in “mental rehearsal” (Stake, 1995) in order to keep the key questions fresh in my mind. Questions were asked based on an interview guide that listed six different categories of questions: (1) demographic information; (2) children’s schooling; (3) family integration; (4) linguistic ideologies; (5) identity; and (6) home language use patterns. The children were usually present, and in some cases, they were briefly interviewed at that time. All the interviews were transcribed. Interview excerpts included in this dissertation were double checked against the recording and translated into English by the researcher.
3.3.1.4 Observations

Preliminary observations of family interactions took place before, during and after the interviews. These observations provided additional important data and insights about the families’ language and cultural practices and served to verify the accuracy of the information collected during interviews (Maxwell, 1996).

3.3.1.5 Fieldnotes

Condensed written field notes were taken throughout the entire fieldwork, particularly during the interviews and observations, and short digitally-recorded memos were produced upon leaving the site. These notes were expanded as soon as possible after each session.

3.3.1.6 Fieldwork Journal

In addition to fieldnotes collected during observations and interviews, I kept a dated diary file on my computer in which I kept a log of my experiences in the field, reactions to informants or information, and any other ideas that emerged during the research period. Representing the “personal side of fieldwork” (Spradley, 1980, p. 71), this journal also became a type of brainstorming technique that allowed me to “think on screen.” It also assisted me in the process of analysis and interpretation of data (Duff, 2008a).

3.3.2 Phase IIA: Participant Observation

In the course of Phase I, several families were invited to participate in Phase IIA of the study. The main criteria for selection included the families’ willingness to become fully involved in the study for over a year, and having a family composition including children of school age, length of residence in Canada between four and ten years, parents sharing a similar ethnolinguistic background and not being refugee claimants. Although I had originally planned to select up to six families as case studies for Phase II,11 and many families had agreed to take part, only three were selected due to an unexpected outcome in Phase I, which was the serendipitous uncovering of grassroots groups; small clusters of community networks characterized by relationships based on shared cultural affinities (Milroy, 1980), which modified the research design. These clusters were small grassroots groups formed, funded and operated by parents with the mandate to transmit the language and culture to their children. Three families were selected for ethnographic participant

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11 The original research design did not include a Phase IIB, as the discovery of the groups was part of the findings in Phase I.
observation based on the families’ enthusiasm and their fulfillment of the criteria stated above. The three families were from Guatemala, Peru and Mexico and the groups they participated in were El Grupo Scout Vistas, El Centro de Cultura y Arte Latinoamericano (henceforth El Centro de Cultura), and La Casa Amistad (The Vistas Scout Group, The Latin American Centre for Culture and the Arts, and Friendship House), which became the main research sites. These families agreed to take part in various types of data collection over a period of approximately one year (Phase IIA).

Duranti (1997) argues that in ethnography, “the observation of a particular community is not attained from a distant and safe point but by being in the middle of things, that is, by participating in as many social events as possible” (p. 89). Therefore, participant observation requires being with the people studied and observing them in their activities. Participant observation in the families’ homes and in the groups in which they participated started in September 2005 and ended in October 2006 (see Figure 3.2 for a timeline).

The three main research sites were located in three different municipalities of Metro Vancouver. La Casa Amistad meeting place was located in an affluent neighbourhood close to the university. El Grupo Scout Vistas met after hours in a public secondary school in a municipality about 30 kilometers from the university and El Centro de Cultura families met in a community centre owned by a municipality, also located about 30 kilometers from the university.

3.3.2.1 Data Collection in Homes

3.3.2.1.1 Audio and Video Recordings

Once the case families had been selected, data collection resumed in September 2005 and continued until October 2006. Although I had initially planned to perform regular home observations, it was not practical due to the families’ multiple commitments and the children’s various extracurricular activities. Thus, direct home observations were somewhat limited and were often not recorded. However, an arrangement was made with all three families in which they would record home interactions themselves using recording equipment I provided to them. Therefore, two families each provided about five hours of self-recorded interactions during different family activities, particularly dinner time and children’s free play. One of the families provided one hour of audio recording as well as two hours of video recording. Although these home-recorded data were not analyzed in their
entirety for this dissertation, they were nonetheless used to raise issues for discussion during interviews and helped contextualize the families’ home life and language use.

3.3.2.1.2 Interviews with Parents

In the participant observation phase, informal and formal in-depth semi-structured ethnographic interviews were conducted with the case study families, usually with both parents together. The interview format was similar to the interviews in Phase I, but attempted to probe issues more in-depth. The home observations and self-recordings were invaluable sources of information in preparing these interviews as home language practices, ideologies and other issues began to be made apparent. Also the results of the initial interviews were used in selecting issues to address in subsequent interviews in an iterative manner. Thus, after the Phase I interviews were conducted, interview guides with the three families varied considerably depending on their own particularities and experiences. In two of the three families, a visiting grandparent was also interviewed. Altogether, I made an average of eight home visits and five interviews per family (excluding the interviews with grandparents).

3.3.2.1.3 Interviews with Children

Toward the end of the fieldwork, a second set of interviews was conducted with the children. These interviews, conducted in Spanish, were short (about 30 minutes each), casual and focused (see Appendix E for interview guide). During these interviews the children were asked questions in six areas: (1) cultural preferences in such things as food, television, music, and reading; (2) school experiences; (3) activities with their parents; (4) attitudes and perceptions about Spanish and bilingualism; (5) relationships with their peers; and (6) identity issues. The purpose of asking about these areas was to obtain a detailed profile of the children’s lives within and outside the home, which included their affiliation with their parents’ cultures and cultural practices vis-à-vis those of their peers, their attitudes about the languages in their lives and their aspirations for the future.

3.3.2.1.4 Parents’ Reflections

Parents were asked to write a type of acculturation and language socialization reflection journal. They were encouraged to write weekly or bi-weekly journal entries about their experiences with language in the home and outside the home, although in practice, their contributions were less frequent. The objective of this was to capture the families’ perceptions of their experiences of language use, tensions, critical incidents and explicit
socialization as these took place. The parents sent their reflections as e-mail messages to me, and in one instance, a parent hand-wrote these reflections during the family’s two-month stay with family in Mexico.

3.3.2.1.5 Children’s Language Samples

I collected language samples of the children who were of school-age (see Appendix F for written samples in Spanish). These included written and spoken samples in both languages as a way of assessing their bilingual and biliterate abilities. These samples were elicited through the use of wordless picture story books for children, such as, Frog, where are you? (Mayer, 1969), which tells a story in 24 pictures. This technique has become a standard of sorts for the study of narratives. After the pioneering work of Berman and Slobin (1987, 1994) who originally used the frog story design, frog stories continue to be widely used by investigators in order to elicit narrative descriptions (see e.g., Bamberg, 1985, 1987; Polinsky, in press; Slobin, 2003, 2004; Strömqvist & Verhoeven, 2004; Tanangkingsing, 2004; Tatsumi, 1997). Frog stories were also used by Schecter and Bayley (1997, 2002) in their ethnographic study of the language socialization of Mexican-descent families in the United States. Although the language samples were not part of the formal analysis in this dissertation, they became an important method of language ability verification.

3.3.2.2 Participant Observation in Grassroots Groups

Participant observation in the three grassroots groups took place from September 2005 to October 2006 (see Figure 3.2), except for July and August when all three groups cancelled their meetings for the summer. During the regular session period, I made weekly visits to all three groups, averaging about 18 visits per group, which included going on eight fieldtrips with the Scout group. However, during certain short periods of time I only visited two of the groups at a time. For instance, there was a period of about two months from January to March 2006 when the schedules of two of the groups clashed. Other times, sessions were cancelled for various reasons. For instance, El Grupo Scout Vistas met in a school and on days the school was officially closed, they could not meet. However, when British Columbia teachers went on strike for about two weeks in October 2005, the leaders made arrangements for meeting elsewhere.

The extent of my involvement with people and in the activities I observed in the three groups varied along a continuum. In El Centro de Cultura, I was a rather passive participant,
making me more of an observer than a participant. I usually arrived a few minutes before the start of the sessions and interacted with the parents and children. When the parents set up their tables, chairs and other materials for their classes and put them away afterwards, I attempted to become involved as much as possible. Once classes started, however, I sat quietly close to one or two groups taking notes and audio-recording. I usually recorded two classes at the same time and occasionally took digital pictures of the sessions.

In La Casa Amistad, my participant role was generally more active. I arrived early and interacted with the families, sometimes helping them supervise the children in the outdoor playground or in the indoor playroom. I helped with snack-time and with set up and clean up. Once activities started, I sometimes sat with the group of children at a round table with an audio-recording device and interacted with the children and/or the parent conducting the activity when invited. Other times, I placed the recording device strategically and then sat close to the table to observe the activities and take notes. Occasionally, the parent conducting the activity asked me for some minor assistance, suggestion or question about language (e.g., vocabulary). At times, parents also asked me to supervise groups of children or even to take care of a baby for a while.

Before I started my participant observation in the Scout group, and in addition to the informed consent forms I provided to parents, one of the leaders asked me to write a letter addressed to the group explaining my project and requesting permission to conduct fieldwork. This letter was read to the parents in a meeting, officially instituting me as a researcher and outsider. However, a few weeks later I was already a complete participant. Part of the reason for this shift of role was that two of my own children joined the group when my participant observation work started in September 2005. Because the activities were almost exclusively conducted by the leaders, parents mingled while waiting for their children. As time passed, the parents and I built good rapport and unwittingly I became one of them as my observer role faded and my participation became as active as that of the other parents. Every week I attempted to observe and record the activities or to find a quiet corner to write my fieldnotes, but very often, a parent approached me with conversation topics or a request to run an errand. Many times I felt frustration at seeing my researcher’s role being denied in the group. However, despite the interruptions I eventually managed to collect large amounts of audio-recorded data from the indoor activities, parent meetings, and fieldtrips.
Additionally, I also collected hundreds of digital pictures and video clips from the various types of activities.

Once I had built enough rapport with the participants in the three groups, I invited the parents to take part in formal interviews. These shared some similarities with the interviews conducted in Phase I, but only lasted about one hour and focused mainly on language and cultural beliefs, ideologies and practices and on their participation in the groups (see Appendix G for questions related to group participation). Moreover, I collected documentation related to the formation and operation of the grassroots groups when made available by the parents. Finally, during my participant observation in the groups I also used the data collection strategies already described above: demographic, family orientation and language use questionnaires, fieldnotes, and fieldwork journal. Table 3.3 shows a summary of the data collection strategies and data set.

Table 3.3: Summary of Ethnographic Record

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data collection strategies</th>
<th>Data collection period (April 2005-October 2006)</th>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Data use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demographic questionnaire</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>-31 completed questionnaires</td>
<td>-Participant profile generation -Interview question generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with Phase I families</td>
<td>April-July 2005</td>
<td>-Audio-recorded and transcribed interviews -29 interviews in total -2 hours average each</td>
<td>-Selection of cases -Mapping population re: topic -Cross-case analysis -Viewpoint triangulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with Phase IIA parents (case-study families)</td>
<td>September 2005-October 2006</td>
<td>-Audio-recorded and transcribed interviews -15 interviews in total -1 hour average each</td>
<td>-Part of main thematic analysis -In-depth, longitudinal orientation -Viewpoint triangulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with Phase IIA children (case-study families)</td>
<td>September 2005-October 2006</td>
<td>-Audio-recorded and transcribed interviews -10 interviews in total -0.5 hours average each</td>
<td>-Language proficiency verification -Part of main thematic analysis -Viewpoint triangulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews with additional group co-participants (Phase IIB)</td>
<td>January-May 2006</td>
<td>-Audio-recorded and transcribed interviews -11 interviews in total -1.4 hours average each</td>
<td>-Part of main content analysis -Holistic/thick description preparation -Contextualization -Viewpoint triangulation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 This total does not include interviews with parents who were members of the groups, as they were interviewed as part of Phase I.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data collection strategies</th>
<th>Data collection period (April 2005-October 2006)</th>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Data use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus group interviews with VSB Multicultural Workers</td>
<td>May-June 2005</td>
<td>-Audio-recorded interviews -3 interviews in total -1 hour average each</td>
<td>-Identification of participants -Identification of issues -Viewpoint triangulation -Contextualization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home observations</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>-Fieldnotes -Video: 2 hours in total -Audio recordings: 8 hours in total</td>
<td>-Part of main discourse analysis -In-depth, longitudinal orientation -Naturalistic language use analysis -Environmental triangulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group observations</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>-Fieldnotes -Video: 1.5 hours in total -Audio recordings: 16 hours in total -Pictures: 842</td>
<td>-Part of main discourse analysis -In-depth, longitudinal orientation -Naturalistic language use analysis -Environmental triangulation -Holistic/thick description preparation -Data analysis processes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldnotes</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>-Written text: 30 pages -Audio memos: 7 hours in total</td>
<td>-Data analysis processes -Holistic/thick description preparation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldwork journal</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>-Written text: 62 pages</td>
<td>-Data analysis processes -Confirmability: audit trail, triangulation and reflexivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents’ reflections</td>
<td>Ongoing</td>
<td>-E-mail messages and hand-written notes -14 reports in total</td>
<td>-Methods and data triangulation -Clarification/verification of issues during analysis processes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Language Samples</td>
<td>November 2005-April 2006</td>
<td>-Written: 12 samples -Recorded: 12 samples</td>
<td>-Language proficiency verification -Data triangulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familism questionnaire</td>
<td>February-November 2006</td>
<td>-16 completed questionnaires</td>
<td>-Verification of emerging themes -Data triangulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use questionnaire</td>
<td>February-November 2006</td>
<td>-16 completed questionnaires</td>
<td>-Verification of emerging themes -Interview question generation -Data triangulation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3 Phase IIB: Data Collection with Additional Group Co-Participants

As with the discovery of the grassroots groups during Phase I, Phase IIB was a natural outgrowth of Phase IIA (see Figure 3.1). Once participant observation in the groups had been underway for sometime (at least three months) and I had established relationships with other families participating in the groups, I invited them to take part in interviews and fill out questionnaires. This sub-phase consisted of data collection that included interviews, questionnaires, and audio and video recordings of group activities.

3.4 Data Analysis

Figure 3.3 shows a summary of the data analysis processes used in this study. Data analysis was an ongoing process that involved four main interrelated and recurring stages. It began with the generation of data and ended with the writing of the report. However, the different stages were revisited numerous times throughout the entire process. As soon as data collection started, I began to write fieldnotes and to make entries into a fieldwork journal. Both of these documents became important for recording various types of reflections and ideas, including preliminary analytic summaries. At this time I also started organizing and transcribing the digital and cassette recordings of interviews. Both transcribed and untranscribed data were organized in different groupings chronologically, but also by other criteria such as research stage, data collection method, grassroots group, type of data, etc. Interview data were coded and organized in categories from which themes emerged. Naturally-occurring interactions were transcribed in detail (i.e., noting overlaps and pauses) and grouped by activity. These were coded and categorized following a similar procedure as the interviews. In the writing stage I gathered all my notes from fieldnotes, fieldwork journal, data coding and other sources. During the writing process, I had to continually repeat the above stages as it became necessary.

The three cases were analyzed keeping in focus the overriding theoretical proposition (Yin, 1994), language socialization, which guided the data collection and selection. Below I will describe the procedures for analyzing the main sources of data: thematic analysis of formal interviews and discourse analysis of natural interactions.

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13 All the families had previously consented to participating in the study as members of the groups, but their new roles included more active involvement in the study.

14 All interviews were conducted in Spanish. However, one participant, Mrs. Bedward, chose to switch to English for part of the interview.
3.4.1 Thematic Analysis

The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed in Spanish. Formal coding of these began in June 2005 using the qualitative data analysis software package N6, at that time the latest version of NUD*IST (Non-Numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing), which allows researchers to manage, code, analyze and report on text data. This computer program was used to help in the coding and identification of emerging themes across the interviews. In April 2006, I converted and transferred the NUD*IST project into NVivo 7, the newest version of N6 and NVivo 2 combined, and coded the remaining data using this program. The coding of each interview was performed using the following steps:

1. Listening to audio recording: I listened to each recording in order to recapture the original atmosphere and character of the interview and to note important contextual features

2. Reading fieldnotes: I read the fieldnotes focusing on initial ideas and looking for additional details
3. Listening to audio-recorded memos: I listened to the memos that were recorded immediately after each interview where I captured my first impressions of the information.

4. Reading fieldwork journal: I reviewed the notes contained in my research diary looking for any analytic thoughts I had recorded.


6. Using NVivo: I imported the interview transcripts to NVivo and entered the codes as free nodes.\textsuperscript{15}

7. Organizing free nodes in NVivo: Once all the interview coding had been entered in NVivo, I created tree nodes and organized the free nodes into child nodes within the tree nodes.

8. Verifying coding: I went over the child nodes to verify that free nodes had been classified correctly. I also merged child nodes as necessary, creating larger categories, until a small number of broad themes emerged.

Throughout this process, the approach used with the information was that of inductive analysis, in which the themes and categories emerge from the data rather than being imposed on them prior to collection. As Palys (1997) describes it, qualitative study is iterative in nature. “An iterative process is one that is cyclical, but not merely repetitive. Instead, the term also connotes increasing sophistication or change” (p. 298). This brings images of a spiral making its way deeper and deeper into the data. An emergent and iterative approach was therefore used in the data collection and analysis stages, in an attempt to go ever deeper into participants’ experiences during interviews. The translated transcriptions were then analyzed and categorized according to Bogdan and Biklen’s (1998) guidelines for analyzing qualitative research data as well as some of the steps suggested by Ryan and Bernard (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). These procedures served in the development of coding categories and the identification of emergent themes.

\textbf{3.4.2 Discourse Analysis}

Although many types of data were collected through participant observation, the main forms of data used in the discourse analysis of group activities and other naturalistic interactions were audio and video recordings. The audio and video recorded interactions were transcribed in the languages in which they occurred, between January and July 2007.

\textsuperscript{15} A node is a collection of references about a specific theme, place, person or other area relevant to the analysis.
(see Appendix H for transcription conventions). As a supporting tool for the transcription process of these data, I used Transcriber, a freely-available software package utilized for segmenting, labeling, and transcribing speech, particularly when detailed transcription is required.

Once transcribed, these data were analyzed using techniques primarily from the ethnography of communication in combination with analytic tools from other interactional analysis traditions, such as Conversation Analysis (CA) (Sacks, 1995; Schegloff, 1968) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) (C. Baker, 2004; Sacks, 1972). According to Duranti (1997), an ethnography of communication analysis requires the researcher “to learn to understand what the participants in the interactions we study are up to, what counts as meaningful for them, what they are paying attention to, and for what purposes” (p. 8, italics in original). From this perspective, I attempted to describe and interpret the language use patterns of the participants in natural interaction, particularly focusing on the language and cultural ideologies to which they oriented and the identities indexed by their language behavior. This micro-analysis was combined with the macro-analysis of life trajectories, beliefs, ideologies and goals articulated in the families’ interviews and in other sources of data in order to obtain a more holistic understanding of the factors influencing their socialization.

The naturalistic interactions were carefully examined through the language socialization lens in chronological order and through several iterations. This analysis was conducted in the following steps:

1. Scanning data: I examined all the naturalistic interactions several times (audio and video) in order to note important contextual features and to obtain a preliminary sense of the language socialization patterns

2. Pre-coding: I used Transcriber to listen to the recordings. During this stage I made general transcriptions, took notes, and labeled salient segments

3. Pre-selecting interactions: I reviewed the rough transcriptions and labeled the segments that seemed clear enough for detailed transcription

4. Detailed transcription: I transcribed the clear segments in detail, noting overlapping talk, pauses, prosodic features, etc.

5. Coding: I reviewed the detailed transcripts, particularly noting exchanges in which the speakers oriented to language (implicitly or explicitly), to activities, or which
seemed to contain features especially relevant to their language socialization. These segments were labeled and categorized.

6. Re-contextualizing interactions: I examined my fieldnotes and journal entries in order to recall and identify the details of the circumstances surrounding the recorded activity/interaction.

7. Extract selection: in the process of writing, I carefully examined the detailed transcripts and selected exemplars for inclusion in the dissertation. These were generally representative of the language socialization patterns observed or evocative of a critical incident.

8. Detailed analysis: the analyses contained in the dissertation were conducted in the actual process of writing, using the notes and codes previously generated as a basis.

9. Content-discourse analysis relationship: The patterns that emerged in the thematic and the discourse analyses were compared. Then, interactional extracts were utilized to enrich and expand the content analyses, to illustrate particular instances of themes, to highlight issues not discussed in interviews and to problematize emerging issues (e.g., ambiguous themes). Negative evidence—observed behavior that departed from reported or observed practices—was analyzed and alternative plausible explanations were formulated (e.g., using English in an activity when the general rule was to use Spanish).

3.4.3 Cross-Case Analysis

Once Chapters 4, 5, and 6 had been written, I conducted a cross analysis of the three families, their respective groups, and the broad survey of 24 families from Phase I. This process involved using the three findings chapters (4, 5, and 6) as data. I imported these chapters into NVivo and coded the themes and quotes. Then I examined the coded Phase I interviews and identified issues that supported or departed from the three cases. I used this information to conduct an in-depth discussion of these issues in relation to the research literature.

3.5 Trustworthiness and Rigour

There has been considerable debate over the past three decades about whether or not qualitative approaches to research should be evaluated by the same standards as quantitative methodologies (Guba & Lincoln, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 2003; Rolfe, 2006). Some scholars argue convincingly that goals typically pursued in positivist research (e.g., reliability and validity) pertain to the quantitative paradigm alone, and have limited applicability in qualitative research (Altheide & Johnson, 1998; Duff, 2008a; Leininger, 1994). Therefore, proposals have been made to adopt distinctive criteria for ensuring trustworthiness and rigour.
in qualitative research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). However, scholars have argued against a generic standard for making quality judgments about qualitative research citing the lack of a unified qualitative research paradigm (Rolfe, 2006). While the debate continues, I believe it is necessary for researchers working from interpretivist, phenomenologically-based epistemological perspectives, as is the case in this study, to provide clear criteria concerning the trustworthiness of their inquiries in order that they can be externally evaluated.

Trustworthiness refers to the extent to which others can believe in the research findings (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and helps to demonstrate that it is worth paying attention to the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, 1994, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 1986). In order to ensure the trustworthiness and rigour of the present study findings, I applied the four criteria proposed in Lincoln and Guba’s model (1985) in order to “validate” (Kvale, 1989) the findings: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. According to Guba and Lincoln, these four aspects substitute the constructs of reliability, validity and objectivity used in quantitative paradigms. Thus, a process of continuous verification (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002) based on Guba and Lincoln’s criteria was undertaken at every step of the research (i.e., during research design, data collection, analysis, writing of the dissertation) in order to construct a solid product (Creswell, 1997; Kvale, 1989) with consistency, neutrality, “truth” value, and applicability (Guba & Lincoln, 1981); in other words, to construct a product that is trustworthy and rigourous. Below I define each of the four criteria and address the specific strategies I used to satisfy trustworthiness and rigor.

Bradley (1993) describes credibility as “adequate representation of the constructions of the social world under study” (p. 436) in order to ensure the analysis is based on the participants’ understandings and experiences surrounding the research topic and that the conclusions are believable and worthy of consideration by others (Stainback & Stainback, 1988). Following Lincoln and Guba (1985), the credibility of this study was enhanced through prolonged engagement and varied field experience, persistent participant observation, interviewing, reflexivity, triangulation, member checking, and peer debriefing.

- Prolonged engagement refers to spending enough time in the field to build rapport with participants and learn the “culture” of the research site (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In order to achieve this goal I spent 18 months getting to know the families while
participating in a variety of activities in their homes, in their grassroots groups and in many other settings, such as fieldtrips, invasive weed removal in parks, soccer games, fundraisers, etc. (see Figure 3.2: Fieldwork Timeline).

- Participant observation, the key research method used in ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), refers to both observing and participating in daily life in a culture under study (Duranti, 1997) and taking notes in order to describe, explain and interpret the everyday as well as the distinctive practices of the culture of that setting. Thus, I engaged in participant observation in the families’ homes and in the groups in which they participated and took part in many social events, observing them in their activities (see section 3.3.2 Phase IIA: Participant Observation for details).

- Interviewing: Multiple informal and formal in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with the case study families and their children to generate rich and consistent data and to account for idiosyncratic days (Greenfield, Greene, & Johanson, 2007; Seidman, 1998). Additionally, interviews were conducted with a broad survey of families, as well as with families co-participating in the grassroots groups.

- Reflexivity: Many researchers recommend keeping a research diary (e.g., Duff, 2008a) containing a record of personal feelings and experiences (Spradley, 1980) in order to promote objectivity and to try out emergent analytic ideas. During the course of the fieldwork I kept a fieldwork journal in which I recorded my experiences in the field, reactions to informants or information, and other impressions that emerged.

- Triangulation, a term borrowed from surveying (Blaikie, 1991), refers to analyzing an issue from several vantage points (Denzin, 1978). In this study triangulation was achieved through five methods: methods triangulation (various data collection methods), data triangulation (different forms of data), environmental triangulation (multiple settings and situations), theory triangulation (multiple theories and perspectives to interpret the data), and viewpoint triangulation (interviews with parents, children, group co-participants, and others). The "multiple realities" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 296) obtained through triangulation not only served to validate the findings and enhance credibility, but also to deepen my own understanding of the issues.
• Member checking refers to asking research participants to corroborate findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). After the first draft of the dissertation was written, each case study family was given the opportunity to read and comment on the chapter in which they were featured. They accepted and were sent the chapters as email attachments, which they read, annotated electronically and returned to me. Duff (2008a) points out that doing member checks “assumes that the research participants have cognitive and linguistic maturity, technical sophistication to understand some kinds of analysis, and sufficient language proficiency, time, and reflexivity to examine documents containing transcripts, analyses, interpretations, or draft reports” (p. 171). Except for one of the six case-study parents (Mrs. Aguirre), parents had a high level of English ability and strong interest in learning about the findings. In addition to helping establish credibility, member checks also addressed questions of representation, that is, “Who gets to speak for or represent whom, and how?” (ibid).

• Peer debriefing: during the course of the study, regular meetings with peers took place in which data, analysis, theories and other related aspects of the project were discussed, cross-checked and corroborated.

Transferability refers to the extent to which the findings of a qualitative study are applicable to other contexts or participants (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Duff, 2006; Merriam, 1991, 1998). A qualitative researcher cannot establish the transferability of findings, but can provide enough information, or "thick description" (Geertz, 1973), for readers to determine whether the findings apply to a different situation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Thick description refers to a rich description of a phenomenon, including the researcher’s interpretation, the observed context and processes as well as the methods and procedures followed in data collection and analysis (Nastasi & Schensul, 2005) in order to develop an “audit trail” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) so that the findings are meaningful to outsiders. In qualitative research the responsibility to determine the applicability of research findings from one context to another is placed on readers (Duff, 2006, 2008a; Marshall & Rossman, 1989). The potential transferability of the present study findings was enhanced through contextualization (Duff, 2002, 2006). Therefore, I provided “thick” background and contextual information of participating families and individuals, settings, activities, practices,
and histories, as well as a detailed account of the research design and data collection and analysis procedures employed.

Dependability refers to the repeatability of the results by a different researcher with a similar population (Greenfield et al., 2007) through an “audit trail” (Duff, 2008a; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998). It also requires accounting for changes in the design of the study to get a better understanding of the context (J. D. Brown, 2005; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Because dependability is closely related to credibility, dependability in this study was established using the same strategies that apply to credibility, including multiple data generation procedures (Greenfield et al., 2007). Also, the evolving nature of the research design was made explicit by describing how the focus of the study changed in order to investigate the grassroots groups that were uncovered during Phase I of the study.

Confirmability entails the neutrality and credibility of the research results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and interpretation based on the perspectives and experiences of the study participants (Greenfield et al., 2007). Lincoln and Guba suggest establishing an adequate trail to enable verification that the conclusions, interpretations, and recommendations are supported by the data. Confirmability is achieved through triangulation, reflexivity (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) and the other strategies outlined in the credibility section. The confirmability of this study’s findings was established through a range of features of the study design and analysis procedures, including prolonged engagement, reflexivity through a fieldwork journal, various forms of triangulation, member checking and peer debriefing.

Although the notion of trustworthiness in qualitative research has been challenged on a variety of grounds (Morse et al., 2002; Rolfe, 2006; Silverman, 2000; Sparks, 2001; Tobin & Begley, 2004; Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001), there is enough evidence to support the use of the above criteria for ensuring the rigour of qualitative research findings. For instance, one such critique questions the frequent post hoc nature of evaluation, which ignores the application of these principles during the process of the research. In order to address this “threat” to the trustworthiness of the present study, several of the criteria described above were implemented during the course of designing the research project, data collection and analysis, thus ensuring that the emerging themes and arguments are verifiable and solidly supported by the data. Additionally, the use of an ethnographic study design focusing on multiple cases with similar and also different characteristics provided a fuller
understanding (Duff, 2006, 2008a) of the issues under investigation. While this study did not seek to produce generalizable results, these criteria served to enhance the applicability of the research findings to populations, contextual conditions, and to theory (Duff, 2006).

3.6 Chapter Summary

Having presented the research methods and procedures, the following chapters will turn to discussions of major research findings from the fieldwork. The findings of the study are presented with a particular-to-general orientation. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 each introduces one family and the grassroots group in which the family participated. Chapter 4 examines a key family initiative: the formation of a Spanish language Scout group. It outlines the factors and characteristics of the language use dynamics of the participating families and it analyzes the influences of these factors on the language socialization of the children and their parents. Chapter 5 investigates the participation of families in a small heritage language school-like grassroots group and explores how the families managing the group used different strategies in the teaching of Spanish and how they addressed tensions arising between parents and children. Chapter 6 introduces a family and its participation in a group of affluent Hispanic families who met to promote language and culture through arts and crafts and examines the tensions that arose among the parents in relation to the goals and operation of the group and also between the parents and the children in relation to language practices. Chapter 7 presents a cross analysis of the three families and their respective groups, making connections with the broad survey of 24 families from the first phase of the study and following a particular (three case families) to general (broader survey of 24 families) orientation. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes with a summary of major research findings and a brief discussion of the implications.
Chapter 4

FERNÁNDEZ-MARADIAGA FAMILY AND EL GRUPO SCOUT VISTAS: FOCUS ON CITIZENSHIP

The [Spanish] language gives the girls a broader vision of the world, not of something that is smaller, but of the world. (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 05/09/05- TR4.20)

4.0 Introduction

This study investigated the language and literacy socialization experiences of Spanish speaking families and their children in a large urban centre in Western Canada. The ultimate goal of the study was to explore, describe, examine and interpret the social context of these families’ efforts in the intergenerational transmission of their language and cultures. In the following three chapters, I introduce the case families and the grassroots group they created. I treat each family and their respective group as an individual case. Following the three case chapters, I conduct a cross-case analysis to determine patterns across the three families and their groups.

In this chapter, I introduce the Fernández-Maradiaga family and examine how the family constructed Spanish using an analysis of interview data and participant observation. In the second part of the chapter, I outline an important family initiative, the formation of a Spanish language Scout group. In particular I examine the factors and characteristics affecting the dynamics of language use in this and other families and the influences of these factors and characteristics on the language socialization of the family members. While some of the information contained in this chapter is generic to all forms of Scouting, what is reported here is only intended to describe and discuss aspects of this particular Scout group. Despite the general similarities that most Scout troops share, they also tend to have unique characteristics due to the evolving nature of individual troop ‘cultures.’

4.1 Family Background

Idalia Fernández and José Maradiaga were middle-aged professionals from Guatemala who immigrated to Canada in 1995 with their two-year old daughter, Idalia (Idalita). Diana, their younger daughter, was born in Vancouver in 1997 (see Table 4.1 for other family demographics). Ethnically, Mrs. Fernández identified as *mestiza* and only spoke Spanish prior to immigrating to Canada. Mr. Maradiaga, however, was Mayan and could still speak *Quiché*, his native Mayan language. Although both Idalia and José had come from
working/lower middle class families, they had enjoyed some upward mobility through their university education in Guatemala. In Canada, however, the family had struggled considerably in their adaptation process. Based on observations and on self-reports, their English proficiency could be categorized as high, but after ten years in the country, they had been unsuccessful in their efforts to secure professional employment or a middle-class lifestyle. The family lived in a two-bedroom apartment in a Vancouver suburb, but moved to subsidized housing in the same municipality in the summer of 2006.

Table 4.1: Fernández-Maradiaga Family Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin: Guatemala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of arrival in Canada: 1995</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mrs. Idalia Fernández</th>
<th>Mr. José Maradiaga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth: 1967</td>
<td>Year of birth: 1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of formal education: 15 (Engineering, incomplete)</td>
<td>Years of formal education: 17 (Engineering, incomplete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current occupation: Stay at home mother / Part-time student</td>
<td>Current occupation: Full-time college student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English proficiency: Advanced</td>
<td>English proficiency: Advanced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children: 2 girls
Diana: 8
Idalia: 13

4.1.1 Language and Literacy Socialization: Ideologies and Practices

As I report in the sections below, the Fernández-Maradiaga family had a very strong commitment to the transmission, maintenance and use of the Spanish language in the home. To that end, they had a Spanish-only policy in all family communication, including all communication between the two siblings. Along with the language, knowledge of culture was promoted proactively in all facets of family life. Mrs. Fernández stated: “knowledge of our culture is even contained in our food and our traditions”\(^{17}\) (Interview: 05/09/05- TR4.1).

\(^{16}\) Ages at start of fieldwork.

\(^{17}\) Since most of the interview data were in Spanish, the majority of excerpts were translated into English by the researcher. In the rest of this dissertation, interview excerpts that were originally in English are indicated with a note [original in English]. Otherwise, it should be assumed that excerpts are translations. I had originally included the Spanish quotes in the text of the dissertation, but to enhance readability and reduce the length, only translations were finally included. However, in the spirit of the ideology to acknowledge and validate different languages (L1 and L2), a conscious decision was made to provide the original quotes. Please see Appendix J for
The details of the family’s views on language, identity and culture are discussed in sections below.

Along with culture and spoken language, written language was emphasized and promoted by the family. Upon entering their apartment, it was impossible to overlook their collection of Spanish literature and textbooks for children. During our interviews, the parents also proudly pulled stacks of books from their shelves to show me. They had many collections in various genres including literature, textbooks, comics, and reference books. They had materials for teaching Spanish literacy and other subjects (e.g., math), which they had obtained from Guatemala or other Hispanic countries. They explained that they had content area textbooks, as well as literacy textbooks, that were appropriate for their children’s current age and books saved for future years as well.

In general, Mrs. Fernández took the lead in instructing the girls in Spanish literacy as Mr. Maradiaga was a full-time student in a local community college. However, he engaged the girls in language and literacy exercises whenever he had the time. They used various strategies to support the girls’ language and literacy development and often reported to me on their progress during interviews and by e-mail. Mrs. Fernández explained that the girls’ vocabulary in English was more varied than in Spanish and sometimes they tended to get confused with words. Whenever the girls used the wrong word or used an English word in their speech, their mother asked them to write the Spanish word five times on a piece of paper. The girls were present when this strategy was described and their reaction was just to nod and shrug their shoulders as if it was a routine activity. Besides addressing issues that arose from interactions in daily life, the parents also engaged in more structured and focused family literacy activities.

An example of the family’s regular literacy activities was one undertaken in January 2006 by Mr. Maradiaga, which involved regular sessions of reading, discussion and explanation using a small whiteboard. This activity was based on two books. He selected a book, *El Hombre que Calculaba* (*The Man that Counted*, Tahan, 1996), which was set in the Middle East. It was a book that related the adventures of a man who used his mathematical abilities to solve problems he encountered in his travels, to amaze and entertain people, to

original text in Spanish. Interaction excerpts include both Spanish and English in order to facilitate the verification of the analysis.
resolve disputes and to do justice. This book was somewhat advanced and was used mainly to support Idalita’s language development and to promote her mathematical understanding. Diana also participated in this book activity, but at a more elemental level as the book was recommended for children over 14 whose Spanish competence was age-appropriate.

A second book was used at the same time in order to address the needs of Diana. The book was *El Libro de la Selva* (*The Jungle Book*, Kipling, 1967). This book was written by Rudyard Kipling, a long-time personal friend of Lord Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the Scout organization, and a strong supporter of the Scouting movement (Eby, 1988). Following Baden-Powell’s direct petition, Kipling approved the book’s use as a resource in the movement (Moynihan & Baden-Powell, 2006).

The activity was conducted with these two books two or three times a week for 30-60 minutes, usually before bedtime. Mrs. Fernández told me there was no fixed schedule, and that they just looked for the right time when the girls were willing, were not too tired and did not have much homework. The routine was quite basic: Mr. Maradiaga read to them and when the girls did not understand a word, they interrupted and he explained. In the case of *El Hombre que Calculaba* (*The Man that Counted*), Mrs. Fernández stated that “in the end each chapter is understood in its entirety including the math problem (in Idalita’s case)” (Mrs. Fernández, E-mail communication: 02/08/06- TR4.2). She added that this activity helped Diana increase her vocabulary, but the mathematical problems were beyond her level. When working with *El Libro de la Selva*, however, Mrs. Fernández asserted that Diana understood it in its entirety. The girls’ attitude, according to Mrs. Fernández, was good. She wrote: “the response is quite positive and better than expected. They comment on what’s been explained, and in the case of Idalita, she has understood the philosophical aspect of mathematics very well. Diana likes to hear the stories and the ironies that come up” (Mrs. Fernández, E-mail communication: 02/24/06- TR4.3).

In response to an e-mail question I posed about the reasons for selecting those books, Mrs. Fernández explained their rationale. She stated that initially they considered other books such as the bible, popular novels, children’s stories, etc. However, they felt these books were not appropriate. She said: “they fulfilled only part of our objectives and some of them are alienating” (Mrs. Fernández, E-mail communication: 02/21/06- TR4.4), in the sense that the content provided a view of the world that was narrower than what they intended to promote.
Because part of their objectives included countering “the hegemony of the culture” (Mrs. Fernández, Interview: 05/02/05- TR4.5), they wanted to use books that allowed them to pursue the goal of interrogating the dominance of Anglo-Canadian culture. They felt *El Hombre que Calculaba* was ideal for several reasons. She explained that they wanted to foster vocabulary development, philosophical understanding and to improve their skills in mathematics. She also wrote: “so they have a solid intellectual basis with knowledge in various areas, in the exact sciences and in the social sciences” (E-mail communication: 02/21/06- TR4.6). Additionally, she wrote that another important reason was to give the girls an opportunity to “learn that the cradle of the sciences was not exactly in the West, the story is set in the Middle East, Baghdad” (Mrs. Fernández, E-mail communication: 02/21/06- TR4.7).

Mrs. Fernández also explained that *El Libro de la Selva* was selected because it was the basis for the philosophy of the *Lobatos*¹⁸ (Timberwolves) section of the Scout group. She wrote that this book enabled them to help improve Diana’s comprehension through detailed explanations of the vocabulary and also explanation of the moral of the reading as well as the discipline of wolf packs, which was part of the discipline taught to children in the *Lobatos*, Diana’s section.

### 4.1.2 Home/School Issues

For the Fernández-Maradiaga family, the education of their children was the most important goal “after putting food on the table” (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 05/02/05- TR4.8). However, one of the most pervasive themes in our interviews was their dissatisfaction with the school experiences of the girls and the parents’ own experiences interacting with school personnel. Their complaints were related to various issues. The most important of these seemed to stem from their unsuccessful attempts to establish a closer relationship with school personnel. Mrs. Fernández and Mr. Maradiaga reported numerous negative experiences with school personnel. They spoke of being ignored and discriminated against, and of the assimilative practices prevalent in the school.

For example, Mrs. Fernández explained that in the family’s many years of dealing with schools they had learned that schools strongly encouraged parents to become involved in their children’s education through participation in various school activities. However, she

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¹⁸ Please refer to section 4.2 for a detailed description.
also noted that when they offered to volunteer to help in the girls’ elementary school, their offers were not taken up by the teachers and they felt ignored. Specifically, Mr. Maradiaga volunteered to assist with what he called the Running Club, since he was highly experienced in sports in general, and in particular, having participated professionally in track and field in Guatemala most of his life. He explained that his offer, made personally to the teacher in charge, was ignored and received no response. These are only two examples of the many they related, which serve to illustrate the types of negative experiences with school personnel they complained about. Other sentiments arose from their initial frustrations with their efforts to socialize their children into particular ethnocultural identities. In the paragraphs that follow I explain how the parents felt the school had a strong influence on issues related to language, culture and identity.

According to both parents, schools were to blame to a great extent for children not learning Spanish or other heritage languages, or not wanting to learn about their ethnic background. They claimed that school multicultural workers regularly advised parents that their children did not need to speak Spanish. Mr. Maradiaga stated:

> The fact that Hispanic children cannot speak Spanish is in part the responsibility of the School Board, because they tell parents not to put pressure on the children to speak Spanish in their homes because English is the official language: “The language of the children is English because they live here, they are small, and they are being educated in the Canadian culture.” (Interview: 05/02/05- TR4.9)

Although the Vancouver School Board’s website (Vancouver School Board, Read with your Child 1) encourages parents to read to their children in their native languages, it is difficult to know how pervasive or effective such recommendations actually are. Mr. Maradiaga explained that when their older daughter started kindergarten in their neighbourhood school, the parents were given specific instructions not to speak Spanish to her. Mr. Maradiaga reported the following:

> In my older daughter’s case, it wasn’t the school board (multicultural) workers, but it was her kindergarten teacher. Since she entered kindergarten, her own teacher told her not to speak Spanish and that she should only speak English. For us this was frustrating… (Interview: 05/02/05- TR4.10)

He explained that during the first few months of school in Canada, Idalita refused to speak Spanish at home, so they had to resort to various strategies that included taking privileges away for refusing to speak Spanish or giving her special rewards for speaking it. Mrs.
Fernández added that during her first few years of schooling, Idalita’s school performance decreased:

Her academic performance did not reflect the emphasis we put [on schooling] here. This was simply because she was in a situation of ambivalence. On one hand, we demanded that she spoke Spanish. On the other hand, society, the school as a mini-society, demanded that she interacted with them more and that she didn’t speak Spanish, because if she spoke Spanish, she wasn’t part of the system, of the group, which was also the attitude of the teachers. So, what she was exposed to there was reflected in a certain way, which was that her academic performance was low. (Interview: 05/09/05-TR4.11)

Idalita was caught in a difficult situation, experiencing contradictory socialization practices, between her parents’ wishes for her to maintain a language and cultural identity that was at odds with that of the school, and the societal and peer pressures to assimilate to the dominant culture in order to belong. Membership in the dominant society required speaking English, which should not necessarily preclude Spanish. However, their comments indicate they interpreted the constant pressures and contradictions as having a negative effect on her sense of self, which translated into stress and lack of interest or resistance to doing academic work, and resistance to speaking Spanish. As the above quote indicates, the family identified Idalita’s cultural and linguistic ambivalence and made a clear connection between this contradiction and her disengagement with academic work.

4.1.3 The Struggle against Assimilation

Mrs. Fernández and Mr. Maradiaga reported feelings of frustration and described the struggle to resist assimilation as taxing. Mr. Maradiaga once stated: “We are filling the burlap sack from the top and someone is emptying it from the bottom” (Interview: 05/02/05-TR4.12). Feelings of frustration were particularly common in Mrs. Fernández’s and Mr. Maradiaga’s recollections of the early years of Idalita’s schooling. At times they seemed to feel that school and society were strongly and, even actively, complicit in undermining their home socialization efforts. It may sound as if the family was resistant to integrating into the wider society. However, as I report in the next section, this was not the case. Mrs. Fernández and Mr. Maradiaga subscribed to a syncretic notion of cultural identity that embraced much more than their own culture. Mrs. Fernández asserted:

The cultural identity of the girls is a hybrid. We can’t create a mini-world inside these four walls. They have to know their culture, but we can’t enclose them in it. It can’t be done. We wouldn’t be achieving our goals for them to have a broad outlook. (Interview: 05/09/05-TR4.13)
They reported that although it had been a major struggle to socialize the girls into the use of Spanish, finally “the biggest battles have been won” (Interview: 05/09/05- TR4.14) and in the last few years things had changed. Idalita had a positive attitude toward the language and the culture. Mrs. Fernández and Mr. Maradiaga asserted that Idalita used to reject her home culture and was ashamed of who she was, but eventually she became quite proud of her language and her name. They felt that through hard work and perseverance they had succeeded in fighting the assimilative forces and reversing their daughter’s rejection of her cultural identity. They saw this as an important victory in the struggle to raise awareness of who they were culturally and in consolidating their language abilities. They also explained that with Diana, the younger girl, the process had been significantly easier. They felt that Idalita was a good example and role model for Diana to emulate. Additionally, they persevered in encouraging both girls to speak in Spanish between themselves, and that was how they communicated: “they speak Spanish to each other. They only speak in English when they don’t know the Spanish words” (Mrs. Fernández, Interview: 05/02/05- TR4.15). Mr. Maradiaga added to Mrs. Fernández’s comment above using the war metaphor again and said: “we have not won the war, but we have won an important battle” (Interview: 05/02/05-TR4.16). The written and oral language samples collected from the children (see Appendix F for written language samples) confirm that, in fact, the girls had a high level of oral proficiency in Spanish. Their writing in Spanish was not age-appropriate, but the inaccuracies it contained (e.g., spelling errors) did not preclude comprehension.

Part of the struggle, according to the parents, had to do with the assimilative forces the children faced outside the home. However, in our numerous interviews they suggested they were aware that the transmission of the language and culture was not a simple process. As well, they were keenly aware of the interrelationship of factors such as language maintenance, identity and cultural awareness and how these factors were part of, and perhaps added to, the complexities of language socialization.

4.1.4 Language, Identity and Cultural Awareness

In various interviews and informal conversations, the family expressed a strong commitment to the transmission of Spanish to the girls and the promotion of a strong ethnolinguistic identity. They also implied and explicitly stated that the above was possible when the parents were aware of their roots and of the significance of their cultural values. In
one interview, Mr. Maradiaga stated: “one cannot transmit that which one doesn’t know” (Interview: 05/02/05- TR4.17). They often talked at length about their own cultural values and histories and the need to promote these in the Hispanic community in the Vancouver area. Also, they felt there was a need for the creation of programs to raise cultural awareness. They suggested it was important for parents to have a clear cultural understanding so that they could also inculcate it in their children from a very young age. According to Mrs. Fernández, this should be done so that “…children learn where they come from when they’re very young” (Interview: 05/09/05- TR4.18). She added:

It’s important that the girls know where they are from, where they come from. We always tell the younger one that even though she was born here, she is a national of Guatemala with Canadian citizenship. But culturally, she is Guatemalan, and what’s more, of Mayan descent. So, it’s important that they know where they come from so that they feel very proud. What we want is that in the future they feel good about what they are. That they feel they are complete persons. That they know Spanish, which is part of their culture. Part of our identity. Spanish is important for their cultural identity and for being successful in all facets of their lives. The [Spanish] language helps them acquire knowledge. Knowing more than one language opens up borders. (Interview: 05/09/05- TR4.19)

This quote indicates there was a strong concern with passing a clear sense of the family’s ethnolinguistic background to the girls and inculcating a sense of cultural pride. Although this concern involved both girls, the parents seemed to emphasize this point especially to Diana, the younger girl, because she was born in Vancouver and they felt that citizenship by birth might send a message that she was ‘only’ Canadian or ‘more’ Canadian. Their words show that they did not only emphasize the girls’ cultural origins, but also informed them they were actually Guatemalan, and with the added characteristic of having Mayan cultural roots as well. The strong emphasis on not being only Canadians, but also Guatemalans of a particular ethnicity, Mayan, might be perceived as being directed at countering the potential assimilative effects of society and cancelling out any possible leanings toward a dominant Canadian identity, while at the same time not being alienated from the broader Canadian society.

However, the quote also shows that the goal of the parents was to build up their daughters’ self-esteem culturally in order to save them from future identity contradictions. In other words, to help them become proud of who they were in order to value their origins and to have a strong ethnic point of reference. They saw Spanish as part of their culture, their identity, and as key to the above goals and to their future success in life. Additionally, they
seemed to suggest that an additional language, in this case Spanish, was also key to present and future learning and to accessing otherwise inaccessible physical, symbolic and cultural spaces. When asked why he felt it was important for his children to maintain their Spanish, Mr. Maradiaga told me:

A child that speaks more than one language grows intellectually. There have been studies, I believe, that [show] children are more intelligent, right? They have another vision of the world, which is the other aspect we want to give them. Another point of view, many points of view and later they can choose, right? Cultural identity is necessary in order to maintain Spanish. We can’t know about the culture if we don’t know the language. I can’t have a deeper knowledge of the Chinese and the Japanese, because I don’t speak their language. They could give me some information through conversation, but it’s not the same. The [Spanish] language gives the girls a broader vision of the world, not of something that is smaller, but of the world. (Mr. Maradiaga: Interview: 05/09/05- TR4.20)

Mr. Maradiaga asserted that there were three main reasons he felt language maintenance was important. First, it would help his children to grow “intellectually.” Second, it was important to his children’s sense of cultural identity and third, it would provide his daughters with a “broader vision of the world.” This quote suggests that the family was aware of benefits of bilingualism beyond more usual expectations of future economic benefits. Perhaps through “casual empiricism” they had reached conclusions that echoed research claiming cognitive and other advantages of speaking two or more languages, as frequently noted by scholars (Cummins, 1989; O. Garcia, 1995; Kouritzin, 1999). He also referred to the benefit of being able to function, think and conduct analyses through two or more cultural systems (Schecter & Bayley, 2002), enriching the person’s worldview and increasing her meaning-making capabilities.

Mr. Maradiaga appeared to have a sense of the dynamic ways that identity and language are interrelated. Whereas in the first of the last two quotes Mr. Maradiaga argued for the importance of Spanish in the development of cultural identity, in the second quote he claimed that it was cultural identity that was necessary for maintaining Spanish, indicating that a strong cultural identity would allow their children to want to maintain Spanish, highlighting the dynamic interrelationship that exists between cultural identity and language maintenance and revealing an iterative relationship between the two (Guardado, 2005, in press).

It is important to note, however, that the parents spoke Spanish as a result of assimilation into a Spanish-dominant society. This assimilation took place generations ago
for Mrs. Fernández’s family, but was experienced in his childhood by Mr. Maradiaga. This adds further contradiction and complexity to the parents’ goals of socialization for their daughters, potentially posing a paradox for the girls’ identities and creating a cultural and linguistic conundrum they may have to grapple with during their lifetimes.

4.2 El Grupo Scout Vistas-BPSA

In the first part of this chapter, I introduced the Fernández-Maradiaga family and analyzed their experiences of language socialization and acculturation, focusing on key issues affecting their language and literacy socialization experiences and the relationship of these to their efforts to transmit their original cultures to the next generation. In the second part of the chapter I examine how the Fernández-Maradiaga family attempted to negotiate the complex terrain of language maintenance and socialization through the formation of a Spanish-language Scouting group, in which other families also participated. First, I provide a background description of Scouting.

4.2.1 Scouting History

What is now widely known as the World Scout Movement was founded by Lord Robert Baden-Powell in 1907 in England, and celebrated its 100th anniversary in August 2007. Today, the organization has 28 million members in 155 countries with the goal “to help build a better world where people are self-fulfilled as individuals and play a constructive role in society” (World Organization of the Scout Movement, n.d). They attempt to achieve this goal through activities that promote the spiritual (i.e., Christian), mental and physical development of youth so they learn to play a positive role in society.

In Canada, there are two Scouting associations: Scouts Canada and the Baden-Powell Service Association of Canada, known as BPSA Canada, a member association of the World Federation of Independent Scouts (WFIS). The BPSA was formed in the United Kingdom in 1970 in response to a feeling that the Scout Movement was abandoning the original traditions and intentions of Baden-Powell. El Grupo Scout Vistas-BPSA was affiliated with BPSA British Columbia, which in turn was affiliated with BPSA Canada.

Founded in Germany, the WFIS comprises Baden-Powell Scouts Association (BPSA) groups from around the world. Independent Scouts follow the traditional way of Scouting and closely model their activities on the program set out in the book *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (Baden-Powell, 1908).
4.2.2 Brief History of El Grupo Scout Vistas-BPSA

El Grupo Scout Vistas was a Spanish-language boys and girls Scout group. It met every Friday evening from 5:00 to 8:00 p.m. in a community school that provided space. The family of each child paid $54 a year to cover insurance. They paid extra money for uniforms, fieldtrips and other activities. The group was brought to my attention by José Maradiaga and Idalia Fernández, husband and wife and leaders of the group. They learned about my research project through an interview with a Spanish-language radio station where I made a call for research participants. By that time El Grupo Scout Vistas had gone through several incarnations since its initial formation on December 2, 2000 by the two leaders. Mr. Maradiaga had been a Boy Scout in Guatemala from the time he was 11 years old and Mrs. Fernández had been a Girl Guide in the same country as well.

4.2.2.1 Filling a Need

Mr. Maradiaga and Mrs. Fernández described several reasons and events that led to the founding of the group. The first of three reasons they gave was “out of necessity” (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 11/05/05- TR4.21). Idalita had joined a Scouts Canada group in late 1997, but was eventually taken out. Because the details of the incidents that took place are beyond the scope of this dissertation, I briefly describe one of the issues they faced, which contributed to their decision. They described how in different ways they felt excluded and discriminated against by the group leader. For instance, they recalled how they felt ignored when they were around:

The leader, when White parents arrived, he would come out and greet everyone, or the ones nearby, and when we were standing right there, he would just walk by and wouldn’t greet us. (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 11/05/05- TR4.22)

The above situation, combined with many other incidents, compelled them to remove Idalita from the group. Although the family did not accuse Scouts Canada of institutionalized racism, Mr. Maradiaga explained that what had occurred to them stood in stark contrast to the philosophy of equality underlying the standard attitudes and practices in the Scouting Movement:

First of all, he (group leader) was a racist and a discriminator, he saw the parents as his servants, etc. I said to him: “no”, I don’t want my daughter to continue in the group. I don’t like it because Scouting is not racial, religious, or politico-ideological, in the whole world, or sexist or anything like that. All boys and girls have the same rights and egalitarian conditions. This is not negotiable. (Interview: 11/05/05- TR4.23)
They filed a complaint and were moved to a different group within the same association. Unfortunately, they faced similar difficulties in their new group and decided to approach things differently by forming their own group. By then, they had concluded there were two main issues affecting their experiences. One was of a cultural nature:

…the solution is simple, [which is] the creation of a Scout group with a Latin American structure: ourselves…we have fundamental cultural differences with them. And we have a Scouting conception from a different perspective. (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 11/05/05-TR4.24)

They saw cultural differences affecting essential cultural values. However, these differences did not seem unrelated to the second reason for their decision to start their own group. They also found differences in the philosophy between Scouts Canada and the type of Scouting they had practiced in Guatemala. Mr. Maradiaga stated: “…I realized that Scouts Canada had conceptual errors about Scouting” (Interview: 11/05/05- TR4.25). They explained that the children were only sitting around, they did not play in the park or just outdoors, even though there was outdoor space available, there was no physical activity, etc.

They finally formed their own group under Scouts Canada in December 2000. However, they felt there were major differences between the philosophy of Scouts Canada and the principles underlying Baden-Powell’s original Scouting philosophy. In early 2004 they discovered the independent Scouting Movement and found BPSA British Columbia. They asserted they felt fortunate to have found independent Scouting because they had compatible philosophies. Mr. Maradiaga stated: “Their thinking is identical to ours. So, without knowing, we thought the same way, but within Scouts Canada we were alone” (Interview: 11/05/05- TR4.26). Having found this common ground, they decided to join the independent Scouting Movement through BPSA British Columbia and the group officially changed its affiliation in March, 2004.

The leaders made it clear that the objectives of the group were not limited to playing games and having fun. There was a much deeper impetus that attempts to educate and socialize children and youth into values related to physical fitness and nature. There was strong emphasis on becoming more aware of a particular human being-nature value orientation and relationship and understanding the importance of knowing about this relationship in order to internalize the beliefs underlying such values, namely, that humans
have dominion over nature and, as such, have the responsibility to protect it. Mr. Maradiaga alluded to this in an interview:

Scouting was not created as an organization for participating in purely recreational activities, but it involves a full formation in various aspects. Fostering the [well-being of the] human body in the sense that [children] understand that it’s important to be physically fit. Knowledge of nature, of the relationship of human beings and nature and the importance of knowing it. That’s why part of the Scout law states that a Scout protects nature. (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 03/31/06- TR4.27)

4.2.2.2 Contributing to Social Change

The following is part of the factors making up the second reason for forming the group, which was also to contribute to the following:

The formation of citizens. To form the conscience of the children about their reason to exist, with a social conscience in all aspects of life. (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 11/05/05- TR4.28)

And it gives us the satisfaction of giving to the community something so simple, something…to lend, to offer our modest contribution to society, to the transformation of society. (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 11/05/05- TR4.29)

In terms of social change, they felt that

…the group’s contribution is the formation of children, who later as adolescents, young adults, and adults, can be useful to society. (Mr. Maradiaga, Interview: 11/05/05- TR4.30)

The two factors discussed above formed the main mandate of El Grupo Scout Vistas, which was in line with the principles of independent Scouting associations. It engaged the group in socializing the children into active citizenship through informal education in order to shape their beliefs, value system and identities and to make them aware of their roles and responsibilities to their families, their communities, society and the environment. According to the leaders of the group, this would foster children’s social consciousness, which was the leaders’ contribution to the community and to effecting social change.

4.2.2.3 Transmitting Language and Culture

By definition, the role of the Scout group was to pursue goals related to community service, environmental awareness and global citizenry. However, the leaders had aims that went beyond the mandate of Scouting. The third major reason for starting the group was to contribute to the Hispanic community. Mr. Maradiaga and Mrs. Fernández explained how they intended to reach the community and contribute to the recognition and strengthening of the Hispanic culture and to the conservation and continuation of the culture and Spanish language in the new generations of Hispanics in the Metro Vancouver area.
4.2.3 The Families

The number of families participating in the group fluctuated between five and eight, and the number of participating children varied from 10 to 18. The gender ratio among the children was two girls to one boy. During most of my fieldwork there were six or seven families participating. These families were all university-educated in their countries of origin, which included countries from various regions in the Spanish-speaking world (see Table 4.2 for details).

Table 4.2: El Grupo Scout Vistas: Profile of Core Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Children’s age and gender (Female (F) / Male (M))</th>
<th>Length of residence (years)</th>
<th>Main language spoken at home</th>
<th>Years of parents’ formal schooling</th>
<th>Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Fernández</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>13 (F), 8 (F)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>16/17</td>
<td>I, IIA, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Maradiaga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Pérez*</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>8 (F), 6 (M)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Spanish/English</td>
<td>17/12</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Feiz</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Asturia Mr. Morales</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>9 (F), 5 (F)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>22/21</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Palencia Mr. Palencia</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Hernández Mr. Hernández</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>9 (F), 7 (M), 6 (M)</td>
<td>2.5³⁹</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Solís* Mr. Solis</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Damas* (Honduras) Mr. Solis</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>*/-</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>14/*</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Brown</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3.1 Motivation

The reasons for joining the group given by the families interviewed generally echoed those given by the group leaders for forming the group. The main attraction was the opportunity to immerse their children in a Spanish-speaking environment. Mrs. Pérez, for instance, stated:

I feel that three hours²⁰ a month is not enough and my vocabulary is limited, because it’s vocabulary related to home daily life and here they get a different type of vocabulary related to nature and other related areas. That’s why; it’s because of the language. Additionally, here they promote other values. Once I got to know José and Idalia I realized that they have a

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³⁹ The children were born and raised in Chicago, Illinois, until the family’s relocation to Vancouver.

²⁰ Mrs. Pérez was referring to another group in which she was an active member, which is discussed in Chapter 5.
fantastic ideology and they’re helping me a great deal in educating my children, giving them more independence, in other words, I’m quite happy bringing them because aside from my main objective [language maintenance], now I have other objectives as well. (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06- TR4.31)

Mrs. Pérez’s spouse was Afghani, so transmitting Spanish to her children might have been more difficult otherwise. Therefore, the group contributed to enhancing the children’s language socialization and their socialization into various other values, including values related to nature. Although she initially joined the group purely out of her interest with language promotion, she had also discovered and valued the importance of other teachings. Other parents, who learned about the group through their social network of friends or through newspaper advertising, expressed a very similar rationale for joining the group:

I take her to places where Spanish is spoken. That’s why I take her to the Scout group, because they speak Spanish there. (Mrs. Palencia, Interview: 06/08/05- TR4.32)

The group helps them to boost their independence and self-esteem, and because it is in Spanish, that was an important factor [in our decision]. You can find Scout groups everywhere, but this one stimulates their Spanish [development]. (Mrs. Asturia, Interview: 01/13/06- TR4.33)

All the parents had a clear interest in the L1 socialization opportunities the group offered their children. Given that there is not a large ethnolinguistic Spanish-speaking community in the Metro Vancouver context, and therefore, there are limited prospects to expose the children to Spanish, they saw this as an unique opportunity to achieve their goals. Additionally, they embraced the possibility of socialization into values they also embraced and pursued. Thus, the Scout group offered families a chance to supplement the experiences of their children, providing them a more holistic socialization.

4.2.4 Sections

The children were organized by age according to standardized Scout groupings (see Table 4.3).
Table 4.3: Levels of Scouts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Section Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-7 year olds</td>
<td>Nutrias (Otters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-11 year olds</td>
<td>Lobatos (Timberwolves)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-15 year olds</td>
<td>Explorers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. Maradiaga and Mrs. Fernández sometimes took turns working with one or two sections. Other times, Mr. Maradiaga was in charge of the Explorers and Mrs. Fernández worked with the Nutrias. The Lobatos sometimes joined one or the other section depending on the activities and often, all three groups worked together. This was particularly the case when they played outdoor games and sports and when they went on fieldtrips of various types.

Membership in each section was made official through a ceremony called *investiture*. This was a formal ceremony presided over by a group leader and where children were awarded their badges by senior children, officially making them members of a particular section—officially inducting them into the community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In order to be *invested*, children were tested and they were also required to have fulfilled a set of specific requisites, which included indoor and outdoor activities. During the *investiture*, children were also required to take the Scout Oath, or promise, of their section in order to demonstrate they had acquired the necessary knowledge in the level they had completed.

### 4.2.4.1 Motto and Promise

All three sections had their own *motto* and *promise*. Their motto guided the nature of their activities and their promise was something each member had to learn as their fundamental philosophy to follow in their daily lives. Learning their *promise* by heart was an essential requirement for advancement. Therefore, many of the language and literacy activities they engaged in were designed based on their *promise*.

#### 4.2.4.2 Nutrias: Inteligente y Ocupado (Busy and Bright)

The motto of Nutrias, the youngest section in Scouts, was *Busy and Bright*. They engaged in activities aimed at acquiring useful family skills, community skills, and learning to play safely together. Their promise was: “I promise to do my best, to obey my leaders and
my parents and to be a good Otter.” Their uniform consisted of a red hat, red t-shirt and blue pants. If they had already been invested, they also wore a red and blue neckerchief.

4.2.4.3 Lobatos: Siempre lo Mejor (Do your Best)

The motto of the Lobatos section was Do your Best and their main focus was on games and practical activities based on The Jungle Book as written by Baden-Powell’s friend, Rudyard Kipling. Much of their learning was 'by doing'. Their promise was: “I promise to do my duty to God and the Queen and to fulfill the law of the timberwolf pack and to do a good turn to somebody every day.” Their uniform consisted of a long-sleeved gray shirt, green pants, black shoes, a red and blue neckerchief (if already invested), and a green cap.

4.2.4.4 Explorers: ¡Siempre Listos! (Be Prepared!)

The Explorers was the oldest section in El Grupo Scout Vistas and their motto was ¡Siempre Listos! (Be Prepared!). Although all the sections had their own mottos, ¡Siempre Listos! was considered the default motto for the whole group and was often used in Scout e-mail communication. The emphasis of the Explorers was on learning through hands-on training in outdoor activities such as hiking, camping, and canoeing. Because they were the most advanced section, part of their training included sharing responsibility with the adult leaders for discipline, and training the less experienced members. Their promise was: “On my honour I promise to do my best, to do my duty to God and the Queen, and to do my best to help others, and obey the Scout Law.” Their uniform consisted of a long-sleeved khaki shirt, green pants, black shoes, a red and blue neckerchief (if already invested), and a green cap.

The uniform choice can be traced all the way back to Lord Baden-Powell, founder of the Scout Movement, and also a British Army General who served in India and Africa. Despite the military connotation/association of their uniform and history, Scouts were originally founded as a peace brotherhood (and later sisterhood) with various congruent aims.

4.2.5 Activities: Types, Routines and Settings

In this section, I describe the Scout program in general terms in order to provide an overview of the range of activities in which members engaged. In a later section, I describe some specific activities in more detail and analyze segments of language use in several of the

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21 Scout groups have alternative oaths for people who do not recognize a duty to a King or Queen, for members of religions that do not worship a deity, and for members of orthodox religions that do not use the name of God in secular settings.
activities. Table 4.4 presents a basic sequence of events in a typical session, which usually took place in a school gymnasium. Between 5:00 and 5:15 p.m., the leaders set up the materials they had prepared for the day’s activities and grouped the children according to their plan. At about 5:15 the different sections assembled, keeping a considerable distance from one another, in order to work on reading, writing, and discussion activities. The materials used in this segment of the session usually, but not always, came from the Scouting literature.

Table 4.4: Scout Routine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:00-5:15</td>
<td>Set up / unstructured play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:15-6:00</td>
<td>Spanish lesson, usually reading and discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00-6:10</td>
<td>Opening ceremony / formation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:10-7:40</td>
<td>Various activities, sometimes including Spanish literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:40-7:45</td>
<td>Closing ceremony / Order of the Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:45-8:00</td>
<td>Clean up, free play and departure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At 6:00 o’clock a whistle was sounded and everyone was to assemble in a horseshoe-shaped formation in a designated area of the gym in order to do the official opening of the session. At this time, an appointed Scout member proceeded to the storage room and ceremoniously marched back towards the horseshoe carrying the Canadian flag, placing it in a wooden base, while the Scout troop stood straight up facing the flag holding their arms at their sides. Once the flag was placed in its base, the Scouts used a two or three-finger (depending on status) military-style salute rendered to it. In this communicative event, important announcements were given by the leader, as well as instructions related to the proper wearing of their uniforms, conduct, admonitions, commendations, and the performing of an inspection, among other tasks.

4.2.5.1 Overview of Activity Types

The activities conducted could be classified based on different criteria. For example, one classification could be based on whether the activities were (loosely-defined) Scouts proper or not. For the purposes of this brief overview, they are grouped in two broad categories based on the setting in which they took place: indoor and outdoor. The indoor
setting includes the school classrooms, the gymnasium and the school field and playgrounds. The outdoor setting refers to anything that took place away from the school grounds, such as fieldtrips that include indoor and outdoor activities.

Most of the activities conducted in the Scout group took place on the school grounds. These activities could be further classified into language and literacy related, Scouts proper, arts and crafts, games, and sports. Every week, the Scouts engaged in activities designed to promote Spanish language and literacy learning in the children. In order to support this goal, a mini-library project was proposed by Mrs. Fernández, and implemented with the support of all the parents. A decision was made to bring Spanish language books from home every week and set aside some time for children to examine and borrow them. A parent-librarian was in charge of keeping track of the books. Every week, between 30 to 40 books were brought and spread on a table. This proved to be an exciting time for the children.

Scouts proper activities were varied and numerous. With one hundred years of history from which to draw, the Scout Movement had already accumulated a plethora of traditional games and skills that had become classics in Scout groups around the world. In addition to a variety of games, these included knots, book binding, insignia sewing, wood carvings, and other Scout-related arts and crafts.

Besides Scout-related arts and crafts, they also engaged in more culturally-related types of arts and crafts. This became particularly common during the Christmas holiday season. For example, one Christmas the children were directed in the creation of several projects. Two such projects involved the construction of piñatas and zambombas by all the children. Another Christmas project involved the creation of a nacimiento (nativity scene) in a showcase at the local public library. Although the Scout Movement has no religious affiliation, these activities were planned in a meeting with the consensus of all the parents. In response to a question I posed to the group leaders sometime later, they explained that the intention was purely cultural and that these initiatives were directed mainly by parents.

Outdoor activities varied widely and, like indoor activities, involved regular Scout activities and other activities that were unique to this group. Outdoor activities had recreational, community service, survival, and other purposes. In general, outdoor activities

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22 In Spain, the zambomba is a friction drum that is typical during Christmas celebrations. It is usually played along with villancicos (Christmas carols).
and events were received positively by all the children, who seemed to enjoy them a great deal. Outdoor activities included camping trips at least twice a year, hiking trips during the day and also hiking expeditions during the night, which focused specifically on orienteering and learning about nocturnal animals. The Scouting troop also participated in removing invasive weeds from parks, tree planting, park clean up, running in cross-country races, visits to bird sanctuaries, visits to the coast guard, taking part in Chinese New Year and Santa Claus parades, fund-raising for hurricane victims in Central America, among others. During camping trips, Scouts learned about survival skills, fire-building, cookery, archery, etc. Some parents usually accompanied the group on fieldtrips, who assisted with transportation and supervision. In the following section I describe selected activities and show analyses of some of the language used. The sections are organized based on the types of activities conducted, as examples of socialization in terms of language and value promotion.

4.2.5.1.1 Speaking Spanish like a Boy Scout: Scout Activities and Patterns of Communication

In this section, I describe selected activities in order to illustrate activity execution and to analyze the language socialization taking place in the group. The analyses are divided into four sub-sections based on the focus of the activities being analyzed. However, in practice, the group leaders combined their various goals in most of their activities. Overall, there was an explicit attempt to induct the children into roles of good Spanish-speakers and good global citizens. Therefore, as I show in the four sections below, speaking-Spanish only, well and without code-mixing, and being good citizens were particularly emphasized. During my fieldwork, I found one of the central themes in the language socialization of these children was a message that they should speak only Spanish during Scout meetings. There was, however, one significant exception to this general rule. Overall, most of the Scout activities seemed to incorporate aspects of project-based (Blumenfeld et al., 1991), experiential (Dewey, 1938; Freire, 1970; Saltmarsh, 1997) and outdoor/environmental learning methods (Russell, 1999).

4.2.5.1.2 Promoting Scout Values: Learning the Promise

The fundamental philosophy of the Scout Movement was contained in the Scout Law and the promise that each section made. For the children in El Grupo Scout Vistas learning their promise and Scout Law was a central part of the group’s socializing agenda. Activities
often focused on teaching essential Scout values, and teaching the section’s promise had a predominant role in these activities. One session was dedicated to working on the promise with the Lobatos, while the Explorers worked on carving a fleur-de-lis on their own, with occasional supervision, and the Nutrias made some arts and crafts with Mrs. Fernández.

Although language and literacy activities were usually limited to 5:00-6:00 p.m., on February 24, 2006, an entire meeting was devoted to a Scout activity combined with literacy work. Mr. Maradiaga had prepared slips of paper with the words of the Lobatos promise. The activity involved putting the words in the right order and then memorizing them. First of all, Mr. Maradiaga distributed the slips of paper to small groups of two or three children who were instructed to put them in order. Interestingly, he had prepared one set in English and asked two children to work together with the English version. The following interaction shows what happened (analyses of interactions follow the English translation) (Mr. M=Mr. Maradiaga):

[Excerpt 4.1]

1 Mr. M: ahora ustedes ustedes ustedes dos si quieren utiliza-
2 ustedes váyanse allá a otro lugar ustedes si quieren
3 utilizan la mesa la mesa lo van a esc- lo van a
4 ordenar e::[n
5 Silvia:       [en inglés
6 Mr. M: en inglés
7 Silvia: [o:::h ((half laughing))
8 Diana: [mmmmm?
9 Diana: en inglés es más fácil (xx) para yo
10 Silvia: yo prefiero en español
11 Mr. M: en inglés pues allí viene la cuestión porque en inglés
12 ese es el- en inglés esta en el libro en inglés esta
13 en el libro- si ((the answer si could be in response
14 to a non-verbal question))

Translation

1 Mr. M: now you the two of you if you want you can use-you go
2 over there to a different place you ((pl.)) if you
3 want you can use the table you ((pl.)) are going to
4 wri- you are going to put it in order i::[n
5 Silvia:       [in English
6 Mr. M: in English
7 Silvia: [o:::h ((half laughing))
8 Diana: [mmmmm?
9 Diana: it’s easier in English (xx) for me
10 Silvia: I prefer in Spanish
11 Mr. M: in English ’cause the thing is that in English that’s
12 the- in the book it’s in English in the book it’s in
Mr. Maradiaga was instructing two different children to work in the activity, which Silvia and Diana, his daughter, overheard and commented on. In line 7, Silvia expressed surprise at hearing the instructions given to the two children to do the activity in English, indicating that it was out of the ordinary. In the next turn (line 8), Diana also seemed baffled by this and in the following turn she confided to Silvia that she would rather do the activities in English as they were easier for her in that language, to which Silvia responded that she preferred Spanish. Although Diana was regularly encouraged and expected to speak Spanish at home and in the group, she still found English more practical for oracy/literacy activities. On the other hand, Silvia’s language preference for the activity is a strong example of how children display the language ideologies to which they have been socialized. The children were constantly reminded to use Spanish at all times and its importance was emphasized both implicitly and explicitly. At the same time, there appeared to be a conflict between the persistent emphasis on using Spanish and the decision to use English for an “important” activity.

It was unusual in the Scout group to instruct a group of children to work and complete an activity in English. In almost two years of visiting the group regularly, in addition to less frequent visits until the summer of 2007, I observed this only once. Learning the promise was such an important requirement for all Scouts that some children were asked to do it in English. When I asked the leaders why some children did the activity in English, they explained the intention was to accommodate a child who had more difficulty with Spanish literacy. Given that this was a key principle for Scouts to follow (and necessary for investiture) they asserted that they wanted to make sure the child learned it well. However, the implicit message the children might have received was that Spanish was valuable, but some things were too important to be done in Spanish, perhaps unwittingly socializing the children into a linguistic hierarchy where the status of English was reaffirmed and endorsed as the language of power.

As an oldtimer in the Scout group, Diana displayed some expertise in relation to the promise and often offered to help other children (Mr. M=Mr. Maradiaga):
Despite Diana’s eagerness to assist others, Mr. Maradiaga felt it was too early in the activity for her to help them and wanted them to work alone for some time so that he could assess how much they had studied *The Jungle Book*, much to Diana’s disappointment, indicated by her soft ‘a:h’ response. Although the leaders encouraged children to help and learn from one another, at this particular time Mr. Maradiaga wanted the children to work alone before allowing Diana to provide any *scaffolding* (Bruner, 1984; Lantolf, 2000).

Once the children had had some time to work on their exercise, they were asked to read it (Mr. M=Mr. Maradiaga):

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**Excerpt 4.3**

1. Mr. M: ahora le toca a usted Silvia lea
2. Silvia: yo prometo hacer siempre lo mejor (1.2) cumplir mis deberes para (.) con dios y la reina (..) obedecer la ley de la manada y hacer una buena acción (..) a alguien todos los días
   (4.7)
3. Mr. M: ahora bien (4.6) ((looking at Angela)) repitalo=
4. Angela: =yo prometo hacer- cumplir mis deberes para con dios y la reina um de (1.2) ah (0.8) obedecer la (4.0)
5. Mr. M: (xxxxx) continue ((other unintelligible speech))

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**Translation**

1. Mr. M: now it’s your turn Silvia read
2. Silvia: I promise to always do my best (1.2) do my duty to (.)
3. God and the queen (..) to fulfill the law of the Timberwolf pack and to do a good turn (..) to somebody
4. every day
   (4.7)
After reading the promise, Silvia moved aside to memorize it while Angela was asked to recite it from memory. However, she was unsuccessful in her attempt and was asked to continue working on it (excerpt not shown). Silvia recited her promise from memory with a little assistance from Diana, who seemed happy about Silvia’s performance in Spanish and congratulated her with a ‘high five’, signaling solidarity. After Silvia was done, Mr. Maradiaga asked Diana to say it (excerpt shown below). Diana asked him whether she could do it in English, which he accepted, further indicating some language flexibility was sometimes allowed. However, despite Diana’s earlier assertion that she preferred to do it in English, she chose to say the promise in Spanish, also highlighting her internalization of the language ideology promoted in the home and in the group and pointing toward the fluid nature of identity with respect to language (Mr. M=Mr. Maradiaga):

[Excerpt 4.4]

1 Mr. M: dígalo usted
2 Diana: ¿en inglés?
3 Mr. M: como quiera
4 Diana: yo prometo hacer lo mejor cumplir mis deberes para con
dios y la reina um um m- um um um esa palabra para
um um um
7 Angela: es una buena acción?
8 Diana: [no
9 Angela: no no (dijiste)
10 Diana: um a::h ah ah um- ah ah obedecer la ley de la manada
y hacer una buena acción todos los días ah la Angela
12 se recordó

Translation

1 Mr. M: you say it
2 Diana: in English?
3 Mr. M: whichever way you want
4 Diana: I promise to do my best to do my duty to God and the
5 queen um um m- um um um um that word to um um um
6 Angela: is it a good action?
7 Diana: [no
8 Angela: no no (you said)
9 Diana: um a::h ah ah um- ah ah fill-fill the law of the
10 Timberwolf pack and do a good turn every day ah Angela
11 remembered
Despite having been actively assisting other children (e.g., Silvia), and having expressed some confidence in helping others in putting the promise words together, Diana struggled to say her promise in Spanish and Angela, who had been studying hers in the meantime, also attempted to assist her. In terms of language socialization, it is important to note that despite Diana’s manifestations of a preference for English, when given a choice, she chose Spanish. A plausible explanation is that Silvia, and possibly other children in the group, had an effect on her socialization into the linguistic behavior she displayed during the activity. Alternatively, it could also be an indication of the unpredictable nature of socialization processes and the unstable character of identity. Although adults are generally cast as “teachers,” or the “socializers,” children are socializing each other and socializing adults all the time (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). While it might seem as if the adults are in charge, the above interaction shows that children also have power and agency (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008).

The following segment shows Mrs. Fernández intervention during the activity led by Mr. Maradiaga. Despite the special consent given to some children to work in English in this activity, there was an expectation that everyone else would follow the Spanish-only rule (Mrs. F=Mrs. Fernández; Mr. M=Mr. Maradiaga).

[Excerpt 4.5]

```
1  ((children speaking English in background))
2  Child: (xxx)
3  Child: what?
4  Child: WHY BLACK?
5  Mrs. F: ¡español
6  Child: ¡oh
7  (8.0) ((background noise and talking))
8  Mr. M: en caso de (xx) de que no usen la coma déjenla los dos
9  puntos la coma esos déjenlos o- obvielas no se
10 preocupen de eso lo que me interesa más es el (xxxxxxxx)
11 déjenlos la coma
12 Mrs. F: en ¡español (.). Tatiana
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Translation

```
1  ((children speaking English in background))
2  Child: (xxx)
3  Child: what?
4  Child: WHY BLACK?
5  Mrs. F: ¡Spanish
6  Child: ¡oh
7  (8.0) ((background noise and talking))
```
After noticing that some children had switched to English or were code-mixing, Mrs. Fernández reminded them to speak Spanish, to which a child, in line 6, expressed disappointment as indexed by the falling intonation in her utterance. A few seconds later in the last turn, she restated her admonition as Tatiana had not complied with her request. Despite the earlier signs of language flexibility, the expectation was for children to use Spanish and the leaders regularly strived to make the Scout group a Spanish-only environment. During my observations, I found that the leaders actively worked to make the sessions Spanish-only. They also showed some flexibility in terms of the children’s language use in at least one of the activities, but used a range of techniques to encourage the use of Spanish (e.g., humour). One of the leaders’ daughters, Diana, was generally compliant with the rule. The following excerpt illustrates this (text in bold was originally spoken in English):

[Excerpt 4.6]

Silvia: okay Angela I think I saw it here it is
Angela: °right°
Silvia: it-(sounds like) something about the queen?
Angela: °yeah°
Diana: yo te puedo ayudar estoy aguantando
Silvia: I wonder where the queen is
Child: wait (.) I think I’ve (even) got a queen queen
((child coughing))
((background noise and unintelligible speech))
Child: oh (xx) [God (.)] here it is
Child: °[God (.)] God or a queen whichever one you want°

Translation

Silvia: okay Angela I think I saw it here it is
Angela: °right°
Silvia: it-(sounds like) something about the queen?
Angela: °yeah°
Diana: I can help you I’m waiting
Silvia: I wonder where the queen is
Child: wait (.) I think I’ve (even) got a queen queen
((child coughing))
((background noise and unintelligible speech))
Child: oh (xx) [God (.)] here it is
Child: °[God (.)] God or a queen whichever one you want°
While interacting with some children in an attempt to help them complete the activity, Diana was the only one speaking Spanish, and Silvia, who had earlier expressed preference for Spanish, was now speaking English (shown in bold). This extract supports the claim that Diana, as well as other children in the group, might have already internalized the Spanish-only rule to which she was being socialized by her parents/group leaders. Diana and Silvia seemed to have acquired Spanish and English language ideologies, but these also seemed at odds with one another. As multifaceted individuals with the added layered identities fostered through their general life experiences and their socialization at home, school, community and Scout group, it is not surprising that their attitudes and behavior about language were also complex and multifaceted.

4.2.5.1.3 Promoting Language: Spanish Language, Literacy and Values

As described in the beginning of section 4.2, there are major differences between the independent Scout movement, BPSA Canada, and Scouts Canada. There were also differences between El Grupo Scout Vistas and other independent Scout groups in British Columbia, but generally these differences were negligible. Arguably, what distinguished El Grupo Scout Vistas from other independent groups was its use of Spanish and its focus on language and literacy. In my observations, language and literacy activities were conducted between 5:00 and 6:00 p.m. on meeting days, generally Fridays. The most common activities were reading, writing and discussion. Readings usually came from the leaders’ personal collection of children’s short stories and Scout literature. Usually, the children selected their books to read, but on occasion the leaders hand-picked specific books for some of the children based on reading ability. Writing was typically a follow-up activity to reading and consisted of tasks such as creating word lists, completing cloze exercises, and summarizing. Discussions were either reading comprehension exercises or slightly more in-depth probes of the literary analysis type. Sometimes discussions were stand-alone activities that explored the children’s perspectives and experiences related to specific cultural or Scout values (e.g., courtesy). In this section, I analyze one language/literacy activity conducted by Mrs. Fernández with the Lobatos and the Explorers, in order to illustrate the type of explicit language and literacy socialization the children experienced in the group. I show how language played out during the activities and demonstrate how the leaders attempted to socialize the children into particular linguistic
behavior and attitudes toward cultural difference. The activity consisted of reading a short story, writing a brief summary, discussing troublesome vocabulary, and orally reporting on their story.

On this particular day, Mrs. Fernández started the activity by asking the children to form a circle (Mrs. F=Mrs. Fernández):

[Excerpt 4.7]

1 Mrs. F: hagan un círculo déjennme a mí en medio pues hagan un círculo perfecto ¿trajeron lápiz?
2 Child: ((inaudible))
3 Mrs. F: ¿trajiste lápiz?
4 Child: "no"
5 Mrs. F: ¿Diana?
6 Diana: ((gestures she doesn’t know))
7 Mrs. F: ¿Cómo que no se? Vaya a revisar ¿usted?
8 Idalita: ((shakes head))
9 Mrs. F: usted ya es explorer y ya-ya esta vieja de estar aquí en el grupo ya tiene experiencia- ¿a ver usted?
10 Mrs. F: ¿usted no ha hecho todavía su kit verdad?
11 Ahmed: °sí yo ya lo hice°
12 Mrs. F: ya lo tiene? ¿pero no le has pues-no le has echado tu un lapicero o un lápiz?
13 Ahmed: °no:::°
14 Mrs. F: estas perdonado ((sarcastically)) por ahora.
15 Mrs. F: bueno (.) ((opens large pencil case)) busquen lápices acá

Translation

1 Mrs. F: make a circle but leave me inside make a circle
2 perfect did you (pl.) bring a pencil?
3 Child: ((inaudible))
4 Mrs. F: did you ((singular)) bring a pencil?
5 Child: "no"
6 Mrs. F: Diana?
7 Diana: ((gestures she doesn’t know))
8 Mrs. F: what do you mean ‘I don’t know?’ go and check. You?
9 Idalita: ((shakes head))
10 Mrs. F: you are already an explorer and already an oldtimer in the group you are experienced already- how about you?
11 Mrs. F: ((sing., polite form)) you haven’t made your kit yet right?
12 Ahmed: "yes I made it already"
13 Mrs. F: you already have it? but you haven’t added-you haven’t put a pen or pencil in it?
14 Ahmed: "no:::"
15 Mrs. F: you are forgiven ((sarcastically)) for now
16 (.)
17 Mrs. F: well (.) ((opens large pencil case)) look in here for pencils
In her first turn, after Mrs. Fernández instructed the children to make a circle, she asked them whether they had brought pencils. To her surprise, none of the children had pencils with them. Diana, her youngest daughter, was the first child she chastised in line 8. The second one was her older daughter, Idalita, with whom she was particularly severe.  

Although the leaders often displayed flexibility and democratic attitudes in managing the children, they also stressed the importance of responsibility and discipline in following the rules and instructions. All the children knew that the first hour was devoted to language lessons and were required to carry a pencil in their Scout kit. Because Idalita was the most senior of the Scouts, and therefore an oldtimer, she was also expected to model appropriate Scout behavior to the junior members and contribute to their socialization into roles of responsible Scouts. In lines 12-18, Mrs. Fernández interacted with Ahmed, a six-year old boy, who did not have a pencil either. However, the tone of her discourse changed dramatically. Although she used sarcasm in her expression of forgiveness to him, she used it, along with the rising intonational contour, in a friendly and playful manner, concluding in lines 20-21 with an invitation to all children to pick pencils from her own pencil bag.

After this incident, Mrs. Fernández instructed the children to choose books to read (Mrs. F=Mrs. Fernández):

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23 Although I had initially speculated that one possible explanation for the authoritarian tone of Mrs. Fernández’ utterance to Idalita in turn 9 (line 10) could have been that she was speaking in her role of mother and not as a leader of the group, when Mrs. Fernández read this chapter she indicated she always spoke to Explorers that way.
As the above interaction shows, all the children became excited about selecting books. Angelina, however, was not allowed to read the book she had chosen. In the following segment, Angelina insisted that she wanted a particular book, to which Mrs. Fernández responded with what appeared to be irritation. Upon examination of the later interaction, I realized the reason she did not let Angelina take the book she wanted was because of her lower reading ability in Spanish. Regardless, again Mrs. Fernández came across as strict, even somewhat severe. She informed Angelina what book she had selected for her and indicated there was ‘a reason’ for her decision, but left her uninformed about what that reason might be. Although there is no substantiation in the above data, it is possible that Mrs. Fernández deliberately withheld this information from Angelina in order to save her from becoming embarrassed in front of the other children. This assessment was later corroborated by Mrs. Fernández in an e-mail message.

Once the children had had about seven minutes to read their short stories, Mrs. Fernández proceeded to the next step of the activity, which involved getting individual children to tell their stories to the whole group. First she appeared to be opening the floor to volunteers, but in the same turn she called on an Explorer to go first, and even though he declined, arguing he was embarrassed, she persisted and dismissed his reasons by explaining that everyone was going to do it. In line 5, David reluctantly complied, as evidenced by his elongated ‘a:::h,’ audible out-breath and pause. The rest of the
interaction illustrates one instance of post-reading questioning, discussion and co-
constructing of the message of the story, which was temporarily interrupted by a
language choice negotiation as well (Mrs. F=Mrs. Fernández):

[Excerpt 4.9]

Mrs. F: ¿quién quiere primero? tú
David: me da pena:
Mrs. F: no todos tienen que decirla todas maneras no importa
el orden
David: a::h hh(.) habia un hombre extraño con un turbante
en su cabeza (. ) y el está desnudo y viene y se sienta
y comienza a tocar un flauta y llama a una culebra y:
(.) después se va y hay un fuego y viene el hombre y
toca la flauta y: (. ) la hose se mueve
Child 1: ¿el que?
Child 2: [¿el que?
David: [la hose la hose
Diana: en-ha ha
Mrs. F: ¿un qué?
David: hmmm
Mrs. F: a ver enseñame la palabra allí
Joe: la pita que da agua
David: una pita que da agua
(5.5)
David: la manguera
Mrs. F: a::h hh
Diana: la pita que da agua
((children laughter))
Mrs. F: ((half laughing)) está bien siga siga (. ) ¿pero que
era el mensaje? ¿en si de que se trataba?
David: de un hombre desnudo
Mrs. F: de un hombre ((laughing invitation)) desnudo
Children: ((loud laughter))
(0.2)
David: solo que no lo he escrito aquí lo tengo=
Mrs. F: =no en si que que era e::l (0.2)
David: y el niño es extraño también
Mrs. F: que era en si lo que lo que sentía el niño cual era el
mensaje de la historia aquí está mira el último
párrafo allí=
David: oh la gente extraña también puede hacer cosas
extrañas
Children: ((laughter))
Mrs. F: no se rían porque (x[xx)
David: [no entonces el niño como vió que
algunas personas que tienen un aspecto extraño pueden
lo::h [(xxxxxx)
Mrs. F: [ese era el mensaje=
David: =gente extraña también son gente buena
Mrs. F: que no habia que juz- no hay que juzgar a las personas
por la manera en que ellas luzcan mm
Mrs. F: who wants to go first? You
David: I’m embarrassed
Mrs. F: no everyone has to tell it anyway so the order doesn’t matter
David: ahhh hh (.) there was a strange man with a turban on his head (. ) and he’s naked and he comes and sits down and starts playing a flute and summons a snake and afterwards he leaves and there’s a fire and the man comes and plays the flute a:::nd (. ) the hose moves
Child 1: the what?
Child 2: [the what?
David: [the hose the hose
Diana: in-ha ha
Mrs. F: a what?
David: hmmm
Mrs. F: let’s see show me the word there
Joe: the cord that ‘passes’ water
David: a cord that ‘gives’ water
(5.5)
David: the hose
Mrs. F: a::h hh
Diana: the cord that ‘gives’ water
((children laughter))
Mrs. F: ((half laughing)) alright go on (. ) but what’s the message? What was it really about?
David: about a naked man
Mrs. F: about a naked ((laughing invitation)) man
Children: ((loud laughter))
(0.2)
David: it’s just that I haven’t written it yet I have it here=
Mrs. F: =no what what was the real the:: (0.2)
David: and the kid is also strange
Mrs. F: what was it what was it that the kid really felt what was the message of the story here it is look the last paragraph there=
David: =oh strange people can also do strange things
Children: ((laughter))
Mrs. F: don’t laugh because (x[xx)
David: [no then because the kid saw that some people that have a strange appearance can ;o:::h
[(xxxxx)
Mrs. F: [that was the message=
David: =strange people are also good people
Mrs. F: that we can’t jud- we must not judge people by how they look mm

In line 5, David introduced an English word (hose), which likely confused the children and Mrs. Fernández. This discussion dominated the interaction between lines 5 and 23.
The initial reaction might be to deduce that everyone, especially Mrs. Fernández, was attempting to elicit the correct Spanish word from David in order to maintain a Spanish-only environment. However, it is possible that everyone expected *hose* to be a Spanish word, which no one seemed to understand. David might have used the English word as a way of keeping the flow of the narrative, because stopping to retrieve the correct Spanish equivalent would have delayed his report. After Joe offered a candidate expression (the cord that passes water), David tried harder and repaired his utterance producing *la manguera*. After the issue was resolved, Mrs. Fernández attempted to elicit the moral of the story in lines 24, 32, and 34. Finally in line 42, after much elicitation from Mrs. Fernández, David expressed his realization of what the moral was. The rising intonation in David’s ‘↑o:::h’ signals the moment of discovery, and in line 44, he partially produced the desired message. However, this was still not satisfactory to what Mrs. Fernández had in mind and in the last turn, she rephrased his conclusion, finally reaching the objective of the activity, which appeared to focus on teaching about difference. The rest of the session was spent going over a similar routine with the rest of the children. They also spent the last few minutes going over problematic vocabulary and at times, children were asked to look up words in a dictionary. Because time ran out, they were also asked to make a list of other problematic words and look up their meaning as homework for the following week. Part of the activity the following Friday was spent reviewing the definitions that the children had brought. The negotiation of language, as well as the co-construction of the moral of a story, was a frequent form of teaching, which helped socialize the children into appropriate linguistic behavior and into particular moral and cultural values, such as the embracing, acceptance, and celebration of difference. Their pedagogy, likely the result of their own experiences as learners in their countries of origin, also socialized the children into the routines and practices prevalent in schools (Janes & Kermani, 2001).

4.2.5.1.4 Promoting Culture Through Artifacts: *Piñata, Zambomba* and *Nacimiento*

Another type of activity conducted in the group was directly related to Hispanic traditional cultural celebrations and artifacts. These activities generally took place during special festivities, particularly Christmas. Although all of the Scout activities were
conducted almost exclusively by the leaders, in these activities parents became actively involved. They asserted their agency by providing input in the planning stages and even taking a leading role in the activity implementation. In this section, I provide a brief overview of three arts and crafts activities: making a piñata, a zambomba, and a nacimiento.

At the beginning of November 2005, the leaders and parents met several times following weekly sessions to plan activities to be conducted over the following weeks, culminating with a potluck Christmas dinner with everyone involved. Over several meetings, all the parents (including the group leaders) planned the details for the elaboration of two culturally-related artifacts: a piñata and a zambomba, and for the preparation and setting up of a nacimiento (Christmas nativity scene). While everyone was familiar with the piñata and nacimiento, only Mrs. Pérez, who was from Spain, knew about the zambomba (see section 4.2.5.1 for a brief description).

Piñata

The first artifact the children constructed, under the leadership of parents, was a piñata. Although piñatas are more commonly associated with Mexican traditional culture, their use is pervasive in much of Latin America, particularly for children’s birthday parties. The making of the piñata was led by Mrs. Solís, a mother from Mexico. She gathered all the materials, placed them on a table, asked the children to stand around the table and gave instructions about the different phases of the activity. The children spent two half-sessions cutting and gluing in order to decorate the piñata. Mrs. Solís, some parents and the Explorers were in charge of the most delicate aspects of building a piñata. Although the stated goal of the activity was the making of a piñata, based on my observations, an additional socialization outcome, intended or not, was exposing the children to a variety of language related to giving and following instructions. I observed during the course of the activity that Mrs. Solís provided rich language input to the children. However, as was the case with the leaders while conducting regular activities, this language input was sometimes clearly above the children’s level in terms of difficulty.
Zambomba

The day the children finished the piñata, they also made their zambomba. By the time the piñata was done, Mrs. Pérez had already brought the necessary materials for making a zambomba. Mrs. Pérez, with the assistance of Mrs. Solís, worked with the children, who each made a working zambomba to take home. During the activity planning stages, Mrs. Pérez had explained in detailed what a zambomba was to all the parents, none of whom had heard about it before. Interestingly, although the focus of the activity was mostly cultural (as opposed to language or Scouts), no discussion or explanation was provided to the children about the significance of the zambomba for Spaniard, particularly Andalusian, cultures. The main objective appeared to be to produce a finished product. However, as with the piñata, there appeared to be an implicit goal of socializing the children to certain types of vocabulary and language to which they were not normally exposed, namely, the language of following directions for a process. This also promoted socialization into a broader, pan-Hispanic identity. In terms of language acquisition, as was the case with the piñata activity, it is almost certain that some of the vocabulary was new to all of the children (e.g., circunferencia, obviar), as they were unlikely exposed to it at home. The following short excerpt illustrates this:

[Excerpt 4.10]

1 Mrs. Solís: se mide la circunferencia de la maceta y se cortan hay un pedazo que como Diana (lo hizo)

Translation

1 Mrs. Solís: first you measure the circumference of the pot and you cut there’s a piece that like Diane (did)

When explaining how to cut the piece of cardboard that would cover the opening of a pot (planter) being used, Mrs. Solís referred to the circunferencia (circumference), of the pot opening. The children did not know the meaning of the term, but the use of non-verbal cues and a reference to what Diana had already made, provided them with a clear indication of what they needed to do. This type of language was typical of the language used by the leaders during the activities they conducted. Although the parents avoided using English to clarify and simplify vocabulary, when there were explicit vocabulary explanations, sometimes children provided the English equivalents, unsolicited.
Nacimiento

This activity was planned several weeks ahead and its actual elaboration took two entire Scout sessions. The following is part of what was reported to the children about the planned nacimiento in one of the closing sessions (Mr. M=Mr. Maradiaga):

[Excerpt 4.11]

1  Mr. M:      nos vemos y vamos a dibujar el fondo
2  Diana:     ¿el qué?
3  Angelina:  el fondo
4  Mr. M:     el fondo es el [(xx) la parte del fondo del edificio
5          vamos a
6  Joe:       [background
7  Mr. M:     pintar- nos interesa que vean y porque no se tiene
8          mucha oportunidad de pintar cosas grandes y- y que
9          aprendan a conocer los pinceles los tipos de pintura
10         como se diluye la pintura (xxxx) y lo vamos a hacer
11        allí (xxx) vamos a aprender como le vamos a poner el
12        fondo y etcétera lo vamos a hacer bien allí en la
13       pared entonces van apr- en otras palabras van a
14      aprender a hacer (xxx) entonces lo vamos a aprender
15       y:: nos vemos el viernes de la otra semana

Translation

1  Mr. M:     We’ll meet and we’ll paint the background
2  Diana:     the what?
3  Angelina:  the background
4  Mr. M:     the background is the [(xx) the background of the
5          building
6  Joe:       [background
7  Mr. M:     painting- we want you to see because there aren’t many
8          opportunities to paint large pieces and- and so you
9          can get familiar with the paint brushes and with how
10         to mix the paint (xxxx) and we’ll do it then (xxx)
11        we’ll learn how to make the background and etcetera.
12        We’ll make it properly on the wall and you will learn-
13       in other words you’ll learn to make (xxx) so we’ll
14      learn a::nd we’ll meet on Friday next week

Mr. Maradiaga explained to the children what the objectives were going to be and what type of learning to expect. There was a little vocabulary negotiation as most children did not know the meaning of fondo. However, when Joe offered background, Mr. Maradiaga abandoned his attempt to explain it as all the children seemed to understand the meaning.

For the first session of the nacimiento activity, Mr. Maradiaga brought large sheets of newsprint, paint, brushes and other implements. He taped the pieces of newsprint on a wall and drew the outline of a mountain scenery for background. He
prepared the different colors of paint as he showed the children how to do it. He explained to them that one of the objectives of the activity was for them to get experience in mixing colors and using paint brushes. He then proceeded to apply the first strokes on the newsprint and taught the children how to continue painting the whole landscape.

The second session was spent at the local public library, where the nacimiento was going to be set up. Several parents brought materials from home, which they subsequently used to create the scene, with the painted newsprint as background. Unfortunately, because this was a rather elaborate and delicate activity, the children were excluded from most of it and the parents, who were already experienced in constructing nacimientos, crafted it themselves. The children spent the session time reading books in English inside the library, watching the making of the nacimiento, or playing outside under the supervision of the Scout leaders, often using English when adults were not in close proximity. In the end, the creation of the nacimiento was successful and all group members were excited to admire it. The activity became a socializing moment as far as implicit learning was concerned, but unfortunately, the activity was not exploited more and no follow-up activity was conducted, which could have solidified the children’s internalization of some of the values underlying the cultural practices modeled by the parents. By working cooperatively, the parents demonstrated the importance of teamwork. By focusing on a popular theme in Spanish-speaking countries, they also taught the children about pan-Hispanic identities. Most of all, however, the activity became important for the parents’ own cultural connectedness.

Overall, activities that involved making crafts fulfilled several important socializing objectives, intended or not, which had the potential of affecting the children’s learning in various ways. Because the language used during such activities was Spanish, those were important learning milieus, implicit and explicit, where the children were exposed to a diversity of Spanish language use, as well as rich dialectal variation. These activities also provided opportunities for the children to experience a linguistic and cultural immersion and to further legitimate the value and usefulness of their language, particularly in the Vancouver context where Spanish does not enjoy strong ethnolinguistic vitality.
There were also seemingly unintended outcomes of the activities. As the parents modeled the language of giving instructions, the children had opportunities to learn the process of giving and following instructions. Indeed, older students engaged in assisting younger or less experienced Scouts in completing difficult aspects of their tasks. Additionally, because the only stated objectives of the activity were to create “typical” cultural artifacts relevant to the season, exposure to the process of following instructions was perhaps an unanticipated socialization upshot of the craft-making activities, as the skills acquired or reinforced were transferable to various other school and daily life activities. In school, for instance, children are regularly required to follow instructions in making masks or costumes for language arts, measurement activities in mathematics, making crafts, musical instruments, and food in social studies, conducting experiments in science, and various activities in art class, etc. Through this type of activity, in some ways, the group became similar to a school environment. This seemed to be associated in part to their affiliation to traditional Scouting, but also to their efforts to promote the maintenance of Spanish.

4.2.5.1.5 Promoting Scout Skills: Night Hiking

A significant amount of time of the Scout sessions was devoted to efforts for the memorization and internalization of the promise, Scout Law and other key values, reiterating the notion of reproducing the school. Next to these, many activities led to the practical application (generally outdoors) of some of the skills learned through indoor sessions. These activities were pervasive throughout the Scout Vistas curriculum (as described in section 4.2.5.1). Environmental/outdoor learning through visits to nature-related sites, participation in environmental events and engagement in camping, day and night hiking, orienteering, etc., were common ways of illustrating teachings and developing/consolidating valued Scout skills.

This section provides a description of one outdoor/environmental learning event planned with the objective of teaching key outdoor survival and common sense practices to children and raising awareness of animal night life patterns in the forest, as part of the broader goal of raising awareness to issues of the natural environment. Thus, the fieldtrip became an important language socialization activity; it was a channel for socializing the children to skills and values associated with the main goals of Scouts. At the same time,
the process of acquiring these skills and values became the means for exposing the children to and socializing them into key Spanish abilities necessary to following directions in Spanish, particularly during times marked by potential hazards.

The participating group included the two Scout leaders, two male parents (including myself), and 10 children from the three sections (ages five to thirteen). The activity consisted of hiking in a nearby forested-park with trails, which was surrounded by busy streets. It was located in the middle of a residential neighbourhood and close to a secondary school and a long-term resident care facility. On the way to the main park, the group stopped in a small park for a pre-hike activity. The leaders instructed the children to stand still and close their eyes for a minute and to listen to any out of the ordinary sounds. Without further explanation, the group was taken to the forest for the main activity.

The children were arranged in a single column led by Mrs. Fernández and myself. The back of the column was supervised by the other parent-leader team. The group walked along different trails for about 15 minutes and then they stopped. Mr. Maradiaga asked the children to take another minute of silence to listen to the sounds of nature. He explained at that time that the point of doing the listening exercises was to encourage them to identify differences between daytime and nighttime in nature. He gave details about how the sounds and fauna seem different in the forest in the day and at night. Before resuming the hike, he also invited the children to pay attention to how the eyes get accustomed to the darkness. He added that one of the main objectives of the activity was to give them hands-on experience in orienting themselves at night in the forest. He gave clear instructions about what to pay attention to and provided some techniques for finding their way back, if necessary. The final item to cover was to teach the children how to make a distress call (i.e., SOS) using their whistles, after which they continued with the walk.

After walking for another 15 minutes, they came to the end of the trail near the busiest street in the area. There they sat on rocks or stood around while Mr. Maradiaga led a debriefing session. He started by asking the children about their experiences attempting to hear sounds with their eyes closed before the beginning of the forest hike. The children did not have a lot to report from that experience. Then Mr. Maradiaga asked
the children to relate the experiences they had while listening quietly with their eyes closed in the forest. The children had very little to report, except for leaves falling and crickets chirping. Another objective of the leaders was to elicit speculation from the children regarding life activity in the forest; however, because there was hardly any audible activity in the forest, the children could only make conclusions from previous learning. The leaders took the opportunity to draw attention to the fact that in the outdoors, life was more active at night than in the day, but because this was not apparent in their immediate experience, the children were socialized into a “banking” model of learning (Freire, 1970). The leaders also used this opportunity to elicit reasons for this from the children and conducted a brief discussion. It was obvious that the leaders were somewhat disappointed by the modest success of their planned goals. However, there was some unexpected outcome from the activity. Mr. Palencia, a parent, pointed out that one of the learnings from the activity had been that nowadays, small urban forest parks did not contain much animal life anymore. Mr. Maradiaga took up the suggested notion and expanded on it. At that point, the troop was instructed to form a column and started walking back to their indoor space, walking in a similar formation as before.

Although the main explicit aims of the activity were only partially realized because of the lack of abundant night life activity in the forest, the children nevertheless were exposed to a rich socializing experience. They learned about night life in the forest, characteristics of urban parks, survival and emergency strategies, etc. Additionally, the walk from the school to the park and back required following directions in order to negotiate traffic safely. As usual, these directions, and the directions provided in the forest, were provided in Spanish. Thus, the activity also became an important means to teach and socialize children about following directions in Spanish. As Scouts, it was critical for the children to understand instructions in Spanish during field trips. When hiking at night in the forest or crossing busy streets in the city, the children needed to have acquired the necessary linguistic competence to understand important instructions, or had the opportunity to acquire them there, particularly the warnings about imminent dangers.
4.2.5.2 Activity Conclusion: *La Orden del Día*

Each session was brought to a close the same way it began: with a Canadian flag ceremony. In the opening session, a flag breaking ceremony was held, while at closing, a flag lowering ceremony took place. As with the opening routine, the troop was asked to fall in and form a horseshoe facing the flag and standing at ease. Then a leader (always Mr. Maradiaga) brought the troop to the alert. At this juncture, Mr. Maradiaga took care of various business, such as inspection (as in the opening ceremony), and then proceeded to sum up the activities of the day and to give announcements for the following week. This part of the ceremony was called *La orden del día* (The Order of the Day), and was generally a rather formal way of debriefing the children. The following is an example of such a closing ceremony that took place after the children had made their *zambomba* and in preparation for working on the *nacimiento* the following week (Mr. M=Mr. Maradiaga):

[Excerpt 4.12]

Mr. M: la orden del día. Orden del día es- al final de las actividades vamos a decir siempre la orden del día. La orden del día está en que eh de que algunos terminaron la zambomba otros falta todavía. Digamos el de Diana y el de Idalia algunas cosas lo vamos a- lo podemos hacer en la casa. Ya aprendí yo eh en el caso de bueno los demás ¿Sofia terminaste tu- [tu zambom?- ¿Angélica terminó?

Sonia: [si

Angelina: [si

Mr. M: [¿Joe?

Joe: [si

Mr. M: ¿Angela?=

Angela: =si

Mr. M: muy bien ¿Diana? Creo que si

Translation

1 Mr. M: the order of the day. Order of the day takes place- at the end of the activities. We’ll always take care of the order of the day. The order of the day is that some of you finished making the zambomba and others did not. Diana’s and Idalita’s are not quite finished, but we’ll be able to finish them at home. I already know how to do it, eh as for everyone else, Sonia, did you finish- [your zambom? Angelina, did you finish?

Sonia: [yes

Angelina: yes

Mr. M: [Joe?

Joe: [yes

Mr. M: Angela?= 
After reminding the children of the meaning of *la orden del día* and explaining the status of the day’s activities, Mr. Maradiaga proceeded to check with the children whether they had finished their *zambomba*. After the summary of the day, Mr. Maradiaga made some announcements about the work to be done the following week painting the background of the *nacimiento*. Being a ceremony, the mood was rather formal, but the language used was repetitive, which helped reinforce the children’s acquisition of vocabulary beyond their current levels.

Once *la orden del día* was done, a *Lobato* or an *Explorer* (briefed beforehand) walked up to the flag, pulled it from its wooden base and carried it to the storage room. Then the Scout returned to his or her section and the troop was stood at ease. At this juncture, the leader dismissed the troop.

The fathers of some of the children had been Scouts as children. One such parent sometimes became involved in the activities and joined the troop for the opening and closing ceremonies. At times, he had words of encouragement for the children. One Saturday morning the troop went on a hike, having agreed before hand to meet all the parents in a park for a barbecue. At the end of the event, the Scout troop was called to stand in a horseshoe formation for the closing ceremonies. Once Mr. Maradiaga had done the usual debriefing, Mr. Hernández, one of the parents in the formation, started to talk to the group about the beauty of Spanish and the value of maintaining it alive in the group (Mr. H=Mr. Hernández):

[Excerpt 4.13]
distingue de los demás. ¿Estamos? ¿(Les parece)
alguien tiene alguna pregunta o alguna otra (xxxxxx)?
((a child asks a question about who the new children
were))

Translation

Mr. H: I’d like to tell you (pl.) that I’m happy to see that all of you speak the Spanish language, Castilian. This is a very beautiful language, and one of the most important features of this group is (xx) and to maintain that. To the newcomers, I would like to ask you to persevere in speaking in Spanish to try to speak Spanish with one another. It’s such a pretty language, okay? And um I’m also very glad to see that everyone speaks Spanish so well and I took the liberty of inviting some people who are friends of mine e: h they are going to start mostly as Otters, but there are some Timberwolves also and I would like all of us to maintain that practice of talking to them they speak English perfectly like all of you but I would like you to always speak to them to always speak Spanish because it’s part of what distinguishes us from others. Alright? (do you agree?) Does anybody have any questions or some other (xxxxxx)? ((a child asks a question about who the new children were))

Whereas Mr. Maradiaga’s address to the troop after this session focused on highlighting the day’s events, on commending the Scout troop for their good work, on encouraging them to continue to develop their awareness and practice of Scout values and on suggesting future similar activities, Mr. Hernández’s talk was a fervent invitation to become more aware of the value of the Spanish language and to encourage the children to continue speaking it. It was also an attempt to recognize the efforts and gains of the children by congratulating them for their proficiency.

His talk was an explicit attempt to contribute to the socialization of the children into the language ideologies, policies and practices of the group. He made positive assessments of the Spanish language, which in some ways could be interpreted as negative assessments of other languages. He also made clear attempts to socialize the new members into the linguistic behavior that was being emphasized in the group by issuing caveats in a possible bid to prevent them from negatively altering the existing language dynamics, indicating he was aware the children had a choice and that the preferred choice might not be Spanish. He stated that he wanted the troop to remain focused on speaking Spanish, despite the acknowledged proficiency of the children in
English. This indicated that knowing English well did not necessarily mean it was the best way to communicate. He suggested he feared the potential new members he had invited might not yet be socialized to Spanish-only practices with their peers, such as the ones promoted in the Scout group. In that vein, he made clear references to the role of Spanish as an important characteristic of the Scout group, suggesting such feature was highly valued by him and by other parents as well, although without referring to the language as a practical tool. He added that the endeavoring to maintain the Spanish language was not only an important feature of the group, but the language was also a key cultural element that united Hispanics and distinguished them from other cultures, thus, perhaps unwittingly making an ‘us-them’ contrast category (Hester, 1998). Although his words seemed aimed at fostering cultural pride in the children, thus contributing to strengthening their cultural identities, the discourse used could also unintentionally transmit ‘othering’ views to the children.

By inviting group oldtimers to speak Spanish among themselves, Mr. Hernández revealed he was keenly aware of the pervasiveness of the children’s code-switching to English when playing and interacting among themselves. He not only displayed an explicit attempt at socializing newcomers and oldtimers to the linguistic practices of the group, but also appeared to make a strong appeal regarding the development of language ideologies that were more attuned to the goals of the group. This was particularly evident in his insinuation that Spanish was invested with certain cultural, moral and social values. The implication of these assumptions was that communication in Spanish in the group was the only ‘proper speech’, therefore, socializing the children into certain linguistic values or ideologies was seen as a necessary prerequisite for influencing their linguistic practices. Speaking Spanish in that context was equated with “linguistic correctness,” construing English as a threat (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) to the development of strong Spanish language ideologies.

4.2.6 Parents’ Perceptions of Group: Attitudes and Benefits

Participating parents displayed a variety of opinions about the benefits of their group membership to them and to their children. Although without exception they saw the exposure to and use of the Spanish language as the biggest gain for the children, the
benefits they perceived for the whole family were much more broad-reaching. In this section, I highlight some of the most common themes in the parents’ comments.

Parents stated they were “happy with the group,” were appreciative of the leaders and commended them for all the work they did. They felt they were “well-organized” and did an “admirable job.” Parents also expressed satisfaction with their children’s response to their group participation. They valued the opportunity the children had to play, have fun and learn with their friends. Mrs. Asturia, mother of two girls, stated:

They don’t realize they are learning. They’re only playing. They don’t come to learn; they come to play. (Mrs. Asturia, Interview: 01/13/06- TR4.34)

According to Mrs. Asturia, her daughters perceived the group as a play centre, not a learning centre. She equated this with more openness to the activities and implied that learning centres/schools were not perceived as fun sites. Furthermore, she implied children were unaware of their learning process. Overall, the parents’ perceptions of the benefits to the children were strong. The only complaint from some of the parents was about the uniform. They did not find it particularly attractive and reported some of the children strongly resisted wearing it. The uniform, according to the leaders, was not negotiable, although at least one family had left because of such a strict rule. However, in the end most parents felt this was a minor annoyance in exchange for the major benefits they obtained.

To most parents, an important advantage of the group was that it enabled them to further resist assimilation into the dominant culture:

One way or another…the children are learning, either through food, music, or words that emerge in their sessions, and they have lived experiences and are learning something unique to us. It’s a way of inculcating into them something different, but different because it’s related to our culture, not to the Canadian culture, but to the Latin American culture. (Mr. Morales, Interview: 01/13/06- TR4.35)

He suggested that the socialization at home and elsewhere was intertwined with the socialization in the group. He referred to the learning taking place in the group as seamlessly supplementary to the learning taking place at home through superficial cultural elements such as food and music, as well as other deeper-level elements discussed in our interviews. He valued the lived experiences of the children as important factors in their socialization into their unique culture and as a way of resisting assimilation. Although his comments indexed deep awareness and attachment to his
original culture, he spoke from a Canadian geographical and cultural perspective. He positioned the dominant culture as central to the children’s lives, but emphasized their socialization into a culture that was in contrast to this ubiquitous reality.

Mrs. Pérez, a mother of one girl and one boy, described part of the benefits she perceived:

And of course, once they have it [Spanish language], it opens many more doors for you and you can appreciate a whole culture, not one, but many, like Spain, Mexico, Guatemala, Argentina. Because it’s so wonderful, for sure, imagine. Besides, it opens doors for learning other Latin languages. (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06- TR4.36)

Her description referred to a somewhat common door opening metaphor used to describe the benefits of multilingualism. In her case, however, the doors that were opened were not necessarily the doors of economic opportunity as participants have reported in other studies (e.g., Guardado, 2006), but the doors of cultural knowing and awareness. Such notion was particularly applicable in this case because the Spanish language is associated with cultural, racial, religious, dialectal and regional diversity. To Mrs. Pérez, the Scout group, along with the family’s other Spanish language socialization efforts, was key to helping open those doors. It was also key to socializing her children to global identities.

In terms of language socialization benefits, one family referred to the socialization to a type of language to which the children were not exposed at home. They explained that the same way their daughters were quickly incorporating into their English language vocabulary repertoire they obtained from school, they were also absorbing and using Spanish language vocabulary they only obtained from the Scout group. At home they did not have opportunities to be exposed to certain activities, and consequently certain language, in which they participated in this group. This family also reported that another important benefit to them was that the children were obtaining the Spanish language and Scout values they desired at the same time. Values promoted by the Scouts, such as independence, were important to them because, as a Scout himself as a child, Mr. Morales felt the Scout experience had “marked his life.”

Some of the families, but particularly Mr. Morales and Mrs. Asturia, spoke strongly about the benefits to the whole family, not only to the children. Mrs. Asturia said:

It’s a way of breaking from our routine; it’s an unintentional way of helping us all relax. It’s like a muscle relaxant; in a way it’s a distraction. It allows us for a moment to
completely forget about all of the things we have to do, the car, caring for the children, the obligations; it’s a tiny moment that gives us a break. (Mr. Morales, Interview: 01/13/06- TR4.37)

His comments indicate that the Scout group provided them, and other parents, with a haven of sorts which allowed them to momentarily escape the demands of daily life while their children played and learned. Mrs. Asturia felt that by participating in the group, the whole family won. She stated:

It’s a distraction for us to see what the children do there. And we [as parents] also win [by being] in the group. For us it’s another social circle because we also make friends [here], believe me, it’s a distraction; it changes one’s routine. The fact that on Friday one comes here…one distracts oneself, so we feel that we also win. (Mrs. Asturia, Interview: 01/13/06- TR4.38)

While restating Mr. Morales’ words about the group visits being a leisure activity, Mrs. Asturia added that part of the reason the group fulfilled such a function was the symbolic and physical space that was created and its propensity to cultivate friendships among the participants, and developing social relationships seemed to be an important goal for this and other families. Although the leaders, Mr. Maradiaga and Mrs. Fernández, never characterized the group as a venue where they sought social relations, the other participating parents did construct the group in social terms.

4.3 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have provided a snap-shot of the language socialization of the Fernández-Maradiaga family by providing a description and analysis of the issues they faced in the home and outside the home, particularly in the Scout group they led. I have argued how the family constructed Spanish via an analysis of interview data and participant observation. Their construction of Spanish maintenance included a view that it gave their daughters “a broader vision of the world.” I have also examined one interesting characteristic of the home language practices in this family: that the maintenance of Spanish generated conflicts; children’s practices versus parents’ goals, or as asserted by the parents, perhaps even dominant society against parents’ goals. The parents stressed the ongoing battle that they were fighting in order to raise bilingual children. In highlighting this reality they often referred to the forces outside the home that constantly

24 The group leaders never portrayed the goals of the group in terms of social relations during interviews; however, in response to this chapter, Mrs. Fernández asserted social relations were part of the goals for her, but not for Mr. Maradiaga.
undermined the efforts they made in the home. The most common comments made by the parents evoked warlike metaphors alluding to some kind of linguistic-choices-battlefield taking place where children rebelled against parents with the outside community as accomplices.

I have also posited that El Grupo Scout Vistas was a site where Spanish language and culture were strongly promoted by the Fernández-Maradiaga family and other families. This objective was combined with the promotion of traditional Scout values with a progressive proclivity. Finally, I also showed how the group was a powerful socializing agent that promoted in the children good citizenship through the Spanish language. Their concept of good citizenship included respect for the environment, community service, proficiency in the Spanish language, affiliation to the cultures of the Spanish-speaking world, and respect for other cultures.
Chapter 5

RUEDAS-BLANCO FAMILY AND EL CENTRO DE CULTURA:
FOCUS ON GRAMMAR

You should be ashamed of being dishonest, but not of speaking such a beautiful language. (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.14)

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine language socialization issues in the Ruedas-Blanco family. In our interviews, Mrs. Ruedas described Spanish maintenance as a key factor in their children’s access to future employment opportunities and awareness of the significance and value of the Spanish language for the family as well as central to the enhancement of their Hispanic cultural identities. The family designed various language and literacy activities at home in order to promote these goals. Analyses of home language interactions confirmed these findings and revealed the dynamics of language use in the family. Although they actively socialized their children into positive Spanish ideologies and practices, they also considered other languages and cultures in the community as having a significant role in their identity development. I also focus the analyses on El Centro de Cultura, the grassroots groups in which the family participated weekly. Analyses of this and other family interactions in the activities of the group uncovered the nature of the activities and the language socialization processes. While the activities conducted in the group did not generally focus on Spanish oral competence or on socializing linguistic ideologies explicitly, one particular class, Mrs. Nieve’s, offered the children a different type of language socialization experiences, providing language socialization into linguistic ideologies that favoured Spanish. The parents described their experiences in the group in terms of emotional well-being and feelings of comfort through their social relations and their ability to use their mother tongue with other parents.

5.1 Family Background

The Ruedas-Blanco family, Mrs. Natalia Ruedas and Mr. Dimas Blanco, and their children, Olivia, Rogelio and Graciela, is originally from Peru and moved to Canada in September 2001, a few months after the birth of Graciela, the youngest member of the family (see Table 5.1 for details). Mr. Dimas Blanco had arrived four months ahead of
them in order to find a house for the family and to look for a job. Mr. Blanco’s profession in Peru was in business administration while Mrs. Natalia Ruedas worked as a bilingual secretary. Their parents and other relatives also belonged to the professional middle-class. According to Mrs. Natalia Ruedas, the reason the family moved to Canada was to give their children a better future. They chose Canada as their home because Mrs. Ruedas was a Canadian citizen by birth, having been born in Winnipeg in 1969. However, because she was raised in Peru she stressed that her identity was 100% Peruvian. I had the opportunity to interview Mrs. Ruedas’s mother twice in 2005 while she was visiting Mrs. Ruedas’s family in the Vancouver area and heard the complete story of the journey that took them to Winnipeg just before Mrs. Ruedas’s birth.

Mrs. Ruedas’s father was a pediatrician who moved to Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1965 in order to complete his residency in pediatric medicine. While there, he married Mrs. Ruedas’s mother when she finished her nursing degree in Peru. She moved to Minneapolis shortly after their long-distance wedding and had two children by 1968. In the context of President Johnson’s escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the second half of the 1960s, Mrs. Ruedas’s father, who had already become a U.S. resident, was about to be drafted and sent to Vietnam as a physician. At that time the family, with Mrs. Ruedas’s mother pregnant with her, only saw two options: return to Peru or move to a different country. Since Mrs. Ruedas’s father had already completed several years of his residency, the family decided to find an institution outside the United States that would honor the years of residency already completed. He applied to a university in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and was accepted, so the whole family took a train from Minneapolis to Winnipeg and immigrated to Canada. Mrs. Ruedas was born in 1969 and when her father finished his residency two years later the whole family returned to Peru.

After Mrs. Ruedas’s family moved to Vancouver, and after applying for numerous jobs, Mr. Blanco was not able to get a job in his profession. Subsequent to being briefly employed as a security guard, he found a job as a coach for a sports25 team thanks to his experience with the Peruvian National Team and also having become the national champion of Peru as an individual competitor in a closely related sport. In the

25 The specific sport Mr. Blanco coached is not revealed in order to protect the identity of the family.
last few years, the team he continued to coach in Metro Vancouver had won the Canadian National Championships, in a particular category, several times.

Table 5.1: Ruedas-Blanco Family Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin: Peru</th>
<th>Year of arrival in Canada: 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Natalia Ruedas</td>
<td>Mr. Dimas Blanco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Year of birth: 1969</td>
<td>• Year of birth: 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Years of formal education: 15 (Bilingual Secretary Diploma)</td>
<td>• Years of formal education: 16 (Business Administration)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Current occupation: Stay at home mother</td>
<td>• Current occupation: Sports Team Coach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• English proficiency: Fluent</td>
<td>• English proficiency: Fluent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Children:               |                                   |
| 2 girls, 1 boy         |                                   |
| Graciela: 4            |                                   |
| Rogelio: 11            |                                   |
| Olivia: 13             |                                   |

Their family arrangement was that Mrs. Ruedas stayed home and took care of the children’s extracurricular activities. Mrs. Ruedas in particular, was the one responsible for supporting the children’s Spanish literacy development, and to a lesser degree, also responsible for exposing the children to the language at all times. However, Mr. Blanco was always reminding them to focus on Spanish and called from work to check on their language usage. Whenever he called he asked Mrs. Ruedas: “have the children done any writing in Spanish today?” (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 05/25/05- TR5.1). Mrs. Ruedas stated that although she was the one involving them in Spanish literacy and oracy activities, it truly was a family endeavor and both parents supported and reminded each other. They felt that if they left it up to the children, they would just switch to English and the Spanish language would be left behind. Therefore, the family pursued their goals even if these entailed a huge mental, emotional and time commitment.

According to Mrs. Ruedas, their adaptation experience was not a difficult one because of the support of friends when they arrived. However, she was very disappointed in the types of services available to newcomers. She felt that had they not already had friends here to assist them during their initial adaptation, they would have experienced
many difficulties. She felt that more and better organized government support services were needed. Alternatively, she thought that there should be some type of community support, with some government funding, and staffed by community volunteers. She thought that the Hispanic community should organize some type of “welcome wagon” to assist the adaptation process of new Hispanic immigrants, especially those without at least basic English skills.

All the family members were involved in sporting activities. Besides his coaching job, Mr. Blanco spent a great deal of his free time playing sports (with his children and with others), such as soccer, badminton and swimming. Olivia (born in 1993) was enthusiastic about sports, particularly volleyball. Rogelio played different sports, but water polo was his main interest. Besides sports, they also engaged in many other family activities. Mr. Blanco traveled frequently across the country with his sports team, but the whole family also went on trips together. They usually dined out once every weekend and spent the rest of the time in family activities that included playing outdoor and indoor games, watching comedy movies and watching sitcoms on TV.

In terms of future career plans, the older children already had some goals. Rogelio, for instance, had two ambitions. He wanted to be a Spanish tutor and a medical doctor. His interest in being a tutor arose from an acquaintance, a Korean girl who took part in water polo and who also tutored Korean children. He explained that because he knew Spanish, he would like to take advantage of this ability during university. However, he planned to study to be a medical doctor because it was a family tradition of sorts. In his words: “all my grandparents are doctors” (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.2), although Mrs. Ruedas’s mother was a nurse, not a doctor. However, he could have been referring to his male grandparents only. Olivia also had some concrete ideas. She wanted to be either a criminologist or a teacher. She explained that as a bilingual criminologist, she could translate and interpret for people that did not know English well. As a teacher, she would like to teach Spanish, English or French. Although she did not know much French then, she wanted to study it and learn it well. Currently she had some French lessons in school, which she seemed to enjoy, but these lessons were not enough to attain the level of proficiency to which she aspired. She felt that adding French to her language repertoire would allow her to “go to any country and be able to communicate with anyone”
Her comments indicate she was conscious of the value of languages as cultural and social capital (see Dagenais & Day, 1999; Maguire, 2005, for a similar argument). In the majority of their interactions, the children communicated with their parents in Spanish. Graciela, the youngest one, only used Spanish with her parents, but sometimes code-switched with her siblings.

5.1.1 Initial Language Attitudes

From the start the family decided to make a concerted effort to preserve the home language. In Mrs. Ruedas’s words: “my husband and I decided from the very beginning to set the rule that in the home we speak Spanish” (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.4). She explained that because their children were of school age when they arrived, they knew that they would be able to learn English in school, through television and other media. They were aware from the beginning that Spanish would have to be acquired and maintained only through home interaction. She added that the children...

… arrive in a foreign country and want to adapt as soon as possible. One of the first things they say is “no, I have to speak only in English,” which is narrow-minded, right? Because if they do so, they lose. I have a lot of friends that have come under similar circumstances, who have not maintained Spanish. (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.5)

She was aware that the children were naturally inclined to think and interact in English because of their surroundings. The children’s desire to be accepted by their peers pushed them to privilege English as their main means of fitting in and belonging in their environment. This, coupled with the strong assimilative effect of the English-dominant environment, posed challenges to the maintenance of Spanish. Although they had not succumbed to the full force of these assimilative forces, the family had lived the negative effects of these forces vicariously. Early on in their life in Canada, the family learned about several Peruvian and other Hispanic families in similar circumstances as theirs whose children had not maintained Spanish, and according to Mrs. Ruedas “…it’s unforgivable and it’s definitely the parents’ fault, because children don’t know better” (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.6). She felt that the duty to preserve their language rested on the parents’ shoulders and they were the ones responsible for facilitating an environment and creating opportunities conducive to language and culture transmission and maintenance.
5.1.2 Factors Implicated in L1 Maintenance

5.1.2.1 Motivations

The family had many reasons for wanting to promote the continued use of Spanish in the children. One of the most important reasons they cited was to provide the children with better prospects for job opportunities in the future. As shown above, the children were aware of this goal and had concrete career aspirations. Mrs. Ruedas explained in detail the possibilities she saw for the children’s bilingualism in terms of the versatility of their future employability, depending on their profession. She said that, for example, Rogelio wanted to be a medical doctor. She felt that a bilingual doctor was in a much better position to provide services to a wider community. She thought that bilingualism would give him and the girls an advantage in any profession they chose. The family’s attitude regarding the value of bilingualism echoed that of participants in other studies with Hispanics (e.g., Guardado, 2002; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001) and with other populations (e.g., Kouritzin, 1999; Sakamoto, 2001) in Canada, contrary to a common prevailing concern with English acquisition (Cummins, 2000; Merino, 1983) considering L1 maintenance a hindrance to that goal (Schecter & Bayley, 1997).

Another important reason for L1 maintenance was family communication. Family members emphasized the strong ties they maintained with family in Peru. According to Mrs. Ruedas, both adults and children had strong nostalgia for Peru and “they live glued to the family” (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.7) that they left there. She stated that the children had very strong emotional ties to their cousins, uncles, aunts, grandparents, and even their pets. Almost every summer—or during Christmas—the family spent time in Peru. These trips were always a source of great excitement for the children, who prepared well in anticipation of each trip making plans for how they would like to spend their time with family there and making a list of the special dishes and treats they did not want to forget to eat during their stay there. They seemed to view Peru as an extension of their life in Canada, one that was in some ways richer and closer to their individual beings as well as collectively as a family. Therefore, they communicated by phone frequently. Because of the significance of Peru to the children, they were also somewhat ambivalent about the geographical spaces in which they moved and lived. Olivia, the eldest of the three, said that she would like to move back to Peru and stay there to be with her whole
family. Rogelio was undecided and said that he would like to live both there and also in Canada. One day I asked Olivia, then aged 14, about her national identity and her attachment to Canada or Peru. She said that she felt more Peruvian than Canadian, but felt ambivalent about her geographical preference. There were many things she liked about Canada (e.g., nature) and about Peru (e.g., family). The following interaction shows how Olivia responded to my hypothetical question of how she would feel if all her family moved to Canada (Martín=interviewer):

[Excerpt 5.1]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Martín: ¿y que pensás que es lo más difícil para vos de vivir acá, o digamos lo más difícil de ser canadiense?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Olivia: ah no tenemos familia aquí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Martín: okay=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Olivia: =si=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Martín: =si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Martín: ¿entonces eso es lo que más extrañás [aquí?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Olivia: [si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Martín: te gustaría tener .h y si pasaras a toda tu familia de Perú para acá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Olivia: ((hesitating)) (tendría más seria) mucho mejor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Martín: ¿en ese caso te gustaría más Canadá que Perú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>[si tuvieras?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Olivia: [más Canadá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Olivia: si más Canadá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Martín: and what do you think is the most difficult for you of living here, or the most difficult of being Canadian?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Olivia: ah we don’t have family here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Martín: okay=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Olivia: =yes=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Martín: =yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Martín: so that’s what you miss the most [here?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Olivia: [yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Martín: would you like to have .h and if you brought over here all of your family from Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Olivia: ((hesitating)) (I would have it would be) much better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Martín: in that case would you like Canada better than Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>[if you had?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Olivia: [Canada better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Olivia: yes Canada better</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Olivia indicated a clear desire to return to Peru, evident in the overlap with my question in line 7 and line 13 and the repetition (si más Canadá) in her last turn. In other words, she enjoyed her life in Canada, but missed her family in Peru so much that she was willing to move back there just to be closer to them.
The family also saw their life in Canada as an opportunity for the children to have contact with people from various cultural backgrounds, which would foster in them an appreciation for other cultures and values, but at the same time maintaining their own values. They stated that it was important for them to maintain Spanish as the basis for cultivating a Hispanic cultural identity. They felt that Spanish was valued by Canadians, who often approached them when they heard them speaking Spanish and told them that Spanish was “such a beautiful language” (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.8). The above, they felt, in combination with their varied experiences in multicultural Canada would enrich them, helping them develop a syncretic identity.

5.1.3 Home Language and Literacy Policies and Practices

The family had a fairly flexible Spanish-only policy at home. The parents spoke Spanish only, and generally, the children were also encouraged and expected to adhere to this rule. However, in practice it did not always hold. The two older children tended to speak some English to each other, but rarely in a sustained manner. The parents considered them English-dominant and were aware that English was what came naturally to them. They often tended to reply in English, but they were reminded to try to switch to Spanish. Mrs. Ruedas stated that when such instances occurred, the parents “insist[ed] that they do it in Spanish even if it takes them longer” (Interview, 03/29/06-TR5.9). The children did make mistakes and she explained that was precisely why they needed to use it more often. A micro analysis of the following excerpt illustrates how Mrs. Ruedas often dealt with language switching at home and how these language patterns sometimes created tensions. During my first visit to the home, Mrs. Ruedas, the children and I were sitting in their living room. After interviewing Mrs. Ruedas, I interviewed Olivia and Rogelio about their language use patterns when Olivia suddenly noticed the iPod I was using to record, sparking the following interaction (bold=English in original)

(Martín=interviewer):

[Excerpt 5.2]

1 Olivia: (xxxxx) español (xxx) ↑a:::h (0.4) (xxx) ¿que cosa?
2 Rogelio: ¿es un mp3 player?
3 Mother: [esta grabando
4 Martín: es[ un (0.2) iPod
5 Olivia: [.hhh a::h see, that’s the- that’s the one I want- I
6 want an iPod
7 Mother: ¿hmm?
In line 1, Olivia asked about the iPod in Spanish, Rogelio speculated that it was an mp3 player, also in Spanish, and Mrs. Ruedas indicated that it was recording. After I confirmed that it was an iPod, Olivia switched to English in excitement, evident in the overlap, audible in-breath, emphasis on “see,” and the false starts in “that’s the – that’s the one I want – I want an iPod.” At this point, Mrs. Ruedas said “hmm?” a likely cue that she wanted Olivia to switch to Spanish, especially considering her utterance in line 9 “no te entiendo” (I don’t understand). Olivia repeated her utterance in English in line 8 (I want an iPod); it was only after Mrs. Ruedas had explicitly indicated that she did not understand the (English) utterance (even though she clearly did), that Olivia switched back to Spanish. However, she contextualized her switch with heavy emphasis and a flat, monotone intonational contour, indicating she resented that code choice, rather than propositional content, had received uptake from her mother. Additionally, Mrs. Ruedas “owned” the turn after Olivia’s last turn in line 10, but the 4.6 second pause further confirms Mrs. Ruedas’s lack of uptake to the propositional content in Olivia’s turn.

This interaction indicates that the children sometimes resisted the socialization into the Spanish-only rule, despite the parents’ best intentions. Additionally, although the children did not seem to have serious problems expressing themselves in Spanish, in oral or written form (see Appendix F for elicited language samples), the interaction shows that often, especially when their speech was affected by emotion, English became the
preferred language. This pattern of communication was common when the children had just arrived from school and were eager to relate experiences arising from their school day.

Olivia and Rogelio regularly exchanged formulaic expressions in English mixed in with Spanish as in “hurry up! Hace rato que te estoy esperando” (hurry up! I’ve been waiting for you for a long time) (Home observation: 03/29/06). There were times, however, when they engaged in English-only speaking episodes, especially when arguing, but as soon as an adult entered their physical interactional space, they switched to Spanish. This was also true when Graciela, the youngest of the three, happened to be playing in English. Figure 5.1 shows a typical pattern of language use in the family at a particular point in time. The older siblings only spoke in Spanish to Graciela because they claimed that she understood Spanish better, but she responded in English to them. To her parents, Graciela only spoke in Spanish and even demanded it from them. Sometimes when they watched movies on DVD, Graciela would tell Mrs. Ruedas: “put it on the way I speak” (Home observation: 09/28/06-TR5.10), meaning that she wanted to watch the version dubbed in Spanish. The language use patterns in the home show language socialization at different levels. The older children were being socialized by the parents regarding the Spanish-only rule, but this socialization was playing out on another level for Graciela, their younger child, who spoke Spanish to her parents, but answered in English to her older siblings, a likely indication that she was aware that her siblings were English dominant, or a result of her own socialization into the linguistic behavior of her brother and sister and the broader community.

In conclusion, there seemed to be a minor linguistic struggle between the parents and the older children at this time. The children appeared to have a positive attitude toward Spanish language and culture, but in practice tended to embrace English as well as part of who they were and how they expressed themselves. The parents, however, were aware that this tension might increase as the children grow up and realized that this was the right time to pursue a strong implicit and explicit language socialization agenda:

> When they are grown ups, if they don’t want to [speak it] then we can’t force them. If they don’t want to, what am I going to do, right? But at least on our part there will always

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26 It is assumed that these patterns are constantly changing as children move along different trajectories of language socialization (Wortham, 2005).
be that internal demand that they keep in touch [with Spanish] somehow, that they read books and watch Hispanic television, right? (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 04/19/06-TR5.11)

Figure 5.1: Patterns of Language use in the Ruedas-Blanco Family

5.1.4 The Role of School

Despite Mrs. Ruedas’s assertion that their children were doing well in school, the family had some reservations about their school experiences. She felt that school could do more to validate and help promote the languages and cultures represented in the student population. She thought that there should be a more systematic effort made in this direction, by checking the school demographic records and organizing events accordingly. She was aware of festivals and other activities already part of the school agenda. In fact, in one of these activities, Olivia chose to participate with a focus on Peru because “she wanted people to know more about Peru (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 05/25/05-
TR5.12). However, Mrs. Ruedas stated that she would like to see more done. She explained that

> There should be something in the curriculum that promotes everyone’s cultures, so they know how others dress, what they eat, what they do, what they speak. They [teachers] should look at the [demographic] records of the student population and organize activities. (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.13)

Besides the family’s critique of the amount of multicultural content in the school curriculum, Mrs. Ruedas commented on another related factor affecting the children, which was not directly blamed on the school. Although the children had a high linguistic and communicative competence in Spanish, they were reluctant to speak it in school or around non-Spanish speaking friends. In interviews with the children they declared that they felt embarrassed to be heard speaking Spanish, but they claimed this was not because they rejected the language, but out of respect for their friends who could not understand Spanish. They stated they wanted to avoid being seen as “know-it-alls” by their friends. Mrs. Ruedas’s reaction to this was to encourage them to become more aware of their own cultural origins and to appreciate the beauty of their language. She once admonished Olivia for being ashamed of speaking Spanish in public, telling her: “you should be ashamed of being dishonest, but not of speaking such a beautiful language” (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.14). This cultural awareness and validation was often articulated in relation to the languages and cultures of other non-English-speaking Canadians as well.

Another important school-related issue had to do with ESL. Despite being identified as English-dominant by all family members, Rogelio was having difficulties expressing himself appropriately in English and his teacher suggested that he receive ESL support. He was not happy with this decision, but Mrs. Ruedas believed that he should receive support if needed:

> This term he has returned there [ESL support] for a few hours. He’s a little annoyed, but I tell him “if you can’t express yourself 100%, you should get help.” He has the ideas, but doesn’t write them completely. I prefer that he gets support, because that’s going to benefit him. (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.15)

Rogelio rejected ESL support, which he perceived as a barrier to attaining full membership in his peer group and school community, potentially becoming another factor in his, albeit partial, resentment of Spanish.
5.1.5 Home Language and Literacy Socialization Strategies

This family made use of several language and literacy development and maintenance strategies. These strategies often combined oracy and literacy-oriented activities and other times they focused on one particular area. For instance, cooking was an activity that Olivia enjoyed and in which she enthusiastically participated. Mrs. Ruedas explained in the following quote how Olivia took the initiative in this activity:

My oldest daughter comes to the kitchen and tells me: “Mommy, I’d like to learn how to make things in the kitchen,” so I explain to her in Spanish and she understands and sometimes asks me: “but, what is this?” and I explain it to her in Spanish and I don’t tell her in English…unless it’s an ingredient that she’s never heard in Spanish and I tell her: “it’s what here is called such and such a name” and in the end she picks it up in her head in Spanish. (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.16)

Mrs. Ruedas saw this as an opportunity to teach her daughter vocabulary related to cooking and to explicitly socialize her into using Spanish in another domain of language use.

Other language activities involved the whole family. About nine months after my initial home visit the family subscribed to a satellite television service. Mrs. Ruedas explained that part of the purpose for this acquisition was to expose the children to television programming in Spanish. Their provider was Telelatino (TLNTV), which had Italian and Spanish language programming. Mrs. Ruedas and Olivia enjoyed watching Spanish telenovelas (short soap operas) together and the whole family watched a variety of shows ranging from newscasts to talk and game shows. The children seemed to enjoy the programs. When I asked Mrs. Ruedas whether the children ever made negative comments about the Latin American programming, contrasting it with North American programming, she stated that both parents actively engaged in promoting the children’s interest in the programs. She felt that as with everything related to the Latin American culture, parents needed to be “creative so children become interested, otherwise you’ll never get them to accept it and to like it” (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.17).

Mrs. Ruedas was always looking for ways of exposing the children to Spanish, so she often took advantage of special occasions and events such as Easter. Although in Peru it was not customary to celebrate Easter with Easter Egg hunts, she liked to incorporate it into their activities, but with a pedagogical purpose. In the quote below she explained how she designed the activity:
I give them clues to find a treasure and prepare special clues for each one and I write them in Spanish, for example: “what do you like to eat the most?” If one of them likes pasta, for instance, then I hide the egg in the area of the cupboards where I store the pasta. It’s a way for them to read Spanish…I always try to expose them to Spanish somehow. (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.18)

They also used to have some type of literacy activity at home at least once a week, but Mrs. Ruedas lamented that unfortunately it was not always possible. Their family in Peru regularly sent them materials in Spanish such as books and comics, which they used for literacy-related activities. One activity they often conducted was having the children copy texts from Spanish books in order to practice writing and to increase their vocabulary. Other times the children read a book in English and talked about it in Spanish. All in all, Mrs. Ruedas was always looking for family activities that provided the children with practice in Spanish language and literacy. She explained that “at home you need to be creative with Spanish: dances, songs, games, etc. It can be entertaining for the children and at the same time they can internalize some of it” (Interview: 05/25/05-TR5.19). The use of games, songs, and other related strategies has also been reported in other studies with Hispanics (Dagenais & Day, 1999; Guardado, 2002, 2006).

The above description illustrates an explicit form of socialization taking place in the home, providing key situations that contribute to the children’s acquisition of cultural practices and values, and initiating them into using socially and culturally-appropriate language forms.

In the above sections, I introduced the Ruedas-Blanco family and described their language and literacy objectives, attitudes and use patterns. I also addressed the activities that the family engaged in with the aim of attaining these objectives. I analyzed tensions created by the family’s efforts to socialize the children to linguistic behaviors that promoted their Spanish use, which interfered in their communication. Additionally, I examined how the family constructed the maintenance of Spanish, which included socializing the children to transnational identities. The following sections will introduce and describe El Centro de Cultura, a group in which the family participated in order to further support the development and maintenance of their children’s language and culture. In these sections, I will introduce other families with like goals who participated and conducted activities aimed at increasing the children’s learning in this regard.
5.2 El Centro de Cultura

El Centro de Cultura was founded and registered as a non-profit organization in 1999 by a Mexican mother married to an Anglo-Canadian. When they had children, they realized that it was difficult to raise the children in Spanish when the father did not speak or understand it. The mother had the idea of forming an association, a sort of social club, where she could meet with other families in the same situation. The original idea was to have something like an escuelita (little school) and also have a sharing of skills among Latin families, such as guitar playing, cooking, etc. Apparently, the plan was not fully successful due to the lack of volunteers; however, the escuelita did work and continues to operate, still run by a small group of volunteer parents. Mrs. Ruedas and her three children formed one of the regular participating families in this group.

The group rented indoor space in a community centre owned by City Hall in a municipality about 30 km from downtown Vancouver, and each family paid $50 a year to cover the cost of rent. There was ample space and furniture for group work, but no playground-type equipment. Overall, the facilities lent themselves for more structured, school-type activities as opposed to free play and open activities. The families came together once a week for one hour, three times a month, but between set up for classes and clean up afterward, they only had 45 to 50 minutes of actual class-time available.

El Centro de Cultura was comprised of families from Spain, Mexico, El Salvador, Peru, and a Puerto Rican-Colombian U.S. citizen married to an Anglo-Canadian. The diversity of national origin also translated into cultural and dialect diversity, which, according to the parents’ accounts, greatly enhanced their experience and that of their children who were exposed to a variety of cultural practices and language richness.

5.2.1 The Families: Admission Criteria and Characteristics

At the time of fieldwork completion, there were seven families in the group (see Table 5.2), but only five of the attending parents—all mothers—were in regular attendance. All five mothers sat on the Board of Directors of the association and each year they had taken turns in the different positions (e.g., President). Three of them, Mrs. Pérez, Mrs. Martínez and Mrs. Nieve, were then in charge of conducting the group.

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27 The group only had access to the space three times a month.
activities. Mrs. Ruedas’s, the newest family of the five at the time, had joined the group in September, 2004. All the other families had been part of the group for a long time, most since their children were babies or toddlers. For instance, Mrs. Pérez (President) joined the group in the spring of 2000, a few months after her youngest son, Ahmed, was born and had been active ever since.

The group did not have strict rules for admitting new participants. Mrs. Ruedas stated that the only requirement for families to participate was that they were “interested in maintaining the language” (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 04/19/06-TR5.20). However, this description only applied to children with at least one Spanish-speaking parent; in fact, there were three Cantonese-speaking children in the group. Speaking about this fact she added:

…actually we welcome anyone interested in learning, that is, the Chinese girls, whose first language is not Spanish, are a good example. Their parents don’t speak the language either, they’re simply interested in the language so the girls have an additional one, so the group is open to all. (Interview: 04/19/06-TR5.21)

Mrs. Pérez echoed this comment in an interview: “I don’t think we have any criteria. We accept everyone. As long as you want to learn Spanish, here it is” (Mrs. Pérez, Interview:
05/12/06-TR5.22). Thus, the group welcomed anyone interested in their children learning Spanish. The only requirement was that they paid the $50 annual fee that covered rent and minor expenses such as photocopying. This characteristic of the group contributed to creating a school-like environment, which provided a Spanish language socialization experience for the children that was different from what they lived in their homes.

The participating families shared three main characteristics. One was that, with the exception of Mrs. Ruedas’s, all were interlingual families. All the participants’ husbands were non-Hispanic and non-Spanish speaking, except in the case of Mrs. Martínez’s husband who was non-Hispanic, but Spanish-speaking. The second characteristic was that all the parents had a higher education and a middle-class background and lifestyle. The last characteristic was that most of the mothers did not have full-time employment outside the home, although Mrs. Pérez had three part-time jobs. A combination of these characteristics and circumstances might have contributed to their motives to participate and commitment to the preservation of the group.

5.2.1.1 Motives

All parents addressed their interest in teaching Spanish to their children as their main reason for joining the group. When asked about the objectives of the group, Mrs. Pérez explained that it was to formally teach Spanish to their children. She also added that “another objective is to introduce children to the Latin American world, so we try to celebrate Latin American holidays” (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/07/05-TR5.23). Although she was from Spain, the fact that the group was created as a Latin American centre, and all the other families’ ties were in Latin America, the group continued to have a Latin American orientation. Mrs. Pérez added:

I see that it’s good for my children to see that there are other people, besides me, who speak Spanish and it’s also good for them to practice it… (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06-TR5.24)

Because her husband was Afghani and the home lingua franca was English, Mrs. Pérez liked the idea of joining the group in order to show their children that there was a Spanish-speaking world out there, besides her. At the same time, as the children grew up and developed their linguistic potential, they also had a language practice venue. Mrs. Ibarra’s husband was Italian-Canadian and the home language was English. The children’s only Spanish exposure outside the group was provided by Mrs. Ibarra. She
valued the opportunity the children had to study Spanish in the formal lessons and to practice Spanish during playtime. She recounted how she decided to bring Cheryl, her daughter, to the group so that she would be able “to play with other children in Spanish” (Mrs. Ibarra, Interview: 03/22/06-TR5.25). Mrs. Marshall stated the following when asked about her motivations to bring her daughter, Gayle, 3, to the group:

What I’m afraid of is that if she feels all alone (as a Spanish speaker), the time will come when she might say: “I don’t want Spanish anymore” like my cousins did, and they can’t speak it and can’t understand it now, they don’t see it, they don’t hear it, nothing. (Mrs. Marshall, Interview: 06/20/05-TR5.26)

Her sisters’ children completely shifted to English when they started school as a way of gaining membership into the English-speaking ‘in-group.’ In order to steer Gayle clear of such fate, Mrs. Marshall wanted to take advantage of her early socialization years to instill in her an attachment to Spanish and an awareness of the Spanish-speaking world to make sure she grew up feeling that speaking it was the natural thing to do. She wanted to socialize her into the understanding that such behavior was not only normal, but also valued as an important asset in life.

Out of all the families, Mrs. Ruedas’s was the one with the most advantage in the struggle to transmit Spanish to the children because it was the only one where Spanish was the dominant language at home. Yet, Mrs. Ruedas was not satisfied with the children’s current exposure to Spanish, which was why she decided to join the group so the children “…at least once a week are exposed to it [outside the home]” (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 04/19/06-TR5.27). Although the family had Spanish-speaking friends and the children were in regular contact with their family in Peru, in addition to their visits there and family visits from Peru, she was optimistic that participation in El Centro de Cultura was “…definitely going to help them [maintain and improve their Spanish]” (Interview: 04/19/06-TR5.28). None of the other families in the group had such advantage with Spanish input at home as they were intercultural / interlingual families. That was also one of the main factors many of the mothers interviewed cited as an important motivation for joining the group, in order to provide their children with the enriched language environment that they were unable to create at home. In part because of these circumstances, many of the children understood, but did not speak, Spanish.
5.2.2 Activities: Facilitation, Levels, and Types

As of the Spring of 2006, the classes were organized in three levels by age (see table 5.3). Occasionally, Mrs. Martínez and Mrs. Pérez switched groups for one session in order to provide some variety of teaching style, but in September 2006 they changed classes permanently. The parent-teachers explained that the reason they were teaching in El Centro de Cultura was because there was no one else to do it. Mrs. Martínez, who had been in the group since 2000, for instance, explained that she became a teacher in the group “by accident” (Mrs. Martínez, Interview: 04/06/06-TR5.29) and had already been teaching for several years. She initially resisted taking this role because she was not trained to teach, but when they were unable to find anyone, she accepted.

Table 5.3: Age Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Facilitator</th>
<th>Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-5 year olds</td>
<td>Mrs. Nieve</td>
<td>arts and crafts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-9 year olds</td>
<td>Mrs. Martínez</td>
<td>literacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-15 year olds</td>
<td>Mrs. Pérez</td>
<td>grammar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2.1 Nature of Activities: Literacy and Grammar-Translation

Overwhelmingly, the teachers of the two older groups almost exclusively conducted form-focused and literacy-based activities without a noticeably significant emphasis on communicative competence and/or performance. In order to provide some specific examples, in this section, I briefly describe the lessons and routine in the three Group sections (see table 5.4).
Table 5.4: Sample El Centro de Cultura Routine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>3-5 year olds</th>
<th>6-9 year olds</th>
<th>10-15 year olds</th>
<th>Non-teaching parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:30-4:00</td>
<td>Playtime, set up</td>
<td>Playtime, set up</td>
<td>Chatting in classroom, set up</td>
<td>Socializing in common area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00-4:55</td>
<td>Arts and crafts, songs, games</td>
<td>Teacher-fronted class</td>
<td>Teacher-fronted class</td>
<td>Socializing in different room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:55-5:00</td>
<td>Wrap-up and clean up</td>
<td>Wrap-up and clean up</td>
<td>Wrap-up and clean up</td>
<td>Regrouping</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.2.1 Mrs. Martínez’s Class

Mrs. Martínez used the book *Silabario Hispano Americano* by Adrián Dufflocq Galdames (1948). This textbook has been widely used to teach reading and writing to pre-literate children for over six decades in the Spanish-speaking world. The lessons in Mrs. Martínez’s class focused on spelling, reading and writing. Throughout the activities, English was accepted and even encouraged. Mrs. Martínez used English in her teaching and required the children to use it at certain points. For example, translation was one of the most common features during lessons, which seemed to be an important tool everyone drew on.

The children in her class tended to listen attentively and to work diligently. They also seemed to enjoy various activities, even volunteering to read passages or suggesting particular activities when asked by Mrs. Martínez. However, based on observations and on self-reports, Mrs. Martínez’s teaching style could be characterized as authoritarian. She explained in an interview that she had a “strict style”. She elaborated on this in the following quote:

…I can’t put up with too much distraction, so I get upset because I’m blunt… “look if you’re going to be moving around so much I’ll send you with the little ones”, or “if you don’t want to repeat louder what we need to repeat, you’ll be with the babies”…so I take them out of the group and they comply, because they want to be here, but if you let them get away with too much, they don’t learn… (Mrs. Martínez, Interview: 04/06/06-TR5.30)

When students were restless or unwilling to participate actively in the exercises, she warned them that they would be moved to Mrs. Nieve’s group with the very young children. In one of my observations I had the opportunity to witness exactly the situation...
described in the above quote. One of the girls was the recipient of the following reprimand (Teacher=Mrs. Martínez):

[Excerpt 5.3]

1 Teacher: Look, that’s why you don’t pay attention, because you keep walking back and forth. You distract everyone, okay? You will join the babies if you don’t pay attention. You can’t be getting up all the time, I want to I’m not here to waste my time, I want all of you to learn, okay? And you are too distracting. You don’t keep still, and you are erasing a lot and you are not paying attention, and the other girls are paying attention, they do want to learn.

Mrs. Martinez felt that this strategy worked well as the children were embarrassed to work with the little ones in Mrs. Nieve’s class and were careful not to get into trouble. Additionally, her teaching style was evident in the various facets of her teaching. Prior to the beginning of a class, she instructed the children to get their book, paper and pencils ready. The following is part of the exchange (Teacher=Mrs. Martínez):

[Excerpt 5.4]

1 Girl: no tengo lápiz
2 Teacher: ¿no tienes lápiz? y con que pensás escribir cuando venís a la escuela? ah, con los dedos?

Translation

1 Girl: I don’t have a pencil
2 Teacher: you don’t have a pencil? And what do you expect to write with when you come to school ah, your fingers?

In this interaction, Mrs. Martínez made clear her philosophy that this was a school and as a responsible member of this literacy learning center, the girl should come prepared with at least the minimum supplies required. She also made an extreme case formulation about “using her fingers to write” possibly for maximum message impact. Although it is not generally accepted today for a teacher to reprimand students in front of the whole class in North American classrooms, the teacher in this interaction was clearly drawing on her own experiences in the L1 educational culture where such behavior was the norm at the time of her schooling.

What follows is a description of how typical lessons evolved. A lesson may have started with a dictation or a reading. If it was reading a passage, either Mrs. Martínez would read or she would call on volunteers to take turns reading the selection. Along the
way, she would stop the reading every couple of sentences in order to ask comprehension questions or directly ask children if they understood the meaning. At those times, children were expected to provide the English gloss of what was read. Usually, Mrs. Martínez would either repeat or recast their answers (in English), sometimes further elaborating on their statements. She would also work on problematic areas and elaborate on aspects of meaning, spelling and pronunciation at that time. After each reading, work on difficult vocabulary usually followed. One way of addressing problematic vocabulary was to go through the text and ask students for the meaning of specific words. Here is a brief example (Teacher=Mrs. Martínez):

[Excerpt 5.5]

1 Teacher: okay ¿qué es manchado?
2 {okay what is stained?}
3 Children: um um um
4 Teacher: blotched (0.6) or ah yeah it’s blotched you know like
5 a-like stained
6 Children: yeah yeah
7 Teacher: ¿qué es amarillo? {what is yellow?}
8 Children: yello::w
9 Teacher: ¿qué es bigotes? {what is whiskers/moustache?}
10 Children: whiskers
11 Teacher: ¿qué es carnívoro? {what is carnivorous?}
12 Children: he eats meat

In this excerpt, Mrs. Martínez went through a text previously read by a child and identified what she believed were problematic words. The children were familiar with this routine and proceeded to call out the translations, usually in unison, indicating they had been socialized regarding this classroom routine. This excerpt also provides an example of the type of literacy socialization experiences to which the children were exposed in this class. The focus was not so much on communication, but on translation and understanding isolated lexical items.

During reading activities, the children volunteered to take turns. They seemed to receive the reading activity quite well and also seemed to be eagerly expecting their turn and engaging well with the activity. For example, at the beginning of a reading activity Mrs. Martínez had not yet decided who would read and a child volunteered to do it (Teacher=Mrs. Martínez):
During these activities, Mrs. Martínez also tended often to remind children reading to make sure they followed the rules of Spanish pronunciation with particular emphasis on letters that exist in contrast with English (e.g., [h], [j]) as well as pronouncing every syllable.

If the activity started with dictation, the next step usually involved one of several versions of correction of their writing and work on various aspects of meaning and spelling. Usually a child was asked to go to the board and write the words as Mrs. Martínez went over them with the whole class. Other times, Mrs. Martínez gave them the option of doing a different activity. One of the children’s favorite activities was to play lotería, a type of bingo. Often when they played lotería, usually toward the end of the session, a child was in charge of calling out the cards. That was a student-centred activity they seemed to enjoy, which also made them proud because they could take a leading role. The following was an example of how the children typically seized the opportunity to play lotería (Teacher=Mrs. Martínez):

[Excerpt 5.7]

1 Teacher: ¿okay ahora que hacemos tenemos quince minutos? 
2 Child 1: [lotería] 
3 Teacher: okay [jugamos lotería entonces] 
4 Child 2: [lotería]

Translation

1 Teacher: okay what do we do now we have fifteen minutes? 
2 Child 1: [lottery] 
3 Teacher: okay we’ll play lottery then 
4 Child 2: [lottery]

On this particular day, while the children played lotería, Mrs. Martínez corrected the writing from the dictation they had just concluded. In the example above, the children chose a game. This, however, does not mean that the children were only inclined to select
game-like activities. The following excerpt shows how on another occasion, this was not the case. The class had been engaged in significant reading and Mrs. Martínez asked them whether they wanted to continue reading and suggested a passage (original in Spanish) (Teacher=Mrs. Martínez):

[Excerpt 5.8]

1 Teacher: ¿este? Este eh- eh ¿lo quieren leer? Es bien bonito
2 Children: no [no::: no:::::::
3 Teacher: [¡no okay que quieren hacer ahora entonces?
4 Girl 1: ¡colorear
5 Girl 2: dictar
6 Teacher: ¿ah?= ah?
7 Girl 2: =dictar
8 Teacher: ¿dictar? okay, dictar se oye bien
9 Teacher: ¿okay?

Translation

1 Teacher: this? this um- do you want to read it? It’s a nice one
2 Children: no [no::: no:::::::
3 Teacher: [no okay what would you like to do now?
4 Girl 1: ¡colorear
5 Girl 2: dictation
6 Teacher: ah?= ah?
7 Girl 2: =dictation
8 Teacher: dictation? okay, dictation sounds good
9 Teacher: okay?

Most of the children rejected Mrs. Martínez’s proposition and one of them suggested coloring instead of reading, but at least one of them chose dictation instead, which Mrs. Martínez accepted. Although Mrs. Martínez’s class was characterized by herself and others as authoritarian, many examples can be found when she engaged the children in negotiating the curriculum and the lesson plan of the day.

5.2.2.1.2 Mrs. Pérez’s Class

Mrs. Pérez used a textbook, 100 Reproducible Activities by Rose Thomas (1999), which was a Spanish textbook designed for homeschooling Middle/High School students. Mrs. Pérez had been teaching for several years in El Centro de Cultura, but unlike Mrs. Martinez, she had considerable previous experience teaching Spanish to adults and children. Her class consisted of pre-teens and teens, but this group was by far the most multilevel of the four, which posed a major challenge in teaching it. There were approximately 10 children in the class. Mrs. Ruedas’s children, Olivia and Rogelio, could speak, read and write Spanish well, some children could speak it, but lacked accuracy and
fluency, and yet other children only understood it, to varying degrees, but could not speak it. Additionally, there were three Cantonese-speaking girls who had been attending the class since 2003. However, they could neither understand Spanish nor speak it, but their grammar, according to the teachers, was quite good. In part in order to accommodate these three students, Mrs. Pérez’s lessons were mostly grammar-based and were conducted in English with heavy reliance on translation. English was used far more frequently than Spanish in different lesson-related tasks such as giving general instructions, giving instructions for specific tasks, explaining grammatical points, translating exercises from Spanish to English so everyone understood, or just socializing. This caused some of the other students to become disengaged and disinterested.

Additionally, Mrs. Pérez felt that some of the children were not motivated to study Spanish, at least not in this style of learning, which posed additional challenges for her as a teacher as these students sometimes adopted attitudes that “sabotaged” the classes. Thus, the type of socialization taking place was full of complexities and contradictions and often was more reminiscent of the socialization taking place in school settings.

As in any classroom, there was usually considerable variation in how individual lessons evolved, which was also the case in Mrs. Pérez’s class. Yet, some clear patterns could be identified and therefore, in this section I partially describe what a typical session looked like.

Usually, after taking care of routine class business such as verifying that everyone had their textbook and other materials, checking homework, and finding where they left off the previous class, Mrs. Pérez asked a student to read the instructions in the section of the book they would work on, which were in English, as in the following example

(Teacher=Mrs. Pérez):

[Excerpt 5.9]

```
Mrs. Pérez: so what we are gonna be doing ah Henrick why you don’t read a:::h what we are gonna be doing let’s start at page 35
Henrick: thir- ty- five ((softly))
Children: ((laughter))
Mrs. Pérez: q-
Henrick:  ah the top?
Mrs. Pérez: si si {yes, yes}
Henrick: to make a sentence negative, simply put the word ‘no’ ‘not’ before the verb ejemplo {for example} ‘yo hablo”
```
In this excerpt at the beginning of a lesson, Mrs. Pérez asked Henrick, one of Mrs. Martínez’s two boys in the group, to read the instructions from the textbook about how to make negative statements from affirmative ones. As can be seen in Henrick’s last turn, mostly the exercises were in Spanish and everything else was in English. Likewise, out of Mrs. Pérez’s four turns, the only word she pronounced in Spanish was *si*. In this example, English was clearly dominant, and in most interactions that was precisely the case.

Additionally, the teaching/learning style emphasized was that of a traditional school. The following excerpt further illustrates this point (Teacher=Mrs. Pérez):

[Excerpt 5.10]

```
1 Mrs. Pérez: any questions?
2 Mrs. Pérez: That’s very simple isn’t it? simple than English and
3 French that’s nice okay .hh we are gonna do it really
4 fast and we’re gonna start with u:m Johann
5 Johann: ellos saltan ellos no saltan=
6 {they jump they don’t jump}
7 Mrs. Pérez: =can you translate it please
8 Johann: they’re jumping and they’re not jumping
```

After Henrick had finished reading the instructions and examples from the book, Mrs. Pérez asked the class whether there were any questions. As was often the case, she also contrasted this example with English and French before asking Henrick’s cousin, Johann, to continue with the first exercise. However, Johann failed to follow the common practice of translating (or if provided in the text, reading the translation), so in her last turn Mrs. Pérez reminded him to do it. This interaction shows the language use patterns in Mrs. Pérez’s class, where Rogelio and Olivia were also students, valued and emphasized language and literacy socialization practices that were directly at odds with the socialization that the children experienced at home, highlighting the situated and often contradictory nature of socialization processes and trajectories.

Usually, Mrs. Pérez went around the class a couple of times until everyone had had two or three turns, depending on the number of exercises in the book, occasionally elaborating on more difficult points if there were any. This particular day, after all the students had had one turn, she decided to follow up with two exercises on the next two pages of the book. The title of the first exercise was *¿Qué quiere decir? What does that*
mean?, which consisted of orally translating into English a set of questions and answers given in Spanish. Mrs. Pérez called on Xiao-Yee to do the first exercise, which proceeded in the following manner (Teacher=Mrs. Pérez):

[Excerpt 5.11]

1. Teacher: Xiao-Yee
2. Xiao-Yee: nada ella does she swim si ella nada yes she swims
3. Teacher: very good

Some of the sentences had non-second person subjects, as in she, he, ellas, and ellos (ella, el, they feminine, they masculine), which were not too problematic for students to translate or to understand the verb conjugations in them, as in the exercise above. Other exercises had a second person subject in the questions, which required the first person answer. These often posed challenges to some of the students, requiring them to pay more attention to the subject and verb ending required in the answer. The following is an example of that point (Teacher=Mrs. Pérez):

[Excerpt 5.12]

1. Teacher: ¿Mary guapa puedes traducir por favor?
2. Mary:   (xxxxxxx)
3. Teacher:  si guapa {yes, honey}
4. Olivia: wow=
5. Mary:   ((half laughing in second word)) —¿bailan ustedes? do you dance? do you guys dance (perhaps)?
6. Teacher:  do you dance—very good
7. Mary:   si bailamos mucho yes we dance a lot
8. Teacher: very good any questions? everybody understands?

Although this was not the focus of this particular exercise, Mrs. Pérez decided to take the opportunity to remind students of issues related to subject-verb agreement, which came up every week. She attempted to elicit the rules for agreement by calling on two different students to explain. The second student was partly successful, whose answer she accepted and then proceeded to give some details of the theory underlying the rule. Afterwards, the class proceeded to work on the next exercise.

The second exercise required writing, so Mrs. Pérez asked everyone to get a blank sheet of paper and asked Mary to read the instructions. She also asked Olivia, Mrs. Ruedas’s daughter, to assist her by checking the work of the rest of the students. The
textbook provided questions in Spanish, which students were required to answer and write down also in Spanish. After six minutes, Mrs. Pérez noticed that students had finished the exercise and asked Olivia to check everyone’s answers. The way Olivia was to check everyone’s answers this time was just by reading her answers and waiting for others to check whether they had the exact same answer. Whenever there was a discrepancy in the answers, Mrs. Pérez first tried to elicit the correct answers from the class and only after that would she provide additional explanation. This part of the exercise took about four minutes. Then Mrs. Pérez instructed students to do a similar exercise, but answering in negative statements instead, and then followed the same routine of asking students to read their answers out loud, often stopping to provide clarification or additional explanation. After some related exercises following the previous routine, students took turns reading a text, which Mrs. Pérez corrected or elaborated on as she considered necessary. Finally, she assigned homework for the following week and at that time the class was dismissed.

The explicit socialization process taking place in this type of activity points toward the conscious acquisition of grammatical knowledge, while the implicit socialization conveys the message that the purpose of the Spanish lesson was to talk about Spanish in English, and to illustrate language aspects with translated examples. The most obvious outcome of this type of activity was an awareness of theoretical aspects of language with minimum functional ability. At the same time, the activities might have benefited different students in different ways, and the degree to which they benefited might have diverged significantly as some students had a rich Spanish language environment at home and elsewhere whereas others had none. Despite the obvious inadequacies of the lessons for Olivia’s and Rogelio’s Spanish levels and needs, an unintended socialization outcome was their creation and validation of identities as “experts” when Mrs. Pérez called on them to assist others, a point that Mrs. Ruedas also brought up in one of the sections below. The above analysis illustrates one of the most fundamental tenets of language socialization, particularly as it relates to the relationship between language and education and the three heuristic categories proposed by Halliday (1979/1980): learning language, learning about language, and learning through language.
While this is not an exhaustive description of the activities in which Mrs. Pérez engaged her students, it does provide some examples of the nature of the work done in her class. This work was mainly based on the textbook, but whenever possible, they also used *realia* in order to illustrate and practice different grammatical points. Also, in addition to the work mainly on sentence structure, and to a lesser degree, on pronunciation and vocabulary building, Mrs. Pérez often included short games such as *ahorcado* (hangman) and 20 *Questions*, movie viewings dubbed in Spanish and other activities that she adapted from other sources (e.g., downloads from the web). Whenever I observed games being played (e.g., 20 Questions), the students seemed excited and engaged in them, even though they always involved grammatical explanations.

Despite the occasional use of non-grammar-based activities, in many ways it appeared as though the underlying class philosophy was based on the Grammar-Translation Method and on a traditional style of teaching, which also included some of the most common features found in classroom settings, such as the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) pattern (Mehan, 1979), and known-answer questions (Cazden, 1988; Lemke, 1990; Mehan, 1979; Rogoff, 2003). The objective of the class, then, was to teach the children grammar, regardless of what language it was taught in. Besides socialization into traditional school-like lessons conducted in English, the children were socialized to linguistic attitudes that emphasized Spanish through English translation and the privileging of grammar. However, in Spring 2007, Mrs. Martínez was in charge of this section and reportedly her goal was to change the focus and style of the classes through what seemed to be a move from linguistic competence to communicative performance.

### 5.2.2.1.3 Mrs. Nieve’s Class

Mrs. Nieve’s class was the smallest of the three, with only three pre-school children: Graciela and Gayle, three, and Ahmed, five. Graciela, Mrs. Ruedas’s youngest child and Ahmed, Mrs. Pérez’s youngest child, attended regularly, but Gayle, Mrs. Marshall’s only daughter, was sometimes reluctant to participate. Whereas Graciela and Ahmed were fluent speakers of Spanish, Gayle struggled with it, which could in part explain her lack of enthusiasm. Besides, of the three sections observed, this was the one where the most Spanish was spoken, which could also account for Gayle’s disinclination to attend. They seemed to enjoy the activities, but because some of them were as young
as three years old, they sometimes got a little disruptive and unfocused. With a background in teaching young children in Mexico, Mrs. Nieve seemed to attend to these issues well and sometimes changed the focus of the activities in order to maintain the children’s attention.

The focus of Mrs. Nieve’s class was on various types of arts and crafts, puzzles with Spanish syllables, and Bingo games with cards containing objects, fruit, etc. These activities were supplemented with various children’s songs, action games, and stories. In general, the content was based on colours, numbers and letters. The materials used came from books brought from Mexico, photocopies from different Early Childhood Education (ECE) books, etc. Because Mrs. Nieve was trained as an ECE teacher in Mexico, the activities were varied and usually based on activities she used in her teaching prior to immigrating to Canada.

In this section, I describe key parts of a typical lesson with an emphasis on the types of activities conducted and on the interactional patterns used. The activities that Mrs. Nieve prepared could be characterized as somewhat typical of pre-school settings. The particular lesson that I describe included some of the children from Mrs. Martínez’s group. Mrs. Pérez was absent that day and Mrs. Martínez was teaching the teenagers. The lesson started with Mrs. Nieve giving the children some photocopies with pictures of clothing items and a non-gender specific doll. Mrs. Nieve’s warm up activity consisted of asking the children to name the items on the papers, which was done in less than two minutes, as the children named them quickly. The children were told that first they would colour the pictures and then they would cut them out. After cutting them out they would dress the doll as a girl or a boy. She emphasized to the children that at this time she wanted them to colour only the clothing items. Mayra, one of the children, wanted to do something else and addressed Mrs. Nieve in English. This interaction shows how Mrs. Nieve demanded Spanish use. The most significant feature in terms of language use was Mrs. Nieve’s efforts to maintain the focus of the children on speaking Spanish. There was considerable variety in the types of strategies she used to achieve this goal. For instance, sometimes she explicitly directed the children to speak Spanish, as in the extract below; other times, she translated their utterances and other times she recast their utterances with
the appropriate Spanish words substituted. The interaction evolved like this

(Teacher=Mrs. Nieve):

[Excerpt 5.13]

1  Teacher: vamos a colorear solo lo que sea ropa s- solo lo que
2      sea ropa
3  Mayra: Rosa [Mrs. Nieve]
4  Teacher: ¿mande?
5  Mayra: can we um=
6  Teacher: =español
7  Graciela: español
8  Mayra: podemos um colorear la muñeca=
9  Teacher: primero vamos a colorear la ropa
10 Mayra: ¿tenemos que colorear la ropa?
11 Teacher: ¿y después como se la vas a poner la ropa toda
12             transparente sin color?

Translation

1  Teacher: we will color only clothing items on- ly what’s
2      clothing
3  Mayra: Rosa [Mrs. Nieve]
4  Teacher: can I help you?
5  Mayra: can we um=
6  Teacher: =Spanish
7  Graciela: Spanish
8  Mayra: can we um color the doll=
9  Teacher: =first we’ll color the clothes
10 Mayra: do we have to color the clothes?
11 Teacher: and later how are you going to put the clothes on the
12             doll all transparent without color?

This interaction, initiated by Mayra, illustrates a common characteristic of the language
use patterns in the class. Mayra called out Mrs. Nieve’s name, to which she answered in
Spanish ¿mande? (can I help you?). Mayra did not orient to this subtle clue to start the
interaction in Spanish and in her next turn produced: can we um. Mrs. Nieve did not let
her complete her turn and took the opportunity to interject with an admonition to address
her in Spanish. In fact, many similar instances occurred every week in this class. It is not
surprising that this was the only class where Spanish was not only spoken extensively,
but also where children were regularly reminded to speak it. Although it is unknown why
Graciela, a ratified unaddressed participant (Goffman, 1981) in the interaction, repeated
Mrs. Nieve’s admonition to Mayra for not speaking Spanish, her statement was a further
admonition to Mayra, who after a pause, oriented to the clue to switch codes. From the
broader ethnographic knowledge acquired during fieldwork, it is known that Graciela,
along with her sister Olivia and her brother Rogelio, was in fact one of the most proficient speakers of Spanish among all the children in the group. It is possible that her turn in line 7 indicated that she was taking the role of a “more expert” member who knew better than to speak English in that context. Hence, she showed the internalization of the linguistic ideologies she was socialized to in her family, and her understanding of Mrs. Nieve’s Spanish-only rule.

The rest of the class consisted of colouring, cutting out clothing items from paper, dressing the doll and other related activities, with active interaction and negotiation of meaning throughout. The above extract contains an instance, among many, of the explicit type when Mrs. Nieve directly instructed children to use Spanish. The following segment illustrates a different type of enforcement attempt (Teacher=Mrs. Nieve):

[Excerpt 5.14]

1  Graciela:  this is black
2  Teacher:  ese es negro
3  Graciela:  negro
4  (4.1)
5  Graciela:  black se dice negro
6  Teacher:  exactamente
7  (0.8)
8  Graciela:  black se dice NEGRO
9  Teacher:  SI

Translation

1  Graciela:  this is black
2  Teacher:  ese es negro (this is black)
3  Graciela:  negro (black)
4  (4.1)
5  Graciela:  black se dice negro (black is said black)
6  Teacher:  exactly
7  (0.8)
8  Graciela:  black se dice NEGRO (black is said black)
9  Teacher:  SI (YES)

In this interaction Graciela produced an utterance in English, but through Mrs. Nieve’s repair (ese es negro), she seemed to learn a new semantic relationship. It is unlikely that the word negro was new to Graciela, given the rich Spanish language input at home, but it is possible that she had not made the connection between black and negro before. When Mrs. Nieve translated her initial utterance in line 2, Graciela oriented to the Spanish form (negro) immediately. After a long pause (4.1), and without further evaluation on Mrs. Nieve’s part, she self-selected to state black se dice negro twice and
more emphatically than before. This is particularly clear in her last turn (black se dice NEGRO), indicating it was a new discovery. Graciela’s ‘aha! moment’ illustrates how language socialization is an interactionally-negotiated process (Ochs, 1988) that can take various forms, as illustrated by Mrs. Nieve’s recast in line 2, and the outcome in the child’s eventual sense of discovery in line 8.

The following segment illustrates another type of language use negotiation where Graciela uses self-repair and Mrs. Nieve uses recasting (Teacher=Mrs. Nieve):

[Excerpt 5.15]

1 Teacher: ¿fuiste a la escuela hoy Graci? 
2 {did you go to school today Graci?} 
3 Graciela: a::h si a French {yes to French class} 
4 Teacher: ¿si? {yes?} 
5 Graciela: al (.). francés {to French} 
6 Teacher: ¿y que hiciste en la escuela? 
7 {and what did you do at school?} 
8 Graciela: a:::h (fue)-um-hicimos co:mo un rainbow también 
9 {(it was) we made like a rainbow also} 
10 Teacher: ¿un arcoíris? {a rainbow?}

In this interaction, there is a mixture of child and teacher repair. Mrs. Nieve began the interaction by asking Graciela about school, as Graciela attended a French immersion pre-school at that time. In line 3 Graciela mixed Spanish and English, which was immediately inconsequential to the interaction, but in line 5 she self repaired, pointing to her awareness of the language policy in the class. However, in line 8 she produced an utterance with similar characteristics as her first one when she used rainbow instead of arcoíris. Mrs. Nieve attended to the code mixing by recasting the problematic word in Spanish in the form of a question, suggesting it was Mrs. Nieve’s attempt to remind and socialize Graciela to the Spanish-only rule. Line 3 indicates that Graciela was aware of the language use expectation when she spoke in Spanish, although mixed with English. However, line 8 indexes either language policy resentment or lack of vocabulary in Spanish.

Finally, there was also evidence in some of their interactions that the children were not passive recipients of Mrs. Nieve’s admonitions regarding the Spanish-only rule (Teacher=Mrs. Nieve):
Teacher: ¿Luisa y Cheryl podrían tratar de hablar tantito español?
{Luisa and Cheryl could you try to speak a little Spanish?}

Luisa: okay
Cheryl: sí {yes}

Luisa: claro {sure}
Cheryl: the words (.) we’re saying are very hard words

Teacher: ¿como cual? {like what?}

Cheryl: I don’t know
Luisa: =I don’t know
Teacher: ¿entonces como sabes que son muy dificiles?

Cheryl: (‘cause) I forgot them

Luisa and Cheryl were engaged in conversation in English prior to this interaction; therefore, in line 1 the teacher asked them to try to speak a little Spanish. However, in line 10, Cheryl attempted to justify their use of English, namely, that the words they were speaking in English were too hard to be said in Spanish, to which the teacher responded with an information question: “¿como cual?” (like what?). In line 13 Cheryl informed the teacher that she did not have such information, which was reiterated by Luisa in line 14. The teacher asked how they knew these were difficult words in line 15, indicating that she was not satisfied with their previous replies, to which Cheryl responded that the reason they knew those were difficult words was because they had forgotten them. This interaction suggests resistance on the part of the children in response to Mrs. Nieve’s request. In the process of resisting the rule they co-constructed an explanation for why the words were hard, namely, that if those were not difficult words, they would not have forgotten them. This is also evident in the use of English in the last three turns by Cheryl and Luisa.

Although there were many instances of the children switching to English or mixing both languages as the above extracts show, overall little English was used by the children. Mrs. Nieve’s Spanish-only policy was strictly enforced and she modeled the expected behavior by never speaking any English herself. She, therefore, created a rich Spanish language socialization for the children, in contrast to the sections taught by Mrs. Martinez and Mrs. Pérez.
5.2.2.1.4  Mrs. Ibarra’s Class: Mother Goose Program

As of September 2006 the parents formed a parent-child Mother Goose Program for toddlers with one of the mothers, Mrs. Ibarra, in charge. It was a group of about six parents and their babies/toddlers who met to teach and share children’s rhymes, songs and stories. The program was intended to help parents promote positive family activities during their children's early socialization, giving them experiences with language, culture and communication. It was loosely-modeled on English language programs available in many communities and intended to immerse these young children in the Spanish language and culture, while one or more of their siblings participated in the regular Spanish classes in the group. Since this group started after I had concluded my fieldwork in the group, I was not able to observe the activities directly. However, from face-to-face and phone conversations, e-mail exchanges and interviews with some of the parents I have learned that their activities at the time of writing included traditional nursery rhymes, songs and stories from Latin America. The parents also relied on Spanish language books available at the local library in order to supplement their activities.

5.2.3  Attitudes about the Activities

With the exception of the Mother Goose program, the activities described above were the only ones being conducted at the end of fieldwork. The five parents interviewed expressed general satisfaction with the nature of classes, but most, especially the oldtime members, also felt that more could be done. They expressed nostalgia for activities that were part of the group in the past, such as Latin American celebrations, social events, and traditional dances as well as other surface level cultural events. Some of them described with enthusiasm the times when different celebrations such as Independence Day, Mother’s Day, Cinco de Mayo, Christmas, Día de los Muertos, and other special occasions they considered important, were part of the regular activities. Some parents, however, felt that most celebrations were mainly associated with Mexican culture and would also like to see celebrations with a more pan-Latin American orientation. Some also expressed hope in reviving people’s interest and willingness to organize cultural events; however, they were also aware of the constraints the group was facing in terms of time and volunteer availability. Therefore, they accepted the fact that the cultural aspect
had been largely lost in the group and the major objective being pursued at the time was language transmission only.

5.2.3.1 Perceived Benefits

5.2.3.1.1 Language and Literacy

The benefits that the families expressed about their group membership and participation generally had many features in common; however, they expressed their comments in unique ways. In general, the shared goal of all the families was centred around the Spanish language. They felt that the group provided a venue for them to socialize in Spanish and for their children to obtain language skills. Mrs. Pérez, for instance, felt that El Centro de Cultura gave her the opportunity to provide her children with an authentic context for Spanish practice and validation:

I see that it’s good for my children to see that there are other people, besides me, who speak Spanish and it’s also good for them to practice it, so for me that is enough to continue… (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06-TR5.31)

She felt that the benefits were important enough to warrant their continued participation. In that regard, Mrs. Ruedas felt that the group filled an important language gap. She tried to conduct Spanish literacy activities with the children at home, but she also conceded that sometimes she could not: “I don’t have a lot of patience to do it at home, so this way at least once a week they’re exposed to it” (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 04/19/06-TR5.32). She felt that El Centro de Cultura helped fill the language and literacy gap that sometimes was left at home. Additionally, she was pleased that Olivia was also benefiting in unexpected ways. In an interview Mrs. Ruedas stated that in the past Mrs. Pérez had sometimes asked “Olivia to help with the children that were a little behind. That got Olivia more excited and interested because at that time she took the role of teacher” (Mrs. Ruedas, Interview: 04/19/06-TR5.33), which Mrs. Ruedas found important for Olivia’s self-esteem when her language ability was recognized and valued and she was assigned an identity as expert in that context. As reported in earlier sections, this was noted also during class observations. In an interview, Olivia talked about her feelings of participation in the group. The following is an extract from a long interaction (Martín=interviewer):
Martín: ¿vas a continuar [yendo al grupo?  
Olivia: [si nada más que estas semanas no puedo por el volley y wáter polo pero voy a seguir me falta creo que un día un miércoles  
Martín: ah que bueno ¿y que sentís que has aprendido: cosas nuevas te ha servido? ¿en que forma te ha servido ir al grupo?  
Olivia: ahora entiendo más este lo de los verbos  
Martín: aha  
Olivia: que entendía antes  
Martín: okay=  
Olivia: =si  
Martín: ¿y:: que otra cosa de gusta de allí?  
Olivia: u:m la gente es ah o sea es buen- es buena gente y:: hmm no se (pues) me gusta

Translation

Martín: are you going to continue [attending the group  
Olivia: [yes only that these weeks I can’t go because of volleyball and water polo but I’ll continue there is only one more Wednesday (I can’t go)  
Martín: ah good and what do you feel you have learned? New things? Has it been useful? In what ways has it been useful to go to the group?  
Olivia: now I understand um verbs better  
Martín: aha  
Olivia: than before  
Martín: okay=  
Olivia: =yes  
Martín: a:::nd what else do you like about it?  
Olivia: u:m people are ah I mean they are ni- they’re nice people a:::nd hmm I don’t know (well) I like it

When this interview was conducted with Olivia, she had missed some Spanish sessions. She explained that volleyball and water polo had interfered with her Spanish classes, but only had one more Wednesday to go before resuming her participation. Throughout the interview she made different comments that signaled she had a positive attitude toward her group participation. Olivia stated that she enjoyed the group for several reasons. Academically, she referred to the progress she had made with grammar and was pleased that she had a better understanding of verbs. In terms of social relations, she appeared to appreciate the people there. In particular, three of the students in her class went to the same school as well, so for her it was like an extension of part of her circle of friends. Nevertheless, it is unknown whether as a researcher, I had some kind of influence in how
she responded to the questions, as she was aware of the focus of the study in which she was participating.

Mrs. Pérez’s children, like the children of other parents, had grown up in the group. In an interview Mrs. Pérez also talked about the attitudes of her children prompted by a question (Martín=interviewer):

[Excerpt 5.18]

Mrs. Pérez: Mi hija tenía tres años y medio y Ahmed era bebé cuando yo comencé a ir. Yo empecé a ir en la primavera del año 2000 que Ahmed tenía meses. El nació en el 99. El ha crecido con todo el grupo.

Martín: ¿cómo es la actitud?

Mrs. Pérez: a los niños les gusta mucho, les encanta.

Translation

Mrs. Pérez: my daughter was three and a half and Ahmed was a baby when I started attending. I started in the spring of 2000 and Ahmed was months old. He was born in 99. He has grown up with the group.

Martín: how’s their attitude?

Mrs. Pérez: the children like it, they love it.

Mrs. Pérez’s children, along with Mrs. Ruedas’s children, were the most fluent speakers, readers and writers of Spanish in the group. This, along with other possible factors, made their participation in the group comfortable and positive.

Like Mrs. Pérez, Mrs. Ibarra was the only Spanish input in her household, but unlike Mrs. Pérez’s children, Mrs. Ibarra’s daughter, Cheryl, struggled with the written and spoken Spanish language. However, Mrs. Ibarra explained that Cheryl was generally interested in participating: “My daughter looks forward to it: ‘Mommy, let’s go to the Spanish class.’ She struggles with it, but she also needs it” (Mrs. Ibarra, Interview: 03/22/06-TR5.34). Despite her linguistic limitations, at the time of fieldwork Cheryl seemed to be making good progress in Mrs. Martínez’s class.

5.2.3.1.2 Social Relations

Aside from the benefits the group provided Cheryl, Mrs. Ibarra had many comments about what it provided her as a mother:

It’s always a good opportunity to come, meet new people, not just them, find out about new…for instance, I’m not well-informed about what goes on in the Latin community here. Through this group I found out about the Scouts group and I went to see what it was like um…several other things in Canada as well, exhibitions that we’ve participated in, in
other words, for me, for my daughter so she can speak more Spanish, and to meet new people. (Mrs. Ibarra, Interview: 03/22/06-TR5.35)

Mrs. Ibarra stated that her two best friends were in the group and they had developed such a close relationship over the years that even if she stopped attending, their friendship would not change. In addition to the linguistic, social and cultural aspect, the group served another purpose for Mrs. Ibarra: an information hub. She saw the group as her connection to the Spanish-speaking community in the Vancouver area. Without such connection, she felt uninformed of the happenings in the community.

Like Mrs. Ibarra, all other group members interviewed stated that they had established close relationships with other members and both the parents and the children in the group saw themselves as family. Mrs. Pérez stated on several occasions that she had no other blood relatives in Canada and she felt that the group really did fill the need created by the lack of family nearby:

…and apart from that, it’s not only about teaching the children Spanish, rather, we have formed a social group and so we have created friendships among us and for us…for the moms it’s even filling a void because most of our families are in other countries and English, despite all the years we’ve spent here, can never reach the level of our Spanish. (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/07/05-TR5.36)

5.2.3.1.3 Familism

In the last quote above, Mrs. Pérez referred to the value of the social relations created in the group and equated them to family. She often said that family was of utmost importance to her and the main reason she wanted her children to be proficient in Spanish was for family communication:

My first priority is that they communicate with my parents and the second is that it’s a gift I am giving them, it’s a language, and if I knew how to play the piano, I would teach them to play the piano; that would be another gift. Those are my only motivations, that is, why not if I can give it to them, and that they communicate with my parents? (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06-TR5.37)

Other families felt the same way about social relations and family. Mrs. Marshall had some blood relatives in the Vancouver area, but thought it was not enough. Therefore, she said the group was

…and more as a support. That’s where family would come into play, but of course, since we don’t live in a Hispanic place, and there are not many people or family that can help, I’m thinking that maybe this group can help address some of the faults, where we are failing. (Mrs. Marshall, Interview: 06/20/05-TR5.38)
For her, the group was helping fill the gap left by a small family circle. She explained also that as a child she was always taking part in celebrations and dancing parties in a houseful of relatives, but unfortunately Gayle, her daughter, was not going to have that experience. The group, she felt, was the closest she could give her.

Mrs. Ibarra had several comments linking the social relations she found in the group and the “family void” she felt in her current life. Mrs. Ibarra kept in touch with her family in Mexico regularly and she talked to the children often about their grandparents, cousins and other extended family in Mexico. They usually visited family in Mexico once a year and her parents also visited Vancouver about once a year, in addition to contact through weekly phone calls. However, Mrs. Ibarra stated that she missed her family a lot and found that El Centro de Cultura filled that void in many ways:

I arrived here with no family, the only person was my husband and his family, uh it was about the same time that I married my husband that I arrived here in Canada. I arrived like a “newbie” in a different country, I couldn’t speak the language, I didn’t know anyone. I had my daughter immediately, which was a very big change for me. So starting to meet new people here who speak the same language made me feel a little more, um, have more in common with Hispanic women. It’s one of the reasons…it’s as though we always have that thing that if we don’t have family, at least we have a good girlfriend [amiga] with whom to-I don’t know-share, talk, anything. And that’s precisely what I found here. (Mrs. Ibarra, Interview: 03/22/06-TR5.39)

In the same interview she added that the friends she had made in the group were like her own family. They counted on each other for support in different everyday situations:

If I need something urgently they [all women] live close to me. Always, anything, you know you can turn to them to ask for help, be it with the girls, that they look after your daughter, if there’s an emergency, we always help each other. So that’s like finding a part of your family in Canada. (Mrs. Ibarra, Interview: 03/22/06-TR5.40)

Although Mrs. Ibarra’s Italian-Canadian husband’s family lived in Vancouver, she felt the group had become an extended family of sorts. The group gave her the opportunity to connect to her own identity through interaction in her language and with people who shared her cultural roots. She stated that the group gave her

The opportunity to practice our language, with our people of our own nationality, that’s quite important, having that opportunity to have contact with your Mexico in another country. (Mrs. Ibarra, Interview: 03/22/06-TR5.41)
5.2.3.1.4 Identity

For Mrs. Martínez, the group gave her a variety of benefits. Her comments seemed to sum up the issues of language, social relations, familism and identity already alluded to by other parents above. She commented that

…the mothers want to sit and talk, it’s a break, and to have a conversation in their language, and as I told you, most of their husbands speak another language, so you don’t…when you speak another language you aren’t as relaxed as when you speak your language because people tell me when you speak Spanish you change, and when you speak English you’re different, so that…that’s another thing that makes you go to these places, that which is for you, when you speak another language you feel like no, almost like that…and when you speak your language…it’s so relaxed and you loosen up, gestures and expressions and what have you, right? So it’s the same for them, it’s a—it’s a moment to-to be the way you are, to be Latin-American and that is-is also another reason people go there, and it’s a shame that they don’t continue going. (Mrs. Martínez, Interview: 04/06/06-TR5.42)

Speaking about her experiences and the experiences of other parents (i.e., mothers), Mrs. Martínez explained that the group created a space in which they could socialize in Spanish and it gave them a chance to be in a venue where they could “loosen up” in their own language. Thus, the group was like a “safe-house” (Canagarajah, 2004; Pratt, 1991) for the mothers, where they could express themselves freely. She also emphasized that the group created a mood that was

Emotional, eh more than anything, and emotional because you go back to your language, you go back to who you really are at the end of the day, a Latin-American… (Interview: 04/06/06-TR5.43)

As suggested by Mrs. Ibarra and Mrs. Martínez, Spanish was for them a comfort language, a language that penetrated multifaceted levels of their selves. For Mrs. Martínez, the group benefits had a deeper value, which was the emotional connection that came from the connection to the mother tongue (Hispanic parents participating in Dagenais & Day, 1999’s study made similar comments). Spanish enabled them to connect to their most intimate part of their identity and allowed them to be who they truly were. It gave them the opportunity to socialize in Spanish, which provided a direct link to their innermost self. As Mrs. Martínez spoke:

…and when you arrive at those places you open up, you relax, you-you remove the Canadianness and are simply Latin-American, you remove as if-as if you don’t have the Canadian skin you put on all the time… (Interview: 04/06/06-TR5.44)
To Mrs. Martínez, being in the group was like stripping herself of the Canadian identity she had carved out of English over the decades, leaving the bare mother-tongue self. Mrs. Martínez’s words in the above quotes are a poignant reminder that humans are made of their language; they are their language.

5.2.4 Group Challenges: Parental Involvement

Although El Centro de Cultura had been operating since 1999, this period had not been trouble-free. During fieldwork there were seven families participating more or less regularly, but only five of them were long-time members and only three were active in the group at the time. There were three non-Spanish speaking families whose children attended classes, but they did not get involved at all. According to Mrs. Pérez, one of these mothers only came once a year to pay her annual fee of $50, which she found unfair. Without exception, all five families interviewed had many concerns, opinions and hopes regarding the future of the group. Some thought that meeting for one hour only was not enough. They also thought that the meeting time, 4:00-5:00 p.m., was inconvenient for many families. The biggest challenge the group faced at the time, however, was attracting, keeping and getting new members involved. Mrs. Pérez found it mind-boggling that at $50 a year, the group struggled to have enough members and felt that there was not enough interest in the community to maintain the language:

I think that whether a child maintains the language is a matter of the parents insisting and demonstrating interest; and often parents aren’t interested. I think this association should even have a waiting list, but it’s not the case, they’re not interested. (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06-TR5.45)

Over the years people just came and went. Mrs. Pérez also explained that people came in waves. They had several new members in September 2006, but they left in December. They got another group in January 2007, but they did not last long. Mrs. Pérez often wondered whether people did not appreciate it for being so low-cost.

The current parent-teachers had been in charge of the activities for many years and all of them felt “tired and burned out” (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06; Mrs. Ibarra, Interview: 03/22/06). They explained that they would really like to be relieved and get a break for a while. All three teachers had paying jobs outside their homes, were housewives, and took care of their own children, so they found it difficult to continue. They stated that it required a lot of commitment, effort and sacrifice and the only reason
they continued was because of the positive benefits they obtained. They also had many ideas they would like to incorporate into the group, but needed more volunteers to implement them. They would like to recruit new volunteers with initiative and willingness to donate a little time every week in order to make the group stronger. Mrs. Ibarra summed up the vision of most participating families:

Well, I would like there to be more volunteers that are willing to come with different ideas, with new ideas, to also make it, as I say, more cultural, not solely learning the language, that there were more classes, more teachers, and for the group to grow. (Mrs. Ibarra, Interview: 03/22/06-TR5.46)

The current members started in the group when their children were babies, many years before, and their children had grown up participating in the group activities. That was one of the reasons why many of the children found it so natural to attend and be part of the group, because they had gotten accustomed to the same routine their whole lives. In an interview in May 2006 Mrs. Pérez talked about an idea she had at the time:

In fact this week two different families with babies have called me. So, something that could be done is to loosely follow Mother Goose’s style and create a Mother Goose in Spanish because they’re young couples who I really know would like it very much. And that’s only a matter of doing a little research on songs and poems and organizing it. It’s easy and in today’s world with the Internet it’s even easier, it’s something I have in mind, perhaps to attract new blood to the group because it’s precisely when you have babies that you have more time you can dedicate, because we [all women] all started when our children were babies. (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06-TR5.47)

The idea of organizing a Mother Goose program in Spanish came to fruition in September 2006 and in Spring 2007 it had six families in attendance under Mrs. Ibarra’s leadership. If things continue the way they were at the time with this new group, Mrs. Pérez’s dream of recruiting new blood to produce a new generation of volunteer group leaders just might come true.

5.3 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have examined some of the issues the Ruedas-Blanco family faced in relation to Spanish maintenance. I have done so by examining the circumstances, ideologies and practices affecting the language socialization of their children, both in the home and outside the home. The family constructed Spanish maintenance as important for their children’s future employment opportunities. However, the most important reasons they held pointed toward an increased appreciation for the value and beauty of the Spanish language and as an enhancement of their Hispanic cultural identities. As a
family with strong ties to their home country, Peru, they also seemed to hold transnational identities. Moreover, the identities they attempted to socialize the children into also considered the other languages and cultures of the community as having a significant role in their identity development. In order to promote the above goals, the family engaged the children in various language and literacy activities at home, although at times, tensions and resistance surfaced during the process of the children’s socialization to the home language rules.

I have also described the characteristics of El Centro de Cultura, a group in which the Ruedas-Blanco family’s children participated. The types of language socialization that these and other children were exposed to in the group, with some exceptions, reflected a school-like Spanish as a foreign language class. These activities did not seem to be geared to preparing them for significant communicative ability. Furthermore, the teachers in the group seemed to be socializing the children to the pedagogical style in which they were instructed in their own countries of origin.28 Some of the socialization practices that were prevalent in the group activities included teacher authoritarianism and student agency as well as student alignment and misalignment with the teacher. Moreover, there was evidence of unexpected socialization outcomes in the activities, such as the construction of some students as experts at certain times, which contributed to an enhancement of their self-esteem. Additionally, there appeared to be some occasional resistance on the part of the children to the enforcing of the language rules. I have also argued that the parents seemed to value their group participation and the social relations that it fostered. Many considered the members of the group as their family in the absence of a family network and relied strongly on their support.

28 This seems common in many heritage language programs in the United States and Canada (see e.g., He, 2004), likely the result of the teachers’ lack of language teaching training in this context, despite their good intentions to contribute to heritage language transmission.
Chapter 6
AGUIRRE-RAMÍREZ FAMILY AND LA CASA AMISTAD:
FOCUS ON ARTS

I think that by creating an avenue for another language, one is broadening the options for other languages. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.7)

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the last of three individual cases: the Aguirre-Ramírez family and La Casa Amistad. As with the two preceding chapters, I first present an overview of the family’s history and circumstances. Then I present a thematic and discourse analysis of the data, highlighting issues of language, culture and identity. In the second part I introduce La Casa Amistad, a small group of middle-class families living in one of the most affluent areas of Metro Vancouver, who met weekly to transmit the language and culture to their children through arts and crafts-based activities. I introduce the members of the group and report on the analysis of interview and other interactional data with an eye to documenting, describing, explicating and understanding the factors affecting the language and literacy development of the children through a language socialization lens. Throughout my analysis two themes persistently emerged. The first was a construction of L1 maintenance as a bridge between their children’s past and future. The second was a conscious effort on the part of Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez to socialize their children as transnational or global citizens.

6.1 Family Background

Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez were middle-aged professionals from the upper-middle class of Mexico City. The Aguirre-Ramírez family consisted of five members: Mr. Ramírez, his wife Mrs. Aguirre, and three girls: Perla, Florencia and Penelope (see Table 6.1). The four older Aguirre-Ramírez members came from Mexico around the summer of 2001, and Penelope, the youngest, was born in Vancouver in 2002. In many ways they were not typical Hispanic immigrants. First of all, they were a privileged, transnational family. Additionally, Mr. Ramírez’s mother had lived in Vancouver since 1986, and had been married to an Anglo-Canadian man, Mr. Ramírez’s stepfather. Because of this connection to Vancouver, Mr. Ramírez had visited the city many times
before immigrating and knew it well. Moreover, having studied in a private bilingual school from kindergarten to grade 12, Mr. Ramírez was already fluent in English when he arrived, which occurred six months ahead of Mrs. Aguirre and the two girls. The family had decided that Mr. Ramírez would precede them in order to find employment and secure suitable accommodation. He found accommodation on the West Side, one of Vancouver’s affluent neighbourhoods. Mr. Ramírez started working for the Vancouver branch of a Swiss chain of specialty stores in 2001 shortly after immigrating, and was soon promoted to the position of Retail and Corporate Sales Manager, a position that he still held in summer 2007.

Table 6.1: Aguirre-Ramírez Family Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin: Mexico</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of arrival in Canada: 2001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mrs. Gracia Aguirre</th>
<th>Mr. Orlando Ramírez</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year of birth: 1961</td>
<td>Year of birth: 1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of formal education: 16 (Psychology)</td>
<td>Years of formal education: 16 (Architecture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current occupation: Stay at home mother</td>
<td>Current occupation: Sales Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English proficiency: Intermediate</td>
<td>English proficiency: Fluent/near-native</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children: 3 girls
Penelope: 2
Florencia: 5
Perla: 6

Mrs. Aguirre described the initial adaptation experiences of the family as typical to those of other immigrants. They participated in activities, joined weekly support groups and attended drop-in meetings at community centres and places of that sort, in an attempt to learn the local customs and perhaps also to build a social network.

According to Mr. Ramírez, his own adjustment to life in Vancouver was rather seamless. The girls apparently did not have much trouble adjusting either. Both parents explained that the girls struggled for a short time with the language, but otherwise learned it quickly from television and their initial school experiences where they reportedly made friends quickly and found their place in a group of peers at school without much trouble.
However, Mrs. Aguirre reported having struggled tremendously during the first two years in Vancouver. Coming from a large family, she found it very distressing not having her network of extended family and friends. Mr. Ramírez, when referring to this period, stated that the first two years in Canada “were very difficult for her. She cried daily” (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 05/21/05-TR6.1). Additionally, since her English was not very strong, she felt isolated and helpless. She realized at that time that she could have created opportunities for English practice with the girls, but did not do so. She stated:

The girls are perfectly bilingual. My English is still very limited. I could have benefited from my girls in order to improve my English, but my gain could have been their loss. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/21/05-TR6.2)

She asserted that her gain in English skills could mean a loss in Spanish proficiency for the girls and she was just not willing to make that trade-off. For Mrs. Aguirre, socializing the girls into an appropriate linguistic behavior, which for the family also meant fluency in Spanish, was a far more important goal than using the girls to assist her in her own socialization into English use.

Perla, the oldest of the girls, had not turned seven yet when Phase I of data collection began in April 2005. When she was interviewed for the last time in October 2006 she was already a nine-year old 4th grader at the local elementary school. Florencia, the middle child, was only five at the beginning of the study and was about to turn eight at the end of the study. One of Florencia’s passions, unlike Perla’s, was reading. Mrs. Aguirre made it clear that between Perla and Florencia, Florencia was much more interested in reading, in either language. Penelope was two years and five months old at that time. She also read, but in her own way. Penelope’s understanding had been that reading was done in English, so whenever she picked up a book she went “houses, houses, houses, houses” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 10/16/05-original in English), although toward the end of fieldwork, she had already started to “read” in Spanish or in a combination of both languages.

In Spring 2007 Penelope was starting to speak both languages, though in a mixed fashion. Although her language was developing and slowly becoming more structured, she sometimes still spoke using an invented language (a type of interlanguage). Mrs. Aguirre described finding it very interesting to observe Penelope when people around her were speaking other languages. She seemed fascinated by this and thought that it was a
game they were playing and that was why she started making up her own language. When she spoke to Mrs. Aguirre in this language, Mrs. Aguirre had to remind her to speak to her either in Spanish or English, but not in an “invented language” because she did not understand her. Then Penelope would exclaim: “Spanish?” and Mrs. Aguirre answered: “yes, in Spanish or in English, because I don’t understand when you speak your own” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/21/05-TR6.3). Although Mrs. Aguirre consistently demanded Spanish, especially from the older children, in this quote she appeared to display some flexibility.

6.1.1 Language Socialization Practices at Home

Mrs. Aguirre maintained a Spanish-only rule at home. When the girls moved to Canada at the ages of two and a half and four they already spoke Spanish well. The family attributed the relative ease with which they learned English to the fact that they already had a solid foundation in L1. Mrs. Aguirre remembered that shortly after their arrival, people started to question their decision to still speak Spanish to the girls, but apparently, they were immovable in their stance: “People can lecture us, but we are going to continue emphasizing they keep speaking Spanish” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.4). The family made a deliberate and firm decision to create and maintain a rich Spanish language socialization milieu in which the girls could develop their Spanish language and literacy abilities. The following excerpt is a typical example of the type of language behavior that was expected and demanded from Penelope and the other two girls (Mrs. A=Mrs. Aguirre):

[Excerpt 6.1]

```
1 Mrs. A:  que es eso Flo-Penelope?
2 Penelope:  es un (0.2) paper=
3 Mrs. A:  =es un QUE?=  
4 Penelope:  =un “paper” (xx[x)
5 Mrs. A:       [no entiendo
6 Penelope: (xxxx)
```

Translation

```
1 Mrs. A:  what is that Flo-Penelope?
2 Penelope:  it’s a (0.2) paper=
3 Mrs. A: =it’s a WHAT?=  
4 Penelope: =a “paper” (xx[x)
5 Mrs. A:       [I don’t understand
6 Penelope: (xxxx)
```
In this extract, Mrs. Aguirre was making a clear attempt at reinforcing the Spanish-only rule at home. The ways in which the children were constantly being socialized into a particular linguistic behavior varied along an implicit-explicit continuum. Sometimes she only modeled the expected behavior and other times she offered recasts. In this particular interaction, it is clear that she was not interested in the content of three-year old Penelope’s utterances, but in the code she used. Mrs. Aguirre started the interaction by asking Penelope what it was she had in her hand. In line 2, Penelope seemed to struggle momentarily just before producing paper, an indication that she might have been unsuccessfully looking for the word papel in Spanish. In line 3 Mrs. Aguirre spoke immediately after Penelope used the English word paper, which Mrs. Aguirre did not accept. Instead, she attempted to encourage her to use the right Spanish word, raising her voice in the word WHAT?, indicating emphasis. In her reply, Penelope again used the word paper and was still talking, possibly explaining what it was she had in her hand. However, as soon as Penelope pronounced paper, failing to self-repair, Mrs. Aguirre decided that she had heard enough. She only seemed interested in Penelope’s code choice, evidenced in her overlap in line 5. There was no uptake of the message on her part once she had made her point through an implicit directive (I don’t understand). Given that this was a common occurrence, the implicature (Levinson, 1983) of Mrs. Aguirre’s utterance was an explicit directive to display a particular language behavior and to socialize to certain linguistic ideologies. This extract illustrates how in the family, the language socialization process was not straightforward. It was complex and marked by non-conformity, intentional or not, which created tensions and interrupted the natural flow of communication, in this case, between a mother and her three-year old daughter. It also indicates how more expert others sanction, reject and contest the emergent identities of children in relation to language use (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002).

However, while the decision to maintain and use Spanish in the family was made from the very beginning, Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez also expressed a strong belief in the advantages of having two languages. As Mrs. Aguirre asserted “if they have three or four [languages] it will be better” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.5). In our interviews and other interactions it became evident that both Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez valued bilingualism and multilingualism. When referring to one of her
daughters, Mrs. Aguirre explained:

Perhaps she is not the most brilliant girl in school. She does quite well. However she is not the star of the school, but this girl is learning two languages. And that is very valuable. She is walking two paths. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/21/05-TR6.6)

According to her, the fact that her daughters were growing up with at least two languages was far more important than whether they excelled in school or not.29 Elaborating on the reasons for pursuing their goals more specifically, the family also addressed the transferability of skills from one language to another as evidenced in this quote by Mrs. Aguirre: “I think that by creating an avenue for another language, one is broadening the options for other languages.” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.7)

6.1.1.1 Socializing Linguistic and Cultural Awareness

Bilingualism and multilingualism had a high place in their value system, but this was part of a larger belief system that included not only a strong interest in raising linguistic and cultural awareness within the family with a strong emphasis on Spanish and Latin American culture, but also on valuing all languages and cultures equally. Mr. Ramírez, for instance, declared that the family was interested in transmitting and reinforcing the notion that there is more to language than just Spanish. They wanted the girls to really understand “that it is not only Spanish. There are other languages” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.8). Language and cultural awareness seemed intricately tied to their cultural values and belief systems, as well as to their social position, which at the same time influenced the cultural patterns and ways of behaving that the girls were socialized into, nurturing and shaping their evolving identities.

It appears that the main thrust in the family was to raise children who were aware of their roots and proud of who they were. At the same time, they wanted them to value the place where they lived, the languages that were spoken and the cultures that were practiced in that milieu. Mrs. Aguirre believed that the girls’ experiences were enriched …by all the opportunities they have to coexist with different people from different countries and I think that in some form it always leads them to think about their own, in what we customarily do, in everything we intend to do, no? I think the challenge Orlando [Mr. Ramírez] is referring to, that they maintain ours [our culture] and assimilate the positive aspects of other cultures and learn to respect different [cultures]…that is what I think is the base, that is, the theory here in Canada is one that holds that you respect other

29 Based on interviews and observations, a more nuanced depiction of the families’ goals would highlight the pursuit of a balance between multilingual development and school success.
individuals as they are, their beliefs, their behaviours, as long as you DO NOT interfere in your…not in your space, rather that does not harm others, what liberty is, to be free and to do what you… where you want to go, but without harming others, so I think that aspect is very, very enriching for them. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 04/15/06-TR6.9)

Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez’s cultural beliefs reflected their understanding of Canadian multiculturalism, one in which all the different cultures ideally co-habit in the same geographical and socio-politico-cultural space, without interfering with one another’s cultural practices. Living in such an environment—a cultural market of sorts—the family members could choose to take what appealed to them and discard the rest. The parents felt that the children would benefit from a socialization that allowed them to value all cultures, but at the same time, to feel proud of their own roots, holistically raising children that they appeared to describe as more emotionally-stable human beings:

All this reinforces that emotional aspect and I think that in the long run it can, I hope, foster human beings that are more secure, stronger and prouder of themselves, but in addition, who are interested in others. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.10)

In other words, they felt that the maintenance of their own cultural roots and an appreciation of other cultures was the ideal balance with which to grow up:

Maybe that is the challenge, no? Because it would indeed be sad if they lost these traditions as a result of absorbing others and not because some are necessarily better than others, no, rather because these traditions stem from their roots, no? So, that is the challenge, perhaps that the girls, uh, maintain that open spirit, no? So they absorb everything they are experiencing in their surroundings, but without losing their roots and the traditions they brought or that we have in Mexico, no? (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 04/15/06-TR6.11)

So as part of that process of awareness raising, culturally and linguistically, in Canada’s multicultural context, the children, and to some extent the adults, might have been developing syncretic identities that were, in many ways, unlike those of their counterparts either in Mexico or in Canada. The family seemed to embrace and value this as a better way:

…and I think it is much more enriching. At first it can become confusing, and that is why I think it is the challenge, to achieve the integration of what we as a family, not only them, assimilate from that diversity. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 04/15/06-TR6.12)

In their efforts to transmit the Latin American culture, they also maintained an awareness of the complexities of cultures in general, and of perceived positive and negative aspects of cultures. Mrs. Aguirre explained that they

…do not want to give them a solely nostalgic impression of the country, no. Because that
which is absent is always perfect. So, I do not want it to be unrealistic, but because I do not want it to be unrealistic, I do not want them to only know the negative aspects or the positive ones, rather a complete picture. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.13)

This suggests that the family had reflected on this point and had reached an understanding that in their particular situation, the commitment should be to transmit the culture to the children, as it was, without glorifying it. Additionally, the values that the family espoused reflected a view that being Canadian meant embracing an affiliation to a broader identity beyond that of Latin American. Mr. Ramírez concluded with a question that he also answered: “What does it mean to be Canadian? To be a citizen of the world” (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.14). This indicates that the family attempted to socialize the children to identities as global citizens.

6.1.2 Language and Cultural Maintenance: The Construction of L1

The family’s motivations for promoting the maintenance of the language and culture were manifold. Mrs. Aguirre often commented that she was having a hard time learning the English language, but did not want her daughters to struggle with the Spanish language in the future, especially if it was something they could then have for free. As she told me:

One learns in one’s own skin [through one’s own lived experiences]. And since it has been very difficult for me, I do not want it to be difficult for them. It is wonderful to be able to speak more languages. I do not want them to miss that opportunity when they have it for free. Free! (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.15)

Speaking more languages was seen as an important asset, which Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez often alluded to and they held this as one of their motivations to maintain Spanish. In a different interview, Mrs. Aguirre elaborated on the families’ motivations to promote language maintenance:

Number one: maintain communication with family, including mom, dad, sisters and the family you left in Mexico. Even if some of them learn English skills in school, it is not the same. Family communication. Secondly: the opportunity you create for someone to learn another language. It opens many doors. I think avoiding or not allowing them or not fostering an environment for learning two languages is like saying, well not quite as drastic as saying, “do not use both legs, only use one.” “Hey, but I can walk better with two.” “Yes, but you can also walk with one! I can give you a crutch and you can walk.” If you are capable of doing it, why waste something you already have. Plus, it can be used to their advantage in the future when they grow up, in their line of work. It allows you to be more mobile. These are the two motivations that stimulate us to encourage them to maintain the language. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.16)
Mrs. Aguirre addressed at least three key points in this quote. In the first point Mrs. Aguirre referred to the importance of family. This is an issue that was prevalent in all of the interviews and in relation to various other issues. This, like many other points, I revisit later in this chapter. In the next point, she reaffirmed her earlier point regarding why they would not choose to keep something they already had. The language was already shared by the family and the girls already had it as part of their familial and cultural heritage. She found it inconceivable to deny the girls something that was already theirs. She equated this with asking them to walk using one leg when they could do it perfectly with two. It would not be quite as efficient or elegant, but it could be done, if somewhat awkwardly. She appeared to hint that not passing on the language and culture would be tantamount to stealing from her own children, robbing them of their heritage.

In the last point, she echoed the feelings of so many other families before her who had described how they expected their children’s bilingual development to become an advantage for them in the future, especially in terms of employability. Others, like Mrs. Aguirre, had used the “door” metaphor to refer to the opportunities that bilingualism, and perhaps multilingualism, would give their children, not only in terms of employment and other economic benefits, but also in terms of benefits related to the affective domain, such as a strengthened self-identity and self-esteem, a broader worldview, and a more flexible and synergistic way of thinking. On several occasions, the family referred to these and other benefits. In an interview, Mrs. Aguirre stated, for instance, that having an additional language “has direct repercussions for the emotional aspect. They feel secure” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.17). Other times they referred to opening the cultural “door” of the mind as well, and how having more than one language and culture “gives them another colour, another flavour…another kind of learning…a different feel” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 04/15/06-TR6.18). In other words, it gave them a unique brand of identity, outlook on life and way of relating with others.

6.1.3 Spanish Literacy

The older Aguirre-Ramírez girls were quite proficient in reading and writing in Spanish. This was evident both in the written language samples collected (see Appendix F), as well as in my observations. In our interviews, both Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez stated that their goal was for the girls to
...have the ability to understand and speak it...and write it. That is the last part and it is possibly the one we will have to pay the most attention to. Right now they speak and understand it, but writing is what requires more work. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.19)

It is an ability that is easily lost. Even if you do not speak it, you will always understand it. The second level is that you can also speak it. But the fact that you can speak it does not mean you will be able to write it. Therefore, that is the third ability and we would like for it not to be lost. (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.20)

They made it clear that they wanted their children to understand it, speak it and write it, and that it was with writing that they had the most trouble. They felt that it was easy to lose writing ability and for that reason they wanted to emphasize that area. The family seemed quite confident about the girls’ maintenance of the language, but appeared to view literacy as the “final frontier” to conquer.

Penelope was also interested in reading. When she was younger she would pick up a book and pretend to be reading it in English, when in fact she was mostly inventing the vocabulary. Recently, she often picked up a book and ‘read’ it in English, then she asked Mrs. Aguirre or Mr. Ramírez to read it in Spanish, then she asked them to read it in English, then she asked them to tell her the story in Spanish.

6.1.4  Realistic Expectations

Although the parents stated that they would like to see the girls develop a high level of Spanish literacy, they were aware that it was not realistic in this context and had decided that

...we are not going to ask them to have the same level of Spanish writing proficiency as children in Mexico because I think it is very difficult. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.21)

They wanted them to develop a high command of English language and literacy, because they will live and study in this context. They would like to give them the tools, the basics, in Spanish so they could build on it when they had the opportunity or the need to do so in the future. If they studied in Mexico or in another Spanish-language context in the future, “they will not have to struggle very much with that. They will practice a little and they will learn quickly” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.22). Because the family spent two months in Mexico every summer, they brought books and other materials when they returned. Before their trip in the summer of 2006, Mrs. Aguirre had already planned to bring a series of books that was being used in the Mexican school system, so that they
could follow them at home.

6.1.5 The Effect of the Mexico Trips on Home Language Socialization

The family’s most significant shared activity was their annual visit to Mexico. They saw this as an exceptional situation for the family to spend time with their large extended family in Mexico; it was an opportunity that many other families with similar language and maintenance goals did not enjoy. For them, it was a regular routine that for the past five years—almost as long as the girls’ lives—they had taken them at the same time, to the same place, to do the same thing: spend time with the family. It was an event that the girls anticipated with excitement and it was also by far the most important mechanism for the girls’ language maintenance. In an interview in April 2005 I was asking the girls about their language behavior when they brought up the topic of Mexico (Martín=interviewer):

[Excerpt 6.2]

1 Martín: ¿que se hablan más ustedes, inglés o español?
2 Perla: inglés=
3 Florencia: =los dos
4 Martín: los dos y les gusta mucho el español?
5 Florencia: [sí
6 Perla: [sí
7 Martín: ¿Y porque piensan que...piensan que les va a servir
8 cuando estén más grandes hablar bien español?
9 Perla: podemos ir a Canadá y a México
10 Florencia: ¿y te digo porque me gusta más México= :
11 Martín: =¿porque= 
12 Florencia: ¿que aquí?
13 Martín: sí
14 Florencia: porque
15 Perla: allí
16 Florencia: allí tengo a todos mis primos

Translation

1 Martín: What do you speak most to each other, English or
2 Perla: Spanish=
3 Florencia: =both of them
4 Martín: both and do you like Spanish a lot?
5 Florencia: [yes
6 Perla: [yes
7 Martín: and why do you think—do you think that it will be
8 useful when you are older to speak Spanish well?
9 Perla: we can go to Canada and to Mexico
10 Florencia: Can I tell you why I like Mexico better= :
11 Martín: =why= 
12 Florencia: =than here?
In response to my initial question about what language they spoke with each other they replied: “both of them” (Interview: 05/21/05-TR6.23), echoing Zentella’s (1997) young participants’ replies in New York’s El Barrio. In line 5, I asked them whether they liked Spanish and both responded affirmatively and at the same time. What led to their comments about Mexico was my question about why they thought Spanish would be useful in the future. First they referred to the possibility that Spanish gave them to communicate both in Canada and in Mexico, signaling the internalization of multicultural, transnational identities particularly in association with Spanish. Then in line 11, Florencia offered to reveal why she liked Mexico better, explaining that her cousins lived there. This suggests that the girls had a strong connection and affiliation to their family in Mexico, which undoubtedly had a strong influence on their socialization to speak Spanish and display a Latin American cultural identity.

The family members valued the socialization experiences that their trips to Mexico offered and explained that these trips were the centre of their annual cycle. For them one cycle ended in Mexico and a new one began in Vancouver in September upon their return. The girls’ Spanish was at its highest when they returned and over the following months it slowly decreased, until they received, in Mrs. Aguirre’s words, their next “Spanish injection” the following summer. Mrs. Aguirre described the incentives and interest of the girls during their stays in Mexico and the effects of these stays on the girls’ Spanish, especially at the end of the cycle when it became a struggle to keep them from switching to English:

It is as though every year they take an intensive course solely in Spanish because there nobody speaks to them in English, nobody. During the whole year when we are here, or during the ten months we are here, you can see the process through which Spanish gets left behind. Now it is problematic. It is a challenge. “Here, you speak to me in Spanish.” I have especially emphasized it to them, in Spanish...“and I do not understand.” And since they know I do not speak well, for them it is real. But, since they see I sometimes speak when we are out they say, “you do understand.” So, I say, “yes, yes, I understand, but if you do not speak in Spanish I will only get one ticket to Mexico, not four.30 Because in Mexico nobody will understand you in English.” It is like an incentive, or perhaps a

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30 Mr. Ramírez was usually not included as he had to work, but he sometimes joined them in Mexico for part of the time.
threat…so that they speak it, do you know what I mean? They love it, they are looking forward to it. They have a great time. They want to do it. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/21/05-TR6.24)

In general, the language policy at home was Spanish-only, but this was not enforced at all times. As is the case in many immigrant families, a combination of both languages was usually used. Figure 6.1 illustrates the language use patterns in the home (Oct./06). Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez spoke Spanish to the girls all the time. The girls spoke Spanish to them most of the time. Among themselves, Florencia and Perla tended to use English, especially during play, although they were often reminded to use Spanish. To Penelope, however, the girls tended to use Spanish because otherwise she did not understand them.

![Language Use Patterns in the Aguirre-Ramírez Family](image)

**Figure 6.1: Patterns of Language use in the Aguirre-Ramírez Family**

These language patterns were affected by variables such as the time of year, the interactants, and the context, among others. For instance, it was not unusual for them to start speaking in English to Mrs. Aguirre right after they got home from school, because
according to her, they still had not “changed the tape in their brains” (Interview: 10/22/05-TR6.25). This was especially so when there had been a significant incident that the girls were excited about and wanted to tell their parents quickly.

Toward the end of the summer of 2005, the girls were already talking to Mrs. Aguirre and asking her questions in English fairly frequently, especially Florencia. She would remind them right away to keep talking, but in Spanish. According to Mrs. Aguirre, even in the first few weeks in Mexico they would talk, and even fight, in English. She recalled an incident soon after their arrival in Mexico that year when Florencia and Perla had gotten into an argument, in English. She witnessed the whole exchange, but did not understand what had happened. She asked the girls and, still in the excitement of the moment, they tried to tell her what each had said to the other and it proved quite confusing. Perla reacted by turning to Florencia and saying: “We had better fight again in Spanish” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 10/16/05-TR6.26), ending the conflict with her comment. Upon their return in September, they were still having their arguments in Spanish. There was no doubt that the girls had a high level of Spanish proficiency and seemed comfortable switching between Spanish and English. Mr. Ramírez agreed: “…they have practically conquered the Spanish language orally” (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 10/16/05-TR6.27). However, in the family the issue of the girls’ dominant language was still open to debate. In order to answer a question about the dominant language of the girls in the initial pre-interview questionnaire, Mr. Ramírez asked Mrs. Aguirre, prompting the following exchange between Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez, which illustrates this point (Mrs. A=Mrs. Aguirre; Mr. R=Mr. Ramírez):

[Excerpt 6.3]

Mr. R: ¿Cual es el idioma dominante para las niñas?
Mrs. A: español
Mr. R: ¿español? ¿Segura?
Mrs. A: Segura
Mr. R: ¿Aunque lo hablen 20% del tiempo?
Mrs. A: No, sigue siendo español
Mr. R: ¿Aunque no lo escriban (.) aunque escriban mejor el inglés que el español?
Mrs. A: No, pero sigue siendo su canal (.) mira, en la escuela pasan cinco horas=
Mr. R: =Sí, y hablan puro inglés
Mrs. A: Y en su casa pasan el resto del día=
Mr. R: =Pero, pero entre Florencia y Perla hablan inglés (.) si no las detenemos
Mrs. A: Sí, pero conmigo hablan todo el tiempo el español, y
This interaction was characterized by two strong and competing stances regarding the dominant language of the two older girls, Florencia and Perla. In response to Mr. Ramírez’s question, all of Mrs. Aguirre’s turns focused on asserting the dominance of Spanish in the girls’ linguistic economy. On the other hand, all of Mr. Ramírez’s utterances pointed toward English being the dominant language, countering Mrs. Aguirre’s affirmations and assessments and expressing skepticism about her assertions and explanations.

The spoken and written Spanish of the girls, as in the case of the other case-study children, was very high (see Appendix F for elicited written language samples). Their Spanish literacy was not age-appropriate, but sufficiently comprehensible. Their oral production was native-like and could suggest their dominant language was Spanish. However, perhaps it did not matter whether English or Spanish was their dominant language at that point. It might even have shifted from one to the other, especially through the effect of the stays in Mexico, or even from moment to moment, as when they returned from school. What seemed to matter the most to the family was that the girls were capable of using both languages effectively in the contexts where they lived. As Mr. Ramírez hinted, there seemed to be a fine line between the two languages, possibly also
blurring the definition of first language, mother tongue and second language. This indexes the subjective and complex nature of the parents’ perceptions and perspectives about bilingualism, which supports the notion that language socialization is a fluid, unstable and changeable process.

6.1.6 The Role of School in the Children’s Language Socialization

There can be no doubt that the annual stays in Mexico had a strong influence on the girls’ proficiency in Spanish, together with the strengthening of their home cultural identity. Conversely, school had a strong influence on the predominance of English and ‘Canadian’ culture in several ways.

Although the family, and more specifically Mrs. Aguirre, would like to engage the girls in home literacy activities more intensively, they felt that they already had many school-related reading and writing activities at home, which did not leave much room for extra literacy work in Spanish. The books that they had brought from Mexico had not been used as much as they would like. Mr. Ramírez explained that they did not want to overload the girls:

What they are lacking here, Martín, is activities; number one in reading, and number two in writing. That is where they are lacking. And we have not forced them much because the time they spend on those kinds of activities is normally on homework, reading books for school, but we still have to find a way for them to do it without it representing something onerous to them, right? That is why Family Centre serves that function, because although it is only once per week… (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 10/16/05-TR6.28)

However, this does not mean that Spanish literacy was completely precluded in the home. When Perla started pre-school, Mrs. Aguirre decided not to start her on Spanish literacy yet for fear of confusing her, although she was very eager to do it, but fortuitously, one day Perla asked her how to write her own name, then she also wanted to know more about the letters in her name, and answers to other questions. Mrs. Aguirre was happy to teach Perla and Florencia the basics of Spanish writing and reading at that time. Because Mrs. Aguirre’s background was in Educational Psychology and ECE, she started doing activities that she used to do with the children she taught in Mexico.

The girls appeared to enjoy school a great deal. They reported that they mostly talked and played in English in school, except when they wanted to tell a secret. Although at home and in La Casa Amistad Mrs. Aguirre insisted that they played in Spanish, she had a different attitude about play in school, out of consideration for others:
“I do not like the girls to play in Spanish at school. It seems disrespectful” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/21/05-TR6.29). According to Mr. Ramírez, school was the great homogenizer. He felt that no matter where children came from, through the school’s strong socializing force, the children tended to subscribe to a more or less standardized culture and behaviour, which was something the family did not resist entirely, and very often the girls brought that culture home to their younger sister. Arguably, the most open exponent of the school culture that was brought home was the language and the parents had to constantly remind the children that they were home where Spanish was the rule.

Although school was a strong assimilative force, the parents felt that it also provided unique opportunities to highlight the home culture. In spring 2006 Florencia had a school project that consisted of preparing and presenting an aspect of family life that showcased their home culture. The project’s objective appeared to be to turn students into cultural ambassadors. The project could be related to food, special occasions and activities, dress, or any other aspect that represented the home culture and gave the family cultural pride. Mrs. Aguirre felt that it was a wonderful idea to create such projects which highlighted the children’s cultures and showed what contributions the children and their families made to the shaping of a Canadian identity.

Florencia decided to do her project on typical dresses made by a group of Mexican aboriginals, the Masaguas. As part of the project, Florencia had to write parts of her script in order to describe what the clothes she would be wearing represented. Perla became interested in the project as well and wanted to do a similar project, but instead, she was invited to participate in Florencia’s project by helping with some of the writing and decision-making. Mrs. Aguirre spent a significant amount of time working with them, giving them the necessary information and taking the opportunity to teach the whole family about aspects of Mexican history that had to do with the aboriginal people and their way of life before and after the arrival of Europeans. Penelope got excited about it as well and ended up dressing up and going along with Florencia the day of the presentation. Mrs. Aguirre commented that she appreciated that schools promoted those kinds of projects and activities that helped the children value their cultures and “feel genuinely PROUD of their origins” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.30). Despite the well-founded belief that schools were strong assimilative forces for immigrants, it
appears that this particular school project, rather than alienating the children from their own cultures, created opportunities for reinforcing their identities—socializing them into first culture identities—and involving the whole family, providing a powerful school-home connection.

To conclude the first part of this chapter, the Aguirre-Ramírez family had a strong commitment to the transmission of the language to their children, which could not be separated from their efforts in the maintenance of the culture. Their motivations, objectives, visions, attitudes, and strategies were best summed up by Mr. Ramírez:

Our final objective is for them to learn Spanish. That they learn to express themselves, they learn to read it, they learn to write it. On the other hand, we do not want them to lose their cultural roots and family. The most important, the most important work we have in order to achieve this is that it not become a conflict. To be subtle in how we pressure them. That they know it is a constant pressure, but without it generating a reaction against it. Not only that they do not lose it, but that they realize at some point that it is important to know two or more languages. (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.31)

6.2 La Casa Amistad

In the first part of this chapter, I focused on the Aguirre-Ramírez family. I described their ideologies and practices in relation to Spanish language and Hispanic culture and analyzed the language socialization aims as well as processes in the family interactions. Recurring themes included the family’s efforts to socialize the children to transnational identities and their construction of L1 maintenance as a bridge between the children’s past and future. In the second part, I show how these themes played out outside the home, specifically, in La Casa Amistad, the grassroots group in which the family participated along with other families. I examine how the parents in the group attempted to socialize their children into global citizens and into pan-ethnic Hispanic identities with high levels of Spanish language and literacy abilities. These goals were pursued through the use of arts and crafts-based activities designed and conducted by the parents and by occasional hired teachers.

6.2.1 Brief History

La Casa Amistad was formed by a mother, Mrs. Bedward, in September 2004, with the first official Casa Amistad session taking place on September 29. Mrs. Bedward was an attorney, part-Mexican, part-Canadian, who had been raised in Canada. She was married to a fourth-generation Japanese-Canadian and they lived in an affluent
Vancouver neighbourhood. She spoke Spanish well, although she explained she was not comfortable writing it. She took the initiative to start the group when she started worrying that her then four-year old son was not developing Spanish. Mrs. Bedward contacted friends who were also interested in their children’s bilingual development and cultural awareness and before long a group of six families was formed.

The six families from various Spanish-speaking backgrounds started meeting for about two hours after school once a week. The meeting space was rented for $25.00 per session and each of the families contributed $30.00 a month. This contribution covered supplies, the cost of hiring a teacher (at $30 per hour) for one hour every two weeks and the rental of a house-type centre for families called Family Centre (a pseudonym).

According to Mrs. Aguirre, this centre was ideal for their objectives because it provided a place where they could have a “family experience”:

It’s great because we rent this place, which is a house; it’s a house! You go into the kitchen and the children can have their snacks there before starting their work; before playing. It’s a house!!! It’s not a hall. This adds even more to the experience; you go in and go “wow!” …you enter the house and exclaim “where’s auntie, is she in the kitchen?”…in other words, it’s a family experience. It’s like granny’s house without granny. It’s great. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.32)

The non-profit organization that rented the space to the group described the place as “a resource centre for families with young children to meet, make new friends, gain a sense of community, and receive ongoing support and assistance in an effort to raise healthy, happy children.” Although the Amistad families met and conducted their activities independently from Family Centre, the space seemed fitting to the goals of La Casa Amistad. The setting and equipment available to them made it a welcoming place for families, especially those with small children.

The Group’s mission statement, written in English by Mrs. Bedward in September, 2004, read: “Mission Statement - purpose is to meet regularly to pass Spanish speaking language and culture to our children.” Elaborating on her mission statement, Mrs. Bedward explained that her idea was to get other people involved, who could help her by teaching her and her children, and other families’ children, Spanish through a variety of activities. According to her, because she left Mexico when she was seven years old, she did not know the type of activities that would be suitable for the group. In her words: “I was trying to get together a group to create the cultural contacts and the cultural
environment, and the child-centred play environment that would bring that knowledge back into my life and back into theirs” (Mrs. Bedward, Interview: 02/18/06-original in English). In order to accomplish these goals, Mrs. Bedward proposed a number of activities to the original six families that met for the first time, including arts and crafts, a book club, games, songs, birthdays celebrations, and themed activities such as Día de Muertos, Navidad, and Día de Reyes, among others. She also proposed a simple division of labour, assigning jobs to different parents. The jobs included such customary roles as treasurer, accountant and membership manager.

6.2.2 The Families: Criteria and Characteristics

The children’s ages in the group ranged from a few months to 11 years when participant observation started in September 2005. At that time, the group membership was predominantly Mexican, both in terms of regular and occasional participants. However, Mrs. Aguirre stated that the group was not exclusively Mexican and that they encouraged, welcomed and valued pan-Latin American / Hispanic participation. Incidentally, I obtained access to the group through a Chilean family who was part of the larger survey of families (described in Chapter 3), but who had just left the group at the time my participant observation began. Moreover, the activity facilitators / teachers brought in from time to time had been Mexican, Peruvian and Argentinean. The national origin diversity translated into cultural and dialect diversity, which, according to the parents’ accounts, greatly enhanced their experience and that of their children who were exposed to a variety of cultural practices and language richness. Issues emanating from this diversity often became conversation pieces leading to linguistic, dialectal and cultural awareness raising discussions, and perhaps, at times, sources of disagreement.

In September 2005 there were eight families “on paper” (with a total of 16 children), although only five were attending regularly, or at all. The selection criterion for accepting new families was that at least one parent must speak Spanish to the child or children, providing a rich, continuous contact with the language. Most of the participants belonged to interlingual families, with one Spanish-speaking parent and a non-Spanish-speaking spouse or partner (see Table 6.2). One important characteristic of the families was that all the parents were professionals with an upper-middle class background. Additionally, when asked about the main characteristics of the participating families,
Table 6.2: La Casa Amistad: Profile of Core Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Children’s age and gender</th>
<th>Length of residence (years)</th>
<th>Main language spoken at home</th>
<th>Years of parents’ formal schooling</th>
<th>Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Aguirre</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F), 7 (F), 3 (F)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>I, IIA, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Ramírez</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Steinberg*</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>9 (F), 5 (F)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Steinberg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Juárez</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>English/ Spanish</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>I, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Kyllonen*</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F), 3 (F)</td>
<td>20+/</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>23/</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Kyllonen</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Bedward*</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>7 (M), 3 (F)</td>
<td>20+/</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>19/19</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Nakayama</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Gordon</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>11 (F), 8 (F), 5 (M)</td>
<td>17/</td>
<td>English/ Spanish</td>
<td>18/19</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Herrera</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Clavel</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>8 (F)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Galdámez*</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>4 (F), 0.8 (M)</td>
<td>20+/5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Galdámez</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Mrs. Aguirre stated that these were families who “have knowledge of where they come from, of their culture. That is, I think all of us in the group know the history, right? So, I think that gives you the pride to want to transmit…the pride that you want to transmit to your kids” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.33). Mrs. Aguirre believed that the educational background and socio-economic status of the families played a key role in the interest and commitment that they had in relation to preserving the home language and culture, as well as in the knowledge and ability necessary to pursue these goals. She added that “…[trying to pass on the language and culture] means that you already had the time and the opportunity of not thinking about what I’m going to eat, or what I’m going to put on my feet today…to occupy your life in other issues” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.34). For families of higher socioeconomic status, basic survival is generally not an issue, so other aspirations, such as the pursuit of a stronger home cultural identity and language proficiency for their children, can be sought. In Mrs. Aguirre’s experience, this had been a pervasive characteristic in the group, regardless of the
families’ national origin. Mrs. Aguirre’s assertion contrasts sharply with the findings in Schecter and Bayley (1997), where some families of higher socio-economic status, but not necessarily higher educational background, had experienced more language loss than other families.

6.2.3 Main Goals and Motivations

All the members interviewed expressed a common interest in joining the group. Mrs. Kyllonen, for instance, stated that for her it was important to transmit the Spanish language and Latin culture to her daughters so that they could feel identified with the culture and see it as part of their roots. Ms. Juárez, a Chilean mother, stated: “We want our children to be exposed to Spanish and to see other children whose parents are also Hispanic and to play and learn Spanish, learn to speak it, to read it and to write it” (Ms. Juárez, Interview: 05/01/05-TR6.35). Mr. Herrera, a Mexican father of two girls and a boy and married to an Anglo-Canadian, Mrs. Cooper, stated that they joined the group because, “practically, it has been a constant struggle to find the way of exposing the children to Spanish” (Interview: 04/04/06-TR6.36). Their children had attended a Spanish language school for two years, but felt that they had not made progress, so they did not continue in the program. Mrs. Cooper added that the group seemed ideal because they were interested in “something that had more of a community-orientation” (Interview: 04/04/06-TR6.37). She also said:

More like coexisting with other people that spoke Spanish; something that was more familial; with other families also interested in Spanish.

These comments, along with Mrs. Aguirre’s high regard of the layout of the meeting place itself, which gave her a feeling of visiting family, show that in general, the families had similar motivations for joining the group, though stated somewhat broadly. They wanted to give their children the exposure to Spanish language and culture that they sought in order to boost their language proficiency and to reinforce their home cultural identities, to have a sense of family and community, and to give the children a natural context for all this to take place both implicitly and explicitly.

In the interviews with group members, parents did not initially highlight literacy as the fundamental impetus for joining the group, citing other generic reasons, such as language and culture development. However, as interviews advanced and more detailed
elaborations were elicited, it became evident that literacy was high on some of the parents’ agendas. Because literacy and other issues had already been discussed in group meetings when the interviews took place, it did not come across as a strong goal in the group activities per se, though comments were made about the literacy gains in the group, without referring to formal assessments. I elaborate on the above points in more detail in the forthcoming sections.

6.2.4 Facilitating Activities

Initially, the activities were planned and conducted exclusively by parents who would typically direct the children in preparing and performing a play, using puppets, doing arts and crafts, playing games, singing songs, cooking desserts, etc. Pairs of parents would team up and plan the activities a week in advance and bring the materials, along with after-school snacks, to the meeting place. One of the requirements was for the pair in charge to prepare two sets of activities, one for children under about five years old and the other set for older ones. This arrangement was kept up for the first few months of operation. However, due to various factors, including the parents’ various motivations, circumstances and limitations, the children’s Spanish language levels, needs and attitudes, and perhaps even the group dynamics itself, adjustments had to be made as the group evolved, circumstances changed and families came and went.

Apparently, after much discussion and negotiation, a decision was reached in early 2005 to hire a teacher to conduct the activities for one hour every two weeks in order to resolve some of the issues. Under this scheme, parents would be in charge for the first 45 minutes while the children played freely in the playground, ate their after school snacks, and participated in some light warm-up activity, not necessarily related to the main activity to be conducted by the teacher. The teacher would arrive and take charge around 4:15 p.m. for one hour. Often, she would plan a minor activity with both age groups together, but after 15 minutes or so, the little ones would be directed to the basement to take part in unstructured activities or free play under the supervision of one or more adults.

On several occasions, when the teacher divided the two groups, I was the adult in charge of supervising the young ones, and at other times, I was in charge of the older group in the outdoor playground. This became particularly useful when parents had
issues to discuss and called an impromptu meeting. Although during those times I would have rather stayed and listened to the discussions as they were critical to understanding the workings of the group, I also felt an obligation to comply, as a form of reciprocity, for allowing me full access to the group. At the same time, it gave me opportunities to observe the children at play without their parents reminding them to use only Spanish, which was almost always the case when parents supervised free play or structured play inside.

After the groups were divided, the older group would continue sitting around a circular table and work on a follow-up activity that usually involved a little reading and writing interwoven with drawing, colouring, arts and crafts, and perhaps singing and even acting. The nature of the activity depended on the theme and on who was in charge, with additional variation possibly depending on whether the person in charge was a parent or teacher.

I did not meet the first teacher hired as she had already left when participant-observation in the group started in September 2005. However, I met and was able to observe trial lessons given by three teachers on different occasions. Two of the teachers were from Mexico and one was from Argentina. Eventually, they hired Mrs. Steinberg, a talented teacher and writer of children’s books from Argentina.

Mrs. Steinberg started coming to the group in early November, but had to quit at the end of March. The meeting place had become unavailable on Wednesdays since February and the only day that was open was Monday, a day Mrs. Steinberg was no longer available. A teacher sent by the IME (Institute of Mexicans Abroad), Carla, taught a trial class in April, and although the children connected very well with her style, she was not hired, partly because at that time the group was reaching the height of an ‘impasse’ of sorts and the families needed to find some common middle ground. The issues at hand mostly revolved around the main focus of the group: semi-structured, arts, crafts and games-driven activities vs. structured, school-like literacy-oriented activities. Two not entirely unrelated issues also causing tension had to do with the multilevel nature of the group and the balance in parental involvement in conducting the group activities (the latter issue, which had lingered for some time, had already been partially addressed by the decision to hire a teacher a few months after the group was formed).
Although on the surface things had been progressing fairly smoothly, some tensions had been building in the background, which were undermining the dynamics, morale and the very existence of the group. The multiple levels of the children’s language abilities, coupled with the diversity of the parents’ goals and philosophies about learning, had been at the core of the divisions.

6.2.5 Weekly Routine

The meeting days had changed from time to time, depending on the availability of the families and of the meeting place. This situation exacerbated the already growing tensions, causing the group to almost disband. In early fall 2006, the meeting hours were from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m., but in October when days got shorter, the group met from 3:30 to 5:30 p.m. (see Table 6.3 for a sample routine), although most families remained until close to 6:00 p.m. There were also last minute group issues to be discussed on their way out. On clear days, the activities were combined with playtime in the outdoor playground where running, playing soccer and speaking English was the norm, but on rainy days, the playroom was used in combination with the activities. This option was not necessarily unwelcome by the children, as there was a wide array of books, toys of every shape and size, dress up supplies, and many other types of recreational equipment for the delight of children of all levels. Parents, particularly Mrs. Aguirre the self-proclaimed “language police,” had an easier time enforcing the group’s arguably strict Spanish-only policy in this more “controlled” setting.

Table 6.3: La Casa Amistad: Sample Routine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Routine</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.5.1 A Parent-run Activity: Restaurant

October 12, 2005, the day this activity took place, was a busy one for La Casa Amistad, with 8 parents (all mothers) in attendance and a total of 16 children, although some of the families were not in regular attendance. One of the mothers was a Francophone Canadian who had lived in Madrid, Spain with her daughter for eight months. She spoke some Spanish, but her nine-year old daughter, Sarah, spoke Spanish quite fluently with a Madrid accent. This day, they had attended to try the group. Moreover, Mrs. López, a prospective teacher for the group, attended in order to familiarize herself with the children in preparation for a trial lesson the following week.

This activity was conducted in the usual meeting place by several parents with the children divided into two groups by age. Mrs. Aguirre worked with the older group while three parents, Mrs. Bedward, Mrs. González and Mrs. Kylonen, and at times Mrs. Cooper, worked with the younger group. Mrs. Aguirre started the activity by eliciting the children’s knowledge about restaurants, as shown in this excerpt (Mrs. A=Mrs. Aguirre):

[Excerpt 6.4]

1  Mrs. A: ¿Qué hay en el restorán?
2  Children: comida
3  Mrs. A: ¿Qué te dan en el restorán?
4  Children: chef
5  Mrs. A: no
6  Children: **Waiter**
7  Mrs. A: no
8  Children: mesero
10  Este día vamos a hacer dos platillos. Uno es “Ensalada de Frutas” y el otro es “Carita de Verduras”

**Translation**

1  Mrs. A: What’s there in a restaurant?
2  Children: food
3  Mrs. A: what do they give you in a restaurant?
4  Children: chef
5  Mrs. A: no
6  Children: **waiter** (English)
7  Mrs. A: no
8  Children: waiter (Spanish)
9  Mrs. A: or waitress if it’s a woman. The person that prepares the food is called chef. In Spanish we say “cocinero”.
10  Chef is French. Ah! The person that makes the food is the cook. Today we are going to make two dishes: One
In order to introduce the children to the activity, Mrs. Aguirre asked known-answer questions, a peculiar pattern of interaction in schools (Cazden, 1988; Lemke, 1990; Rogoff, 2003). Then Mrs. Aguirre proceeded to briefly address lexical issues (e.g., waiter, waitress) and to explain the nature of the activity. The activity consisted of designing the menu and making two dishes: *Carita de Verduras* (vegetable face) and *Ensalada de Frutas* (fruit salad). The younger children were in charge of making the *Carita de Verduras* dish and the older ones had two tasks under Mrs. Aguirre’s guidance: designing the menu and making the *Ensalada de Frutas*. After introducing the activity, Mrs. Aguirre helped the children name the restaurant (Mrs. A=Mrs. Aguirre):

[Excerpt 6.5]

1 Mrs. A: ¿Cómo le ponemos al restorán?
2 Child 1: España
3 Child 2: México
4 Perla: Español
5 Mrs. A: ¿que tal ‘Latino’?
6 Mrs. A: algo que unifique más

Translation

1 Mrs. A: what should we name the restaurant?
2 Child 1: Spain
3 Child 2: Mexico
4 Perla: Español
5 Mrs. A: how about ‘Latino’?
6 Mrs. A: something more unifying

Clearly, Mrs. Aguirre did not want to use a name that was specific to a particular country. After seeing that the options offered all referred to specific countries, except *español*, she tried to elicit other ideas from the children. She explained that she was looking for a name that was more unifying in the Spanish-speaking world or at least in Latin America, but it was not forthcoming. Perla, her eldest daughter suggested *español*, but she was still not satisfied. Mrs. Aguirre offered “how about Latino” and then she repeated: “something more unifying,” and further elaborated on this idea before deciding to have a vote, in which España (Spain) won, although Restorán Latino was used in the end. Throughout this interaction, Mrs. Aguirre’s efforts to elicit a particular type of name for the restaurant indexed clear efforts to socialize the children into a particular identity. In our interviews,
many parents, including Mrs. Aguirre, often clearly identified themselves with their national origins and it was evident in our interviews with children that they had internalized these identities to some extent. However, in the context of La Casa Amistad where many national origins were represented, Mrs. Aguirre and other parents seemed to more strongly attempt to socialize children into a pan-Hispanic / Latin American identity.

After the naming activity, each of the children then started to write the name of the restaurant on the cover of their menus, illustrated it and finally wrote down the menu items. Then, they examined the ingredients and wrote the names down below each of the menu items. Mrs. Aguirre helped out the children that had difficulties with writing. Once the menus were done, the children started getting ready to work on the *Ensalada de Frutas* using mandarins, grapes, mangoes, and apples.

Before actually cutting up the fruit, however, Mrs. Aguirre paused to discuss several language issues, such as the pronunciation of *uva* (grape), differentiating between /v/ and /b/ sounds, which are common in English, but not used in Spanish anymore. This opportunity was used by Mrs. Aguirre to make other points such as the use of ñ in Spanish and the use of tildes, which are shared between Spanish and French. Because of the presence of Sarah, the Francophone girl with a Madrid accent, Mrs. Aguirre extended her discussion to include the pronunciation of the “soft c” sound (when followed by e or i). The word that triggered this point was *aceituna* (olive, one of the *Carita de Verduras* ingredients), which in Spain is generally pronounced /aθeituna/, but pronounced /asei’tuna/ in Latin America.

The younger group worked on the *Carita de Verduras*, and when done, they came around to show their creations to some of the people present. Penelope, Mrs. Aguirre’s three-year old daughter, excitedly came running to me to show me her *Carita de Verduras*. By this time, the little ones were done with their activity and ready for a change of pace, so Mrs. Bedward took them to the basement playroom while the older ones worked on the *Ensalada de Frutas*. Interestingly, ‘working’ on the salad did not seem like work to the girls. It was more like the fun part of the activity for them, as they were totally engaged, laughing, teasing, and being playful while throwing cut up pieces of fruit into a large bowl—and most of it was done either in English or a mixture of English and Spanish—despite Mrs. Aguirre’s exceptional language policing efforts.
6.2.5.2 A Teacher-run Activity

During certain periods of time, La Casa Amistad hired a teacher for one-hour lessons every two weeks. Several times I had the opportunity to observe one of the teachers. Mrs. Steinberg’s teaching style was lively, creative and very entertaining. In this section, I describe a class she taught in January 2006. She started the class with three short warm-up activities: two short stories and an activity with pictures which involved the children in creating mini-stories from the pictures. Mrs. Steinberg met the children for one hour every two weeks. The present session took place after several weeks of absence because of the Christmas and New Year holidays. Therefore, building rapport with the children was not easy, despite her efforts and creativity. On this particular day some of the children were somewhat resistant to engage at first, as shown in the following excerpt (Teacher=Mrs. Steinberg):

[Excerpt 6.6]

1 Teacher: bueno, entonces quería contar un cuento. ¿Tienen ganas
de escuchar un cuento?
2 Child: (xxxxx)
3 Teacher: >¿te cuento como cuenta los cuentos (xxx)?<
4 Children: =no cognitive:
5 Child: no:
6 Child:  
7 Dara: [no, nada de [cuentos
8 Teacher: [un cuento

Translation

1 Teacher: okay, now I wanted to tell you a story. Do you feel
like listening to a story?
2 Child: (xxxxx)
3 Teacher: >do I tell you how (xxx) tells stories?<
4 Children: no:
5 Child: no:
6 Child:  
7 Dara: [no, no [stories
8 Teacher: [one story

When Mrs. Steinberg asked the children whether they wanted to hear a story, the response was weak. In turn 3 (line 4) she tried to entice them with a play on words (which unfortunately is not evident in the translation), but some of the children were silently enthusiastic, while several declined loudly. Dara, in particular, was very explicit and firm in her answer in turn 5 (line 7). However, Mrs. Steinberg insisted in telling a story and gradually all the children became involved.
In this interaction the children contested being socialized through a particular speech event, story-telling, by rejecting it. This could also be interpreted as an attempt to resist their socialization by silencing Mrs. Steinberg, but she persisted. Despite the children’s non-conformist stance toward Mrs. Steinberg’s socializing efforts, her power and agency was stronger than the children’s and in the end, they gave up their ambivalence and fully cooperated with the activities proposed.

As Mrs. Steinberg told the story, she also attempted to make sure everyone understood the language. After the first few lines, she encouraged them to let her know if there was anything they did not understand: “If there is a word you don’t understand, raise your hand and ask me.” After telling the two stories and guiding the children through the picture activity, Mrs. Steinberg announced she had another activity: the creation of a board game with grid squares with a “start” and “finish,” which the children were to create from scratch, including the characters, rules for moving forward and backward, obstacles, etc. By then all the children were enthusiastically participating and this activity generated a great deal of interest in them, who quickly became actively immersed offering ideas, making the rules, and with other aspects of the project. Mrs. Steinberg also enlisted the assistance of the children in illustrating all the grid squares of the game. As she was handing out markers and other materials, she commented that there was writing to be done, which generated much interest in the children, as can be seen in the following interaction (Teacher=Mrs. Steinberg):

[Excerpt 6.7]

1 Teacher: bueno ¿les puedo decir algo? necesitamos una hoja para escribir todo esto
2 (1.6)
3 Child 1: yo quiero escribirlo
4 Teacher: [y marcadores de colores para (los) que van a hacer [los dibujos
5 Child 1: [yo quiero escribirlo
6 Teacher: ¿tienes un papel?
7 Teacher: sí
8 Teacher: dos papeles y marcadores de colores

Translation

1 Teacher: okay, can I say something to everyone? We need a sheet of paper to write all of this
2 (1.6)
3 Child 1: I want to write [it
Teacher: [and color markers for those of you who are going to make [the drawings]
Child 1: [I want to write it]
Teacher: Do you have a piece of paper?
Teacher: yes
Teacher: two pieces of paper and color markers

When Mrs. Steinberg announced that they needed paper to write the rules, Child 1 enthusiastically volunteered to do the writing. Her interest was obvious, evidenced in the emphasis of her utterance in turn 2 (line 4 and 7), and in the emphasis and overlap of the teacher in turn 4 (line 7). Perhaps because Mrs. Steinberg was still focused on giving instructions, she ignored Child 1’s request. Less than a minute later, however, Mrs. Steinberg had finished giving instructions and was ready to assign someone to the writing task, perhaps oblivious to the fact that she already had an eager volunteer (Teacher=Mrs. Steinberg):

[Excerpt 6.8]

Teacher: ¿quien quiere escribir la historia?
Child 1: yo
Children: yo
Child 2: yo
Perla: yo quiero hacer las cosas que van a pasar
Teacher: bueno [entonces
Child 3: [yo quiero (xx)
Teacher: tu escribe la historia ¿con que la quieres escribir, con un lápiz o con un boligrafo?

Translation

Teacher: who wants to write the story?
Child 1: me
Children: me
Child 2: me
Perla: I want to write the things that will happen
Teacher: okay [then
Child 3: [I want to (xx)
Teacher: you write the story. What do you want to write it with, a pencil or a pen?

Mrs. Steinberg asked for a volunteer to write the story and she had the majority of the children offering to do it. In general, the types of activities that the children seemed to accept with the best attitude were game-like and arts and crafts-based projects. They
sometimes showed resistance to engaging in literacy practices in the group or were reluctant to participate in activities conducted by hired teachers. However, it would be unfair to characterize them as uncooperative as they often welcomed literacy activities and accepted them as part of an expected cultural practice within the group. This was particularly so when the literacy activities were less school-like, but were part of a creative project that included writing and reading as key components to the completion of the task. Thus, the socialization process of the children to language and literacy practices was usually fluid and varied from moment to moment.

One of the issues that often surfaced in the activities, especially when Mrs. Steinberg was in charge because she spoke an Argentinean variety of Spanish, was the negotiation of vocabulary due to the different Spanish varieties sometimes represented. In the following extract, Mrs. Steinberg attempted to elicit a word that everyone would understand. In this particular occasion it was more essential to do so because all the children in the group that day were of Mexican descent and were not sufficiently familiar with other Spanish varieties. The following interaction illustrates the vocabulary negotiation that took place (Teacher=Mrs. Steinberg):

[Excerpt 6.9]

1 Teacher: se da cuenta que perdió la zapatilla ¿como dicen ustedes a la zapatilla?
2 Mary: zapato
3 Teacher: para gimnasia para=
4 Florencia: ¿para gimnasia?
5 Teacher: la que tiene cordones para hacer deporte
6 Dara: ballet shoes
7 Teacher: no balet ese es para balet
8 Teacher: como dicen por ejemplo tiene (xx) ¿como le dicen? hay gente que le dicen (x) y hay otros que le dicen tenis
9 Mary: ¿running shoes?
10 Teacher: si ¿Cómo le dicen?
11 Mary: sneakers or running shoes=
12 Perla: =NO EN ESPAÑOL

Translation

1 Teacher: he realizes that he lost a shoe. How do you (pl.) say shoe?
2 Mary: shoe
3 Teacher: for doing gymnastics for=
4 Florencia: =gymnastics?
5 Teacher: the one with laces for doing sports
6 Dara: ballet shoes
Teacher: not for ballet those are for doing ballet
Teacher: what do you call for example those that have (x) what do you call them? Some people call them (x) and others call them tennis shoes
Mary: running shoes?
Teacher: yes what do you call them?
Mary: sneakers or running shoes =

In line 1, Mrs. Steinberg suggested an obstacle in the game, namely, that the protagonist had lost a shoe. When she asked for a synonym of “shoe,” attempting to verify the children’s comprehension, Dara offered a candidate answer, “ballet shoes,” which Mrs. Steinberg rejected. In line 12, Mary offered “running shoes,” which Mrs. Steinberg accepted in turn 13, but implicitly requested the Spanish equivalent. Mary repeated her utterance, adding “sneakers” to her answer. Perla interjected immediately with an admonition, rejecting Mary’s candidate answer, and with a raised tone of voice, authoritatively issued a directive to switch to Spanish.

This interaction illustrates three recurring themes in the group activities. Through their language socialization practices the activity facilitators regularly made an effort to be inclusive of the various Spanish varieties that were often represented in the group. That is, they made special accommodations to the varieties that the children were exposed to in home life. Moreover, one common strategy the parents and other facilitators employed to instill in the children the habit of using Spanish was through the use of implicit directives. As she did in line 13, Mrs. Steinberg often implicitly encouraged the children to produce the correct equivalent, reinforcing the socialization efforts of the parents. Finally, by clearly demanding that Mary switch to Spanish, or produce the Spanish equivalent, Perla showed that she had already, to a certain extent, assimilated the linguistic ideologies of her parents and was reproducing them. This is supported by another incident when Perla showed the same type of attitude with Mila. Mila was telling a story about some acorns that fell on her head because of Kaitlin, her little sister:

[Excerpt 6.10]
Mila: era porque mi hermanita chiquita porque ella climbed a tree
Perla: [ella climbed a tree?]
Translation

Mila: it was because my little sister because she climbed a tree [and
Perla: [she climbed a tree?]

Without waiting for Mila to finish her utterance, Perla interrupted her with an emphatic repetition of her English utterance, pointing toward the unacceptability of the language she used and indicating repair was needed. Perla’s attempts to socialize Mary and Mila to these ideologies indexes how children socialize each other to particular stances, possibly also contributing to the continuity of language socialization practices of the parents.

When the session was reaching the end, Mrs. Steinberg decided to stop the work. She informed the children that they would finish the game in the next session, and would stop for now in order to give them a chance to try out the game for a few minutes before going home.

6.2.6 Beyond Language: Cultural Transmission

As briefly described above, the original purpose of the group was to give children an enriched venue for language practice, and at the same time, a way of promoting the Latin culture through popular fiestas Latinas. They wanted their children to practice Spanish and

…have the opportunity to experience things that are celebrated in their country. Such as Las Posadas, Christmas, Three Kings Day, Children’s Day, The Day of the Dead. Things about your country that speak to you, right? Of how important certain holidays are; because they are important. (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.38)

Parents often referred to the importance of organizing activities and celebrations that were common in Latin America, especially those that have no counterpart in Canada. These celebrations gave the families a context for reinforcing other cultural aspects such as music, dance, food, clothes, as well as ideal occasions for themselves to interact with close friends. These experiences created settings in which deeper values were socialized, elicited and displayed.

6.2.6.1 Familism

One of the values that at least some of the families seemed to pursue included familism, arguably, one of the most pervasive cultural values in all Latin America. Most parents, as well as children, spontaneously volunteered to comment on the importance of
family to them. They often expressed this in relation to their home countries, where almost all of the group families had their networks of relatives. Frequently, feelings about family were found unavoidable when talking about La Casa Amistad. For instance, Mrs. Aguirre commented that “the parents’ idea was for the children to practice Spanish. But if you analyze each parent’s personal reasons, it was not only for the children to speak Spanish. It was also to connect with other families at a more intimate level” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.39). The group members interviewed stated that they had established close relationships with other members and both the parents and the children in the group saw themselves as family.

The Aguirre-Ramírez’s at different junctures talked about how, beyond language, the group provided a certain warmth that was so omnipresent in their native Mexico. They felt there was something lacking, family support, a void that they felt was then being filled by La Casa Amistad. Additionally, they found ways of contrasting their perceptions of family in Mexico and in Canada: “Family is for life; not only from birth to age eighteen” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.40).

Mrs. Aguirre used what I thought was a powerful imagery to describe how she and her family felt about living in their current neighbourhood and being part of La Casa Amistad. When talking about the possibility of buying a house, she was torn between the prospect of moving to a different neighbourhood where housing was still affordable for them, but too far away to continue with La Casa Amistad, or staying in their affluent neighbourhood and perhaps paying rent forever. To her, the decision was obvious and she concluded the following:

So, the same thing happens as with family. You put down roots and these roots pull you. And so you go “ouch.” It’s going to hurt again when I leave this place and I have to sever these roots and then replant myself where I don’t know anybody, where I have to grow new roots, right? And so I think in this group …that also exists. That aspect that is very important; family support. We start to grow our own roots here among us, right? You can make it more your own, right? It’s a country that is more your own. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR6.41)

6.2.7 Children’s Attitudes and Practices

The general unspoken language policy in the group was “Spanish-only.” While some parents, like Ms. Juárez, and especially those married to non-Spanish speakers, like Mrs. Kyllonen and Mrs. Bedward, had more relaxed attitudes about enforcing this rule,
other parents, like Mrs. Aguirre, Mrs. Galdámez (not interviewed), and Mr. Herrera, were sometimes called the “language police.” These parents repeatedly reminded the children to use Spanish. For example, when working on an arts and crafts project under the supervision of one of the mothers, Mrs. Clavel, the children were caught having completely switched to English, prompting a stern scolding (Mrs. C=Mrs Clavel):

[Excerpt 6.11]

1 Child 1:  ((Speaking in English)) (xxxxxxxxxx)
2 Child 2: the program (xxx)
3 Perla:  (xx) but (xxx) over there=
4 Mrs. C: =en espaÑOL hey hey hey ¿que pasó amigas?

Translation

1 Child 1:  ((Speaking in English)) (xxxxxxxxxx)
2 Child 2: the program (xxx)
3 Perla:  (xx) but (xxx) over there=
4 Mrs. C: =in SPANish hey hey hey. What’s the matter my friends?

Ironically, Mrs. Clavel herself was not completely free of guilt in terms of following language policies in the group. During a break from an activity once, Florencia asked her about her occupation:

[Excerpt 6.12]

1 Florencia: ¿y tu donde trabajas Mrs. Clavel?
2 Mrs. C: yo trabajo en mi bisne

Translation

1 Florencia: and where do you work Mrs. Clavel?
2 Mrs. C: I work in my business

In her response, Mrs. Clavel used “bisne”, a non-standard loanword modified from the English word “business.” Although this and other similar ways of speaking sometimes occurred in the group, their use was seen as undesirable and discouraged, as it sent the children a contradictory socialization message. Some parents, particularly Mrs. Aguirre, regularly reminded other parents who tended to forget the language rules. Thus, it is not surprising that the children needed constant reminders. One particular incident that occurred just before the beginning of the session serves as an example (Mrs. A=Mrs. Aguirre):
Mrs. A: de tres y media a cuatro es la hora de que juegan y corren afuera

Children: ya::::y=

Mrs. A: =y ya después de cuatro en adelante es cuestión de hacer actividades que ya están planeadas ¿de acuerdo?

Children: (m hmm)=

Mrs. A: =¿sí?

(1.0)

Mrs. A: y como dijo Florencia, la regla principal es=

Florencia: =no hablar español

Children: ((laughter))

Mrs. A: ella vive en el mundo de’al revés

Children: ((laughter))

Translation

Mrs. A: from three thirty to four it’s time to play and run outside

Children: ya::::y=

Mrs. A: =and after four it’s a matter of doing activities that are already planned, alright?

Children: (m hmm)=

Mrs. A: =yes?

(1.0)

Mrs. A: and as Florencia said, the main rule is=

Florencia: =not to speak Spanish

Children: ((laughter))

Mrs. A: she lives in an upside-down world

Children: ((laughter))

The children had been playing outside in the playground and had just gone in to have snacks prior to the beginning of the activities. Mrs. Aguirre walked in and found everyone speaking English. She immediately started explaining to them that before four they could play outside (with emphasis on “outside”). The reference to playing outside caused several children to cheer in line 3. In line 4, Mrs. Aguirre went on to explain that it was already four o’clock and it was time for them to get ready to participate in planned projects, which only generated indifferent response from some of the children. Mrs. Aguirre attempted to get confirmation from them with her “yes” question, but no answer was forthcoming. In line 9, she moved on to her next point, which had to do with the language policy in the group. She called on Florencia because she had attempted to warn others earlier about speaking Spanish. However, Florencia did not give the information Mrs. Aguirre was looking for, namely, that the rule was not to speak English. On the contrary, as soon as Mrs. Aguirre had finished speaking, Florencia quickly said “not to
speak Spanish,” with emphasis on “not.” The other children found her sense of humour amusing and laughed loudly. Mrs. Aguirre did not directly reject Florencia’s statement, but played along with her and stated, in her last turn, that Florencia lived in an “upside-down world.”

This interaction shows that the children’s attitude in this particular instance was of alignment with outdoor free play and misalignment with indoor work, and hence, the Spanish-only rule prevalent inside. It also illustrates how children, at times, used various strategies to challenge the language policies in the group, and hence, the language socialization practices. It is clear that Florencia knew exactly what the rules were, but used this opportunity to playfully resist the rules, aligning with the other children and winning their sympathy. Mrs. Aguirre, her mother, used the opportunity to construct a category contrast (Hester, 1998). The acceptance of Florencia’s “upside-down world” pointed to the existence of a “right side-up world.” Florencia’s “upside-down world” was one where speaking English was allowed and the “right side-up world” was one where speaking Spanish was the rule. The interaction also illustrates how the children often contested the language socialization practices fostered by their parents and engaged their parents in negotiations of the rules in an attempt to exercise their agency. Parents constantly engaged the children in explicit socializing behavior and expressed their preferences and expectations for how language should be used.

The children’s attitude about this was to comply, sometimes reluctantly and other times jokingly using a mixture of English and Spanish. In general, whether the children played at home or in the group, the language of choice was English. This is something that all the parents were aware of, and to which they resigned themselves as a reality stemming from the children’s experiences of playing in English in school.

Overall, based on my observations, the children had positive attitudes toward the group. They always engaged in the activities, especially when these were more fun-oriented. They always looked forward to play time, which invariably became a very lively and loud period where they played freely and spoke almost freely in English.

More formal lessons were not always as well-received, but generally they participated willingly and seemed to enjoy the activities. When a teacher was in charge, the activities tended to be a bit more academic and school-like, but not in a significant
way. I never witnessed teachers in the group conducting a lesson based solely on what might be considered “academic” content. The activities they conducted were based on themes such as Halloween, *El Día de los Muertos*, or a particular creative task such as inventing and making a whole board game from scratch cooperatively, inventing a story together, etc. Literacy was incorporated into these activities in an indirect way, but never as the central focus.

In an interview in September 2006, Perla Aguirre-Ramírez, age 9, confided to me that there were aspects she liked and aspects she disliked about the group. She felt that parents should not be forcing them to speak Spanish all the time when they knew that they were not going to comply. In her words: “our mothers tell us all the time ‘speak in Spanish only’ when they know that we’re not going to do it” (Perla, Interview: 10/08/06-TR6.42). When asked whether there was anything she really liked about the group, she quickly added: “I like it when they have fun activities” (TR6.43) After probing this point further, she elaborated by saying that what she enjoyed the most was when activities included arts and crafts involving painting, drawing, colouring and making things. Apparently, the children enjoyed activities that allowed them to explore their creative abilities, and from my observations, were quite willing and able to follow the “Spanish-only” rule during these activities. I did not observe any blatant rejection of activities that involved writing, but occasionally, one or two children complained of being tired when the writing went on for a long period of time. When those circumstances occurred, parents moved on to another stage of the activity, which usually did not involve writing, but other steps which they perceived as more entertaining, such as the actual drawing, building, performing or cooking that sometimes led to the culmination of the different activity stages. Parents showed flexibility in this regard, which still enabled them to address other aspects of their language socialization goals.

During actual activities, the children had various and varying attitudes about their participation, which, again, highlighted the fluid nature of socialization processes. For example, when a visiting teacher asked them about their attitudes toward Spanish activities, many children responded confidently (Teacher=Mrs. Lopez):
[Excerpt 6.14]

1 Teacher: ¿les gusta venir a clases de español o no?
2 Child 1: si=
3 Child 2: [=si
4 Child 3: [=si
5 Child 4: [=si

Translation

1 Teacher: do you like to come to Spanish classes or not?
2 Child 1: yes=
3 Child 2: =yes
4 Child 3: =yes
5 Child 4: =yes

Despite the tensions and issues, the group seemed to have become an important venue for the families to transmit the above values to their children. As an “added bonus,” according to the parents interviewed, the children had a positive attitude toward the group. In the different interviews, the sense was that the children in all the families saw their group as the highlight of their weekly activities and looked forward to it with excitement:

They love it. They like it. It’s like going to a party every week. It is a party. The girls are always very excited. They like it. (Ms. Juárez, Interview: 05/01/05-TR6.44)

For the children it’s like a play date. An extended play date. (Ms. Juárez, Interview: 05/01/05-TR6.45)

Mrs. Kyllonen, mother of two girls, explained that her daughters had a positive attitude toward the group: “They like it; they don’t like it when the class is too structured. They don’t like it when it resembles school. They like it better when it’s more like play” (Mrs. Kyllonen, Interview: 03/21/06-TR6.46). This quote also shows, however, that what the girls enjoyed the most was the play-like nature of the activities, rejecting the school-like work that sometimes accompanied the activities. This issue is discussed in more detail in later sections of this chapter.

6.2.8 Perceived Participation Benefits: The Aguirre-Ramírez Family

When I interviewed Mrs. Aguirre in May 2006, over a year after our initial interviews, I asked her whether the family’s goals and perceptions about the group had changed in any way from those expressed in April 2005 and reported in the familism section above. She reiterated her earlier views about the family feeling that she believed her family obtained from their membership and participation in the group and went on to explain what
she felt were the aspects of the group that benefited her daughters. She summarized her points in the following quote:

At the emotional level, it promotes self-esteem. At the academic level it reinforces what they already know; oral production, and writing when there is a teacher. As for the social…if I rank them from first to third, which one is reinforced the most, first it is the social aspect; I would put the emotional perhaps at the same level, and I would leave the academic aspect last. That would be the order. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.47)

Mrs. Aguirre appeared to perceive multiple benefits for the girls, but most of all, she valued the social and emotional advantages the group offered. In terms of Spanish, she felt the group helped solidify their prior knowledge. Although she did not underestimate the academic socialization possibilities of the group, she clearly emphasized the opportunities they had to develop stronger social and cultural identities.

6.2.8.1 Social Relations

It is clear that this family valued social relations very highly as a strong socializing factor in the development of their children and in the well-being of the whole family. They also saw the group as an important centre that promoted these values. She elaborated on this issue by stating:

The most powerful aspect of the group is the social aspect. This is so because the way of relating to each other among the families is very Latin; it’s very open; the expression of feelings comes more naturally, whether they are feelings of agreement or disagreement, and the same is true for the relationship among the mothers, so it’s the social aspect. Even though we have tried to give it a pedagogical connotation for the learning of literacy, this goal has not been possible; we have not been able to accomplish it because not all the children are at the same level. Some children halt the activity [when parents attempt to help them catch up], and I think the girls have made progress in that regard, but I think they could have made much more progress. But the goals of the group, the first one, is not in the pedagogical domain, but in the domain of interpersonal relations among them, obviously based on the Spanish language; all the people they interact with are Latin. Then, I don’t think it has changed. There have been objectives focusing on reading and writing for some of the girls, but basically it’s the other aspect. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.48)

Although the main goal from the onset had been to promote personal relations mediated by the Spanish language, Mrs. Aguirre acknowledged that at times “pedagogic objectives” aimed at literacy socialization had become rather central in the group. Nonetheless, these objectives had not been pursued consistently due to various factors, particularly, the multilevel language abilities of the groups of children and the attendant complications generated by these issues. She owned up to the fact that such shortcoming was not entirely satisfactory to her family’s desirable socialization experiences and conceded that personally
she had been hopeful of bigger gains in literacy. Yet, she was emphatic in pointing out that “academic objectives” and literacy were not the primary goals anymore and stated that social relations and objectives such as cultural and linguistic validation, metalinguistic awareness, and other affective benefits more closely summed up what the group meant to the family.

**6.2.8.2 Cultural and Linguistic Validation**

Mrs. Aguirre stated that aside from promoting language and cultural values at home, group participation was a place where the existence of their language and culture became validated and legitimated. As she asserted the time the family spent in the group was a:

> A moment in which, again, the importance of the language is emphasized. So they see that I’m not the only lunatic (loca) in space and that Orlando [Mr. Ramirez] and I emphasize Spanish. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.49)

In other words, for the family, their language and culture had a legitimate place in the world. Their language was a legitimate means of communication with an, albeit small, group of people who communicated almost exclusively, at least for a two-hour period once a week, in that language. Although the Aguirre-Ramírez girls spent two months with family in Mexico every summer, because of their group involvement, in Vancouver, the language became something that was relevant not only in their home for communicating with mom and dad, but also as their passport to central membership and participation in La Casa Amistad.

**6.2.8.3 Socializing Selves and Others**

Finally, Mrs. Aguirre felt that the girls obtained several other benefits that were associated with the affective domain, namely, the reinforcement of their own self-esteem through their support of the language development of the other children, which also resulted in the reinforcement of their own meta-linguistic awareness, ultimately promoting their oral production and proficiency. Mrs. Aguirre stated that among the children in the group, the girls’ Spanish level was the highest in the group. She added:

> They can enjoy benefits, in the sense that when they see that someone else is speaking [Spanish] incorrectly, they correct them and through that they automatically reinforce the knowledge they already have. In the same way any learning takes place in school, the most advanced, the proximal levels, they say that a high level with an intermediate level...with a low level and a low level with...that is, a mixture, you don’t put all the high ones together, right? And the most advanced ones do benefit from the intermediate ones, because seeing the intermediate ones making mistakes, not performing correctly, the advanced ones show them how, thus reinforcing themselves. That’s the benefit they have; the social aspect and the reinforcement of what they do know. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.50)
Here Mrs. Aguirre seemed to be referring to Vygotsky’s Zone of Proximal Development when she evaluated the gains of her girls and the other children when they assisted one another, regardless of the disparity in their levels. The other children benefited from the explicit corrections or recasting made by her girls, and the girls benefited when their own linguistic knowledge was reinforced. At the same time, she believed that the girls benefited from their involvement in the language development of other children—novices—which assigned them an identity as “experts,” further strengthening their own self-esteem. She believed this process added important layers to their cultural identity as well, making them feel more proud of their cultural roots. This sometimes prompted them to showcase their abilities to their non-Latin friends, often assuming roles of language and cultural ambassadors. For instance, at times they spontaneously taught basic vocabulary to their friends and even attempted to highlight and explain linguistic features of the Spanish language, or two Spanish varieties, a product of their meta-linguistic growth.

Mrs. Aguirre’s description suggests that the social interactions of the girls with their Spanish-speaking, as well as monolingual, peers, were sites where vibrant multidirectional forms of language socialization took place. The girls seemed to be implicated in facilitating the process of induction of others into new domains of knowledge (Bayley & Schecter, 2003), by participating meaningfully in authentic peripheral and central contexts. The multidirectional and situated nature of socialization is evident in her depiction of the girls’ experiences with others, which also contributed to their own socialization into expert roles, and consequently, into stronger cultural identities. Moreover, by assuming roles of language/cultural ambassadors, the children were attempting to expand the cultural and linguistic repertoires of their mono-lingual counterparts and contributing to the valorization of the Spanish language in the dominant society, demonstrating their own successful socialization into the valuing of their home language, leading to the desirable linguistic ideologies that their parents attempted to foster in them. All of this highlights the potential unexpected outcomes of socialization processes, particularly in multilingual and multicultural milieus where children, like the Aguirre-Ramírez girls, may experience growing participation in multiple community memberships.

Overall, Mrs. Aguirre and her family appeared to place great value on the language socialization opportunities afforded by their experiences in the group, which also became
transplanted to other contexts. Because of these and other reasons, Mrs. Aguirre believed that the group experience was a win-win situation for the girls, her family, and the other participants.

6.2.9 Perceived Participation Benefits: Other Participants

It is an obvious fact that children in an L2 dominant context such as Vancouver do not have ample opportunities to practice their home language outside the home. These opportunities were dramatically diminished in intercultural / interlinguistic families. The need to seek out opportunities for language practice, especially in a naturalistic context, was cited by families as an important reason for their participation in the group.

Mr. Herrera explained how the group represented an important language socialization context for his children:

If they didn’t go to the group, the opportunity they would have to practice [Spanish] would be minimal and it would only happen when I am here [in the city], but if I, for instance, I’m away for three weeks, Spanish practice is virtually…there’s none…we don’t have Spanish television, we don’t have a brother, an uncle, a neighbor, nobody, right? They may see Mrs. Aguirre and they may say hello to her and she may speak a few phrases in Spanish to them, but that’s all, and in the group at least once a week for two hours, even if I’m not in town, but for two hours they will maintain it. That’s what I think I get out of the group. I find it very important in that sense. (Interview: 04/04/06-TR6.51)

Mr. Herrera felt the opportunities his children had to practice and become meaningfully involved in a Spanish-rich context were low, especially given the nature of his job that required frequent trips abroad that included extended absences from home. This, he appeared to indicate, became exacerbated by the absence of an extended family circle to provide an enriched context for the children to access a more wide-ranging linguistic economy than he could provide at the time. The only opportunity he saw for the children to have access to such resources, which he could only provide sporadically, was their participation in the group. The Spanish development of the children, and consequently, their acquisition of the norms and practices connected to Mr. Herrera’s cultural roots, appeared to be largely situated in the group. Hence, their Spanish language and culture socialization was to a large extent dependent upon, and contextually related to, La Casa Amistad.

Additionally, like Mrs. Aguirre, he felt that the group also gave validation to Spanish and showed the children that there was more to Spanish than what they saw at home. Without the group, he implied, Spanish was only a father tongue:

A factor that I think is very important for them is that they don’t normally see the use of the
language, that is, it’s the language of their father. (Mr. Herrera, Interview: 04/04/06-TR6.52)

Although Mr. Herrera’s wife, Mrs. Cooper, was fluent in Spanish, she only spoke it to the children when leading activities in La Casa Amistad. At home and elsewhere she addressed them in English because, according to her, it felt “unnatural” to interact with her own children in a language that was not her mother tongue. She also confirmed Mr. Herrera’s comments and added that

La Casa Amistad truly provides a natural environment that everyone, starting with the little ones, the babies, up to the parents, everyone speaks Spanish; it’s natural; it’s a natural Spanish environment. It’s a powerful environment; it’s not like just one parent speaking [Spanish] at home. (Mrs. Cooper, Interview: 04/04/06-TR6.53)

In the same vein, Mrs. Kyllonen stated that for her family the group was important because it gave the children the opportunity to see other families that also spoke Spanish:

I think they also realize they are not the only ones [not originally from Canada]. Sometimes when I tell them that we’ll go to Mexico for Christmas, they say: “but mom, but can’t we stay here and we can go to the mountain and the snow” etc. But when they see also that other children, their parents come from other parts of the world and that they want to go to those countries for Christmas, they realize they are not the only ones. (Mrs. Kyllonen, Interview: 03/21/06-TR6.54)

In her case, the group not only provided an opportunity for her children to see other families speaking Spanish, but also showed them that there were other families in similar circumstances who did not have their extended families near and who made plans to visit them abroad during holidays. It normalized their attitude about such experiences. In some ways, the group experience also socialized them to identities as minorities, not in the racial sense, as they were Mexicans of European descent (as were some of the other families in the group), but in the ethnolinguistic sense as “invisible minorities.”

Cultural and linguistic validation, along with the opportunity to provide children with a natural context for language practice, were important group gains for the families; however, whether speaking in response to direct questions, or volunteering this information, overwhelmingly, the families felt that the group became their Spanish-speaking community. Mr. Herrera stated:

It gives them a sense that it’s a community; a small community where they learn another language. That’s what I think they get out of it. (Mr. Herrera, Interview: 04/04/06-TR6.55)

He also echoed Mrs. Aguirre’s comments above that in the absence of blood relatives, the group members became their adopted extended family with whom the children spoke in
Spanish. He said: “This group fulfills that aspect, [which is] to practice Spanish with the family, the socialization, the community” (TR6.56). As a family, Mr. Herrera also felt that the group, as in Mrs. Aguirre’s family, gave them the opportunity to foster relationships and establish a support network whereby people helped each other. He added in this regard:

…socialization, the feeling of community, to build friendships. I mean, with Mrs. Aguirre and with other people because you spend time together more frequently, side by side. It gives you that lived experience of coexisting. It gives you the opportunity, in some ways as well…it creates a support network because it’s a relationship at a more intimate level when you attend the same group. One day Mrs. Aguirre may call and say: “can you pick up the girls or can you drop off the girls” and this and that and that support that you get because it’s a more intimate relationship. I don’t think it would happen if we only said “hi” in school. So, that aspect of the socialization, I think, comes with consequences, benefits. (Mr. Herrera, Interview: 04/04/06-TR6.57)

As Mrs. Aguirre and others often stated, the group had become an extended family of sorts. A group of close friends they could depend on as family. Ms. Juárez also felt that her daughter, Sandra, had the opportunity to socialize with Spanish-speaking children, and by extension, because the parents were friends, she also made friends with the children.

It’s been a good experience for her. And because she notices that the parents are friends, the children become friends. It gives the children more encouragement to form friendships. (Ms. Juárez, Interview: 05/01/05-TR6.58)

She also echoed statements made by other parents, namely that the children were already beginning to pick up on the values that were important to them. The children could see that the parents were friends and in a natural manner, many of the children were also becoming good friends. Thus, the parents were pleased with how their participation in the group was having a positive effect on their children and valued the fact that the children might also be considering the group an extended family, an unexpected, but desired outcome, of the socialization experiences that the parents endeavored to create for their children.

6.2.9.1 Identity and Cultural Awareness

There seemed to be a sense among many parents that their children were benefiting in many other ways as well. One issue that was pervasive in the interviews was one surrounding cultural awareness-raising, a sense of cultural pride and the creation and/or strengthening of cultural identity. Ms. Juárez, a 33-year old Chilean single parent, came to Canada at age nine. Her daughter’s command of Spanish was not among the highest in La Casa Amistad. However, although according to Ms. Juárez, Sandra used to have “zero interest,” she claimed that since they started participating in the group, her daughter began to identify herself more
with her Latin roots, especially her Chilean roots, and had developed an interest in learning the language:

What I have noticed is that Sandra is more interested now in the language than she was before. She’s trying to read on her own. A spark has been lit that she didn’t have before. So in that sense, I’m very grateful to the group because I can see in her that she makes more of an effort and she tries to speak, read and listen to more Latin American music and she tries to follow along. And so in that sense I think it’s fostering cultural identity. That she feels proud. (Ms. Juárez, Interview: 05/01/05-TR6.59)

Likewise, to Mrs. Kyllonen the group served the purpose of reaffirming a sense of pride in the children, something that she felt needed to be present in the group: “It emphasizes their feeling of pride” (Mrs. Kyllonen, Interview: 03/21/06-TR6.60)

For all the other parents in general, the objectives and benefits, perceived or actual, seemed to be related dialectically. Language socialization, linguistic and cultural validation, cultural identity, promotion of social relations and oral production enhancement all appeared to interact with one another. This was particularly evident in Mrs. Aguirre’s reflections on the family’s group experiences, as she did not seem to separate one aspect from the others in her commentaries.

6.2.10 Challenges

Thus far I have described key aspects of La Casa Amistad and its membership. As expected, any group of people with common, but also diverse, life experiences, goals, circumstances, and philosophies, will face issues that may pose challenges and create tensions, and often, threaten its existence. La Casa Amistad had its share of difficulties in its struggle to survive, as hinted in some of the sections above. In this final section of the chapter, I summarize some of the biggest issues the group had to face and how the members dealt with them in order to save it.

The different schedules, activities and circumstances of the families created several challenges for them. One such challenge had been finding a common time-slot in their agendas, which would also match the availability of the meeting place. These families, as most middle class families, placed an important value on extracurricular activities, and all the children seemed to have busy agendas. As Mrs. Bedward put it, many Casa Amistad children were “activitied to death” (Mrs. Bedward, Interview: 02/18/06-original in English). Most children were already in French immersion and the ones not there yet, had plans for it in the near future. Additionally, many had sports activities such as soccer, gymnastics, and ballet,
and music lessons such as cello and piano. As far as I know, most, if not all, children, had religious activities like Sunday mass and weekday catechism. On one hand, the parents had to constantly negotiate and rearrange their activities in order to coincide on a particular day and time to meet. On the other hand, this multiplicity of activities sometimes put strain on the children, who might feel overloaded and tired, as is the case with most middle class families.

Other issues were related to the diversity in the families’ circumstances, the multiplicity of the children’s language levels and the children’s proficiency in the different areas (reading, writing, speaking, listening). Mrs. Bedward explained that this diversity made running La Casa Amistad difficult:

Because there’s such a lot of combinations out [family situations]. Mrs. Cooper and Mr. Herrera go to Mexico fairly regularly, and they both speak fluent Spanish to the kids in the house all the time. The same with Mrs. Aguirre. They spend two months of the year in Mexico. That’s a whole different deal from what I’m doing. It’s only me speaking Spanish and the kids getting it once a week. I’m glad Mrs. Aguirre’s got Emilia now. It’s really, it’s making a big difference. (Mrs. Bedward, Interview: 02/18/06-original in English)

It was clear that Mrs. Bedward’s children were the ones affected the most by this diversity of situations. They were likely the ones with the least exposure to a “natural context” of Spanish use outside the group. Additionally, they were also the ones that tended to fall through the cracks during the activities due to their low Spanish oral proficiency and non-existent literacy skills in Spanish.

### 6.2.10.1 Active Parental Involvement

The issue of parent commitment and active participation in planning and running the activities had been a contentious one from the start. Originally, Mrs. Bedward proposed a division of labour system that never worked due to lack of commitment from most families. Additionally, the membership base was not very stable. Aside from the five core families, Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez, Mrs. Cooper and Mr. Herrera, Mrs. Kyllonen, Mrs. Galdámez, and Mrs. Bedward, most families just came and went, and often the ones that came, were only interested in socializing with the other parents.

The parents explained that they had seen many families interested in the group because they wanted the language for their children, but they did not want to commit themselves to doing the work that the group entailed. It might also be that they lacked the energy and time necessary, so they wanted to just send their children, but stay away otherwise. Most parents worked outside the home and had small children to take care of, and
on top of that, needed to prepare for the activities and conduct the activities right after work. Mrs. Cooper had been active in the activities after her husband, Mr. Herrera, could not be actively involved anymore due to major changes in his job, which prevented him from attending. However, her schedule teaching science in another municipality and attending to other teaching-related matters made things difficult for her.

In May 2006 the core group had just had a meeting to address this issue when I happened to interview Mrs. Aguirre. She felt that some parents were not willing to participate actively and wanted the rest of the members to be in charge of the activities. Mrs. Aguirre and Mrs. Cooper had become *de facto* the ones responsible for the activities for quite some time and, by May 2006, they felt that they had had enough. Mrs. Aguirre stated that she was basically burned out, and one of the reasons she continued was because the girls wanted to continue:

> Personally, I just said NO MORE. I’m tired already. So, because, because there is no support from all the families…they [the girls] do want to continue. I’m the one that is tired, but they do want to continue. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.61)

The feeling around this time was that if the group was to continue in September, after the summer break, all families would need to commit themselves equally. As a matter of fact, it was made clear that whenever there was no teacher to run the activities, it was not only Mrs. Aguirre and Mrs. Cooper’s responsibility. Mrs. Cooper had many similar comments regarding this situation. She felt that in the last five or six months the group had been “sliding a bit” (Interview: 04/04/06), because there was no commitment from other parents and she and Mrs. Aguirre were doing the bulk of the work to have activities at all. Moreover, the quality of the activities had decreased because it was always only the two of them, and tired as they were, they were handling the planning in an *ad hoc* way.

Needless to say, at this time, the group was facing a low point, like other times before. In the past, this conundrum was resolved by hiring a teacher every two weeks, which worked out fairly well for most, but which also posed its own brand of challenges.

**6.2.10.2 Tensions: Divided Needs and Visions**

The diversity in the needs and beliefs of the families created tensions that became, arguably, some of the biggest conflicts with which the group grappled. The many levels of the children became a source of conflict and tension. Mrs. Bedward felt that often, the parents in charge of a particular session planned their activities attuned to their own
children’s needs, not following the agreement to prepare two different activities for two different levels. This obviously disengaged the children that were “not good enough for the activity,” in Mrs. Bedward’s words, and felt left out. Mrs. Bedward’s son, Alfredo, was the best example, though not the only one. Hiring a teacher was the original decision the group made in order to address various issues, including the different levels. She felt that when some children

…don’t know what’s going on, their pride becomes an issue, because they can’t answer the questions like the other kids do, etc. they’re embarrassed and they lose it. It’s not of benefit that way. The balance we came to was that we’d have a teacher every second time. And the times in between we’d do other activities. So that’s how we thought we’d address everyone’s needs. (Mrs. Bedward, Interview: 02/18/06-original in English)

Mrs. Bedward’s idea of a teacher when the group faced an impasse was that he or she would prepare activities that encouraged the children to speak Spanish, but without much academic work:

So my push at that time was, we need help. We don’t need to do this all ourselves. We need to hire a teacher at least every second time, or a portion of each time. Like why don’t we have a teacher come for 45 minutes. And then we do activities the rest of the time. At least half an hour, it has to be free play. Those kids just wanna play. Let them play. Monitor them so that they’re playing in Spanish. Interject once in a while and just keep it rolling like a stick on a wheel, just keep rolling. Let them go. Snack time. That’s another 20 min right there. We could easily fill an hour with snacking and playing and have a teacher come for 45 min., but why don’t we have a teacher, I thought. I said, why don’t we have a teacher that teaches a lot through art and crafts. A teacher who will come and say today we’re going to make such and such and have it be something that involves singing or playing, not sit down here’s a piece of paper, write this! Which is what was happening. It’s not gonna happen, it’s not gonna work. (Mrs. Bedward, Interview: 02/18/06-original in English)

Although having a teacher partly resolved the multilevel situation, other issues were aggravated. Different families had different visions and ideas of what the group activities should look like, and in this case, it appears as if these could be divided into two distinct categories: structured, traditional, school-like format with a focus on literacy, grammar, punctuation, etc. and arts and crafts, play, song, theater with a focus on fun and implicit natural socialization leading to the internalization of the cultural beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviours, and the natural command of the language. I believe that all the families agreed with the latter style and actively worked toward creating activities that were fun, engaging, entertaining and educational. However, there was a sense among families that the parents of the older, more advanced children wanted school-like work only.

Over time, the type of activities to run became another contentious issue. Mrs.
Bedward described how the group had several meetings at different stages and in different places to discuss the goals of the group. She explained that some of the parents were

...more traditionalist in their thinking about what teaching is about, and they just wanted, you know, sit them down and make them write, yeah, I’ll instruct you. Whereas, myself and Mrs. Kyllonen and um, Mrs. Galdámez, to a greater extent were, you know, not into that. (Mrs. Bedward, Interview: 02/18/06-original in English)

In fairness to the families described as traditionalists, there is plenty of evidence from interviews and observations of the group that they also valued activities that were engaging and entertaining to the children. Some of the most interesting and balanced activities that I observed were designed and conducted by Mrs. Aguirre, who along with Mrs. Cooper seemed to be the engines of the group, the ones who arrived early and brought planned activities and the necessary materials. At times, Mrs. Kyllonen, Mrs. Galdámez and Mr. Herrera had also taken over with some of the activities, which had been rather varied with a combination of fun and literacy, and often without the literacy aspect at all.

In my observations, the children were the most engaged when the activities were not academic in nature. This was true whether a parent or a teacher was in charge, and the parents were well aware of this. The times when the children rejected the activities the most was when a teacher was in charge, because those were the times when the activities took a semi-formal style.

To conclude, my impression was that the families that wanted structured activities and literacy did not exclude the use of fun activities such as arts and crafts, and had reported positive comments about them. The issue, perhaps, was that they wanted to emphasize literacy as in a school setting in addition to the more open ended work that other parents tended to prefer.

6.2.10.3 Compromise

La Casa Amistad almost died just before the spring of 2006. Everyone had to compromise in one way or another and through discussion and negotiation they found a way out of the impasse. The parents that had a more ambitious literacy agenda realized that attaining their goals was not realistic. Mrs. Aguirre admitted that her initial vision was not going to happen. She did this by analyzing the practical circumstances of the group and by settling for whatever modest gains the girls made in literacy. The compromise that was reached was that Mrs. Cooper and Mrs. Aguirre, who had the most advanced children, would
undertake the teaching of literacy in their own homes. Mrs. Aguirre concluded by saying that she and others had accepted the reality and the constraints for the group:

Yes, to accept that it’s not going to be 100% the way we wanted; to accept it as parents and do our job at home. It’s a fair arrangement between the two camps. (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR6.62)

6.3 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I provided an analysis of the attitudes and circumstances that shaped the language and cultural socialization of the Aguirre-Ramírez family at home, in La Casa Amistad, and elsewhere. I highlighted the importance of family, culture, identity, and school in the development of the children’s language abilities and value formation. In the context of La Casa Amistad, Mrs. Aguirre and her daughters played a central role in the socialization of selves and others. The members of the other families in the group also viewed the group as a venue for their own children’s socialization into roles related to language and culture and as a setting for everyone to create social relationships.

The group evolved over time, and through experience its members redesigned their goals in order to focus more on the implicit language possibilities of the group and to promote cultural values, while at the same time, providing the children with opportunities to improve their oral skills, without the added stress of pushing for a high literacy proficiency in that particular context. I have argued that the common denominator in all the parents’ agendas for participating in the group seemed to be language maintenance. They were committed to language maintenance and sought out opportunities to pursue their goals. I have also argued they were interested in transmitting the mother tongue to their children, but deep down their goals transcended language. They also sought out opportunities for cultural awareness and transmission, identity formation, and family value creation. The families also seemed to be searching for the opportunity to be part of a social circle. Some families appeared to be also seeking out surrogate extended families with whom to grow roots and to feel a sense of attachment and belonging. Throughout our interviews and my observations, the Aguirre-Ramírez family was found to exemplify these notions.
Chapter 7
AIMS AND PROCESSES OF LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION:
A CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

7.0 Introduction

Thus far I have examined the language socialization and Spanish and culture maintenance experiences of the three case families in their homes and in the three grassroots groups in which they participated. To recapitulate, I provide a summary of Chapters 4, 5, and 6 below.

In Chapter 4, I introduced the Fernández-Maradiaga family and El Grupo Scout Vistas and examined the cultural and familial dimensions of Spanish for the family at home and in their group. I also presented analyses of interviews with other group participants’ and analyses of naturalistic speech collected during observations of Scout activities. These naturalistic data came from activities organized and conducted by the leaders in Spanish, at times assisted by other parents, which were based on traditional Scout philosophy focusing on good citizenship. The families’ stated objectives for creating or joining the Scout group were to raise awareness for the environment, conscienticize children to community service, promote the development and continued use of Spanish by their children and to immerse them in a context where values and practices associated with the Hispanic / Latin American culture could be reinforced. Notwithstanding their goals for language and cultural maintenance, my analysis of the data revealed that the participants also strived to socialize the children into hybridized identities that particularly embraced broad worldviews as well as the appreciation for and interest in other languages and cultures.

In Chapter 5, I examined language socialization issues in the Ruedas-Blanco family. Mrs. Ruedas described Spanish maintenance as fundamental to her children’s access to future employment opportunities, appreciation for the value and beauty of the Spanish language, and as a key to the enhancement of their Hispanic cultural identities. In order to promote these goals, the family designed various language and literacy activities at home. However, although they actively socialized their children into positive Spanish ideologies and practices, they also considered other languages and cultures in the community as having a significant role in their children’s identity development.
In that chapter I also introduced El Centro de Cultura and the other group members. The stated objective of the group members was to teach Spanish to their children. They used grammar and translation-based activities in a fairly structured school-like setting to fulfill their objective. While these activities did not seem to facilitate high levels of Spanish oral competence, these activities did help children improve their grammatical and lexical repertoires. One class, Mrs. Nieve’s, offered a different type of learning environment to the younger children, which provided consistent language socialization into Spanish-oriented ideologies. However, the parents also constructed the group as a place that provided them and their children with a symbolic space that cultivated their children’s and their own emotional well-being and created feelings of contentment by enabling them to participate in social relations through their own language. They often spoke of the group as their family in the absence of an extended family network.

The focus of Chapter 6 was the Aguirre-Ramírez family and La Casa Amistad. In this chapter, I presented an analysis highlighting the issues the participants faced in relation to language and culture maintenance and identity development. In addition I provided a glimpse into language use in the home through analyses of family interactions. The Aguirre-Ramírez family were active participants of La Casa Amistad, a small group of families living in an upper middle-class neighborhood in Metro Vancouver. The stated objective of the group was to transmit the language and culture to their children through arts and crafts-based activities. Themes that emerged consistently in the interviews with group members included the understanding of Spanish maintenance as a way of connecting the children to their cultural and familial roots, and promoting family values. However, some of the parents, particularly Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez, also asserted the goal of socializing their children into hybrid transnational identities and a global outlook.

In this chapter, I conduct a cross-case analysis to determine patterns across the three families and their groups. By analyzing data across the three cases, synthesizing the results and making connections to the broader survey of participants in Phase I, I provide further insight into the aims and processes of language socialization in the families, particularly concerning language maintenance. I argue that the families created spaces to resist assimilation and to transmit the Spanish language and culture to their children. Moreover, I
illustrate how the families created these symbolic spaces to feel a sense of place, to foster a feeling of family and to validate their language and culture.

The families also conceptualized Spanish and language maintenance in various ways. They saw Spanish as a bridge between their children’s past and future, particularly in terms of intergenerational communication and cultural identity formation. Additionally, they wanted their children to maintain Spanish in order to create identities and foster a worldview that transcended their own national origin cultures. In the final section of this chapter, I consider the processes by which the families attempted to socialize their children into linguistic ideologies that embraced Spanish as a key component of their identities and into linguistic behaviours that followed Spanish-only policies. Figure 7.1 summarizes the aims and processes of language socialization and illustrates how these were grouped and related to each other.

Figure 7.1 Summary of the Aims and Processes of Language Socialization

7.1 The Aims of Language Socialization

The families held various beliefs, values and attitudes in relation to Spanish and culture which shaped their language and cultural practices. The grassroots groups they created and belonged to provided “safe spaces” for the families to interact with each other.
and counter what some of them described as hegemonic forces and discourses in the
dominant society. These spaces enabled them to become active agents in the transmission of
the Spanish language and culture to their children. Parental beliefs about the meaning of
Spanish maintenance were multifaceted and pointed to intimate as well as broader aspects of
their lives. These indexed other beliefs about family values, cultural identity, and future
mobility in material, social, cultural and other spaces. Particularly, they espoused beliefs and
goals that related Spanish to transnational, cosmopolitan notions of their selves.

7.1.1 Resisting Assimilation: Creating Language and Cultural Spaces

All the families seemed to value their group participation in multiple ways. While all
of them, regardless of the group in which they participated, pointed to home language
promotion as the common denominator, they also identified many other reasons for being
part of the groups. For example, they referred to the groups as spaces where they felt a sense
of belonging, where they could “be who they really were,” and as places where they could
promote social relations, build a social network, and promote family values.

7.1.1.1 Safe Houses

The notion of safe house is related to Pratt’s (1991) concept of contact zones. She
describes these zones as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each
other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical power” (p. 23). Therefore, when dominant
and marginal cultures meet, they face tensions that arise from their unequal relations of
power and potentially disparate cultural value orientations and languages. In the face of these
potential conflicts emerging from asymmetrical relations and clashing interactions, or contact
zones, Pratt argues that “people need places for healing and mutual recognition, safe houses
in which to construct shared understandings, knowledges, claims on the world that they then
bring into the contact zone” (p. 36). Some immigrants in multicultural societies, regardless of
their integration status or level of fluency in their additional languages, may feel unable to
completely feel a sense of belonging in their new environments.

Many families in the present study expressed feelings that evoked the safe house
notion when they talked about their participation in their respective grassroots groups, where
they found a kind of refuge. When describing their experiences in Canada, they alluded to the
pain of displacement, the reality of contact zones full of the complexities of living in a new
culture, speaking a new language, living without extended family, and attempting to socialize
their children to particular cultural values and linguistic behaviors. For instance, mothers referred to the groups as spaces in which they could socialize in Spanish and have the opportunity to “loosen up” in their own language. Thus, the group was like a “safe house” for the mothers, where they could express themselves freely, in an atmosphere they described as “emotional.” For Mrs. Martínez, El Centro de Cultura was a space where its members could be themselves and could express themselves in their mother-tongue. They saw these environments as spaces where their language and cultures were validated and where they could display these cultural elements to their children and socialize them according to their cultural values. Mrs. Aguirre spoke of La Casa Amistad as a place that evoked a feeling of safety, comfort and nostalgia that her family associated with “granny’s house,” one of the strongest connections to home language. Thus, the groups enabled families to successfully foster social relations, form a sense of community, and promote values such as familism, which made it possible for them to provide a more authentic language socialization experience to their children.

Thus, the participating families constructed social spaces and networks that enabled them “to form bonds, support each other, develop a critical consciousness, and construct subversive cultures” (Canagarajah, 2004, p. 134) through which they resisted assimilation and further facilitated their efforts to socialize their children into their values and practices. However, assuming that just by bringing together people from the same cultural and linguistic background will automatically translate into a safe house would be simplistic. This would ignore the complexities of culture, particularly in the Latin American world where linguistic / dialectal and cultural diversity are combined with racial, religious, regional and other types of diversity. Nonetheless, the participants’ voices clearly revealed feelings of being heard, understood, and respected in the safe houses they had created in the grassroots groups. These feelings seemed to be absent in the experiences of families that spoke of dislocation, but did not take part in the grassroots groups.

7.1.1.2 Linguistic and Cultural Validation

The safe houses the families had created and the activities they conducted also fulfilled the function of providing an authentic context for Spanish practice and for validating the families’ language and cultures. Because the language used in their activities was Spanish, these were important socializing spaces for the children. These groups provided
opportunities for the children to experience linguistic and cultural immersion and to further validate the usefulness of their language. These opportunities were particularly unique in the Vancouver context where Spanish does not enjoy strong ethnolinguistic vitality. Therefore, the various language and cultural activities conducted helped turn these spaces into “agents of linguistic legitimation” (Jaffe, 2005, p. 26).

For instance, Mr. Herrera felt that beyond La Casa Amistad, his children’s opportunities to practice and become meaningfully involved in a Spanish-rich context were low. His family did not have an extended family circle to provide an authentic context for language practice, and the only opportunity to access such linguistic resources was La Casa Amistad. In the same vein, Mrs. Pérez felt that El Centro de Cultura gave her the opportunity to provide her children with an authentic context for Spanish practice and validation. She stated: “It’s good for my children to see that there are other people, besides me, who speak Spanish” (Interview: 05/12/06-TR7.1) Many parents echoed these feelings and asserted that it was essential for them to show their children that Spanish was a useful language and that there was a whole world out there where Spanish was the medium of communication. Others, like Mrs. Aguirre and Mr. Ramírez, who provided rich Spanish socialization at home to their children, wanted to go further and immerse their children in a context where they could have a consistent Spanish socialization experience that went beyond what they experienced at home or during their annual trips to Mexico.

In a context where Spanish does not enjoy a high status, families that have enough social, linguistic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) can exert their agency in order to offset the potential linguistic devaluing effect of the wider society. It has been argued that linguistic-minority families’ cultural practices may contrast greatly with those of the larger society (Pease-Alvarez, 2002). In the so-called mainstream society often their home language is not valued, has no use, or both, and their cultural values clash with those of the dominant populace.

The devaluation of the social, cultural and linguistic competencies of immigrant parents and their children has been addressed by numerous scholars, such as Li (1999), Rodríguez (1982), Schecter and Bayley (1997, 2002) and Valdés (1996). It has been posited that families’ efforts to transmit their home languages to their children is a necessary step in order to empower themselves and to validate themselves (Zhou & Trueba, 1998), and to give
them voice to affirm their own culture (Pennycook, 2001). The parents’ views about the role of the groups as socializing agents and as spaces for reiterating the value of Spanish to their children highlights the role that this valorization may play as a critical prerequisite in minority-language transmission (Li, 1999). The families’ views reflect an attempt to resist assimilative forces prevalent in the schools (Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001) and in the wider community (Schecter & Bayley, 1997), and were constructed as “oppositional discourses” (Pratt, 1991) emerging from Canadian multiculturalism contact zones.

Thus, for the families, the grassroots groups were places where the existence of their language and culture became validated and legitimated, indicating to their children that their culture had a legitimate place in the world and their language was a legitimate means of communication. In the Canadian context, this also meant the children should feel proud of their home language and could expect their “right to difference” (Mr. Pedroza, Interview: 05/31/05-TR7.2) be respected and their voices heard and understood.

7.1.1.3 Social Relations

Given that most of the study participants were immigrants who had no blood relatives in Canada, cultivating social relations was an important goal in their lives. Most group members interviewed stated they had established close relationships with other members. As Mrs. Aguirre stated about La Casa Amistad: “the most powerful aspect of the group is the social aspect” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR7.3). Like other parents, she also referred to her group as a special space where the way of relating with each other was “very Latin” and that the expression of feelings came “more naturally.” Despite their seemingly successful integration into the broader society, many families still felt more comfortable interacting with people that shared much of their background, and their groups seemed to provide such a space. Additionally, group visits were seen as “leisure activities” by many parents. They often commented that part of the reason the groups fulfilled such a function was the symbolic and physical space that was created and the propensity of that space to cultivate friendships among the participants. It is clear that the families valued social relations highly as a strong socializing factor in the linguistic and moral development of their children and in the well-being of the whole family.

In contrast to the families participating in the grassroots groups described here, a recurring theme in families participating in Phase I was their sense of alienation from the
broader society. Many families, even long-term Vancouver residents, expressed feeling disconnected from the wider society and indicated that forming close relationships with other Canadians was not easily accomplished. They also indicated that cultivating these relationships with other Canadians of Hispanic descent was not as easy as they had expected. They spoke of being on the margin of both cultures, but of being members of neither (Suárez-Orozco, 1993). This was in part due to the diffuse nature of this population in Vancouver, and in Canada in general. Numerous participants spoke of feelings of frustration and isolation and in some cases, a strong feeling of physically living in Canada, but feeling more in touch with the social reality in their own countries. However, families that were able to create or join existing social networks, and therefore cultivate close friendships, particularly with other Spanish-speaking families, felt that these social systems played a crucial role in their lives, particularly given their lack of extended family. They also felt these affiliations provided various types of support and became important language socialization agencies for their families in their efforts to transmit their language and cultures.

7.1.1.4 Familism

Familism was also found to have strong connections to language and culture maintenance. Familism refers to core values that emphasize loyalty to the nuclear and extended family as a unit and relying mainly on this family for support. It can be described as strong feelings of identification and attachment of individuals with both their nuclear and extended families (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987). With this attachment comes strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity within the family.

Familism is a construct that has been examined in the context of Koreans (Kim, 1990), Chinese (Lau, 1981), and other groups (Aldrich, Lipman, & Goldman, 1973; Bulcroft, Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1996; Kassess, 1976; Lind, 1971; Mindel, 1980; Park, 1998). It has been argued that familism is a value that exists in all ethnic groups and in all individuals, to varying degrees (Valenzuela, 1990), and it has been shown to be one of the most important cultural values of Hispanics (Knight, Virdin, & Roosa, 1994; J. W. Moore, 1970). The existence of familism in Hispanic cultures has been documented in a wide body of research, especially in psychology (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Fernandez-Marina, Maldonado-Sierra, & Trent, 1958; Penalosa & McDonagh, 1966; Rogler & Hollingshead, 1985; Rumbaut, 2001; Sabogal et al., 1987; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007; Updegraff, Killoren,
It has also been found that Hispanics exhibit a significantly higher level of familism compared other groups (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Mindel, 1980; Rumbaut, 2001; Sabogal et al., 1987). For instance, it has been suggested that familism is a more common feature of Latino families in the U.S. diaspora as they often display more cohesion, intergenerational exchange, and family support than do Anglos (Reibman, 2002; Sabogal et al., 1987).

Since Hispanic immigrants may see other fellow Hispanic immigrants as their extended family (Suárez-Orozco, 1993), based on my analysis, I argue that families that participated in grassroots groups created spaces where they promoted values such as familism and saw aspects of family attachment, including family solidarity and family involvement, as key in the maintenance of their home language.

Most participating families defined themselves in relation to membership in large families. They longed for the support they were used to receiving from family members, saw their families as resources for heritage language exposure and as sources of support for language and cultural maintenance, and as one of the main motivations for striving to achieve these goals. Not having such benefit was stressful and a source of sadness for some of the parents and their children, many of whom actively sought out proxy family relationships.

Additionally, family values, communication and language maintenance were clearly interrelated for all the families. The majority of the families, especially those without relatives living near them, spoke of a deep family emptiness that became excruciating during key periods of their adaptation in Canada and under certain circumstances. Mrs. Aguirre, for instance, reported experiencing pain when the family immigrated to Canada because of the lack of family support she was used to in Mexico, but because their nuclear family had become members and active participants in La Casa Amistad, the whole family seemed to consider the group as a ‘surrogate extended family.’ While previous studies have highlighted the role of family in the maintenance of heritage languages and the importance of maintaining these languages for family unity (e.g., Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Sakamoto, 2001), the role of cultural values such as familism, and the creation of spaces for the promotion of these values, have not been discussed before as key factors in language maintenance.
7.1.2 The Construction of Spanish Maintenance

The participants’ aims of language socialization were motivated by their beliefs about language in general and Spanish in particular. They assigned diverse meanings to Spanish maintenance and held expectations of improved well-being in various respects as a result of their children’s bilingual and multilingual development. These expectations pointed to such matters as family cohesion, adaptable identities, broad worldviews, and enhanced employment advantages.

7.1.2.1 Intergenerational Continuity

Ensuring the continuity of intergenerational communication has been a consistent theme in studies of home language maintenance (Guardado, 2002; Kouritzin, 1999; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Thomas & Cao, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 1991). The families in this study, whether they were members of a grassroots group or not, invariably cited intergenerational communication as one of the most important goals of their attempts at language maintenance. They spoke of wanting to promote family values and to relay family history to their children. The family values referred to here do not necessarily suggest the values of two-parent families, but the family affiliation that most of the participants espoused, regardless of family composition.

Mrs. Pérez pointed to family communication as the most vital reason for striving to transmit Spanish to her children. Mrs. Aguirre explained how she sometimes threatened her daughters with not taking them to Mexico on their annual trips if they did not maintain the language because they would not be able to communicate appropriately with family there, indicating that the connection between Spanish and family was a strong one for them. Most of the other families expressed strong feelings about that connection between Spanish and their families. Mr. Pedroza, a recent immigrant from Colombia who participated in Phase I of the study only, explained that his nuclear family members had a strong family relationship, which was made possible by their language, stating: “we are really sustained by a world of words, all of them spoken in Spanish” (Mr. Pedroza, Interview: 05/31/05-TR7.4). The family accepted the fact that their public life in Canada was conducted in English, but their private home life and their connection to their family in Colombia could only be mediated by their mother tongue. Therefore, Mr. Pedroza reflected, the only key for maintaining and continuing their family values was to work “in defense of Spanish” (Mr. Pedroza, Interview: 05/31/05-TR7.4).
Other families also related Spanish with family in terms of closeness. A Colombian mother, Mrs. San Martin, related how she felt when her children addressed her in English. She stated: “I feel a distance between us” (Interview: 06/06/05-TR7.6).

Thus, one of the meanings the participating families ascribed to Spanish was a bridge between generations. As other scholars have argued, when families shift to a second language often they feel they are losing their children (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999) because they are no longer able to connect with them in the language in which they are most comfortable communicating.

Fostering L1 Identity

Studies have found that linguistic minorities’ ability to successfully maintain the home language in a dominant language environment gives them a stronger identity and sense of self (Cummins, 1984; Dagenais & Day, 1999; Guardado, 2002, 2006; Kouritzin, 1999; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Schecter, Sharken-Taboada, & Bayley, 1996). Pacini-Ketchabaw et al. (2001), for instance, reported that participating Latin American families saw L1 maintenance as a way to foster Latino identity. Schecter and Bayley (1997) found that the L1 was seen by their participating families as “a necessary social resource for maintaining cultural tradition and ethnic identity” (Schecter & Bayley, 2002, p. 79). Likewise, Sakamoto (2001) suggests that the connection of L1 maintenance and identity are important factors in the on-going process of cultural identity re/construction. Other scholars have also hypothesized that a strong L1 identity is one of the most critical factors conducive to L1 maintenance (Guardado, 2005; He, 2008), as well as a factor in preventing identity contradiction or fragility (Rodríguez, 1982). Therefore, the ability to successfully maintain the home language in a dominant language environment gives minority language speakers a stronger identity and sense of self.

The case study families, as well as the families participating in the initial broad survey of families, viewed Spanish as a useful tool for passing a clear sense of the family’s ethnocultural background to the children and inculcating a sense of cultural pride. It was crucial for them to maintain Spanish as the basis for cultivating a Hispanic cultural identity and for building up their children’s self-esteem culturally in order to save them from future identity contradictions (Rodríguez, 1982). In other words, to help them become proud of who they were in order to value their origins and to have a strong ethnic point of reference. They
saw Spanish as part of their culture and identity, in the same sense that Anzaldúa (1987) talked about the need to be proud of her language in order to be proud of herself.

Additionally, many parents had a sense of the dynamic ways that identity and language are interrelated. Mr. Maradiaga, for instance, argued for the importance of Spanish in the development of an ethnocultural identity. At the same time, he maintained that it was cultural identity that was necessary for maintaining Spanish, indicating that a strong cultural identity would allow their children to want to maintain Spanish, highlighting the dynamic interrelationship that exists between cultural identity and language maintenance and revealing an interactive relationship between the two (Guardado, 2005, in press).

This analysis also points to the relationship between language and culture and to a strong interdependence between the two. Mrs. Corral stated about her children: “Spanish is important for their cultural identity” (Interview: 04/29/05-TR7.7). Mrs. Amado felt that if her children did not maintain Spanish: “they’ll lose their very identity. It’s very important for them to maintain their roots” (Interview: 05/17/05-TR7.8). Mrs. Steinberg asserted: “language and cultural identity are the same. One can learn the culture through another language, but one loses a lot along the way” (Interview: 06/24/05-TR7.9). Thus a significant aspect of the construction of Spanish for the families was its key role in promoting a strong attachment of their children to their original cultures. They regarded Spanish as essential in the healthy development and continuous shaping of their children’s sense of self, echoing the voices of scholars and participants in numerous studies.

7.1.2.3 Emotional Strength

Another aspect of the construction of Spanish for the participants related to the role of the Spanish language in their emotional well-being and that of their children. Hence, they addressed aspects of their affective domain as a crucial part of their language socialization goals. The parents assigned a vital role to home language maintenance in the transmission of values by stressing the emotional and moral benefits (Wong Fillmore, 1991) and seemed aware of psychological consequences of not transmitting the language. In this way, they connected the successful continuation of their children’s Hispanic roots and Spanish language with their affective domain as well as their social, mental and moral development. Thus, Spanish was constructed as playing a central role in supporting the family members’ emotional well-being and as an intimate element of their identity.
Mrs. Asturia, a member of the Scout group stated that the family participated in the group because of the opportunity it provided to use the language and “to boost their [children’s] independence and self-esteem” (Interview: 01/13/06-TR7.10). The parents felt that the children would benefit from socialization that allowed them to value all cultures, but at the same time, to feel proud of their own roots, holistically raising children they described as more emotionally-stable human beings. As Mrs. Aguirre asserted: [language maintenance/group participation] reinforces the emotional aspect and I think that in the long run it can, I hope, foster human beings that are more secure, stronger and prouder of themselves, but in addition, who are interested in others” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/04/06-TR7.11).

Additionally, Spanish was portrayed as the main factor in such issues as the construction of some children as experts at certain times, which contributed to the enhancement of their self-esteem. For instance, of all the benefits Mrs. Aguirre saw in La Casa Amistad for her daughters, Mrs. Aguirre ranked the emotional advantages as the most important. She believed that her daughters benefited from their involvement in the language development of other children—novices—which assigned them an identity as “experts,” further strengthening their own self-esteem. Likewise, Mrs. Ruedas’ oldest daughter, Olivia, often found herself playing the role of an expert in El Centro de Cultura where she assisted the teachers with the rest of the students. This, according to Mrs. Ruedas, was important for Olivia’s self-esteem when her language ability was recognized and valued and she was used as a resource in the class activities. In this way, children’s Spanish skills were sometimes constructed by the families as playing a role in their emotional security and affective well-being.

7.1.2.4 Home Language is where the Heart is

As asserted by several group participants, Spanish was for them a “heartening” language, a language that penetrated multifaceted levels of their selves, and the groups served the purpose of giving them the space for fostering such feeling. For Mrs. Martínez, El Centro de Cultura also had a deeper value, which was the emotional completeness that came from the connection to the mother tongue. Mrs. Martínez appeared to speak on behalf of all the mothers in the group when she described how Spanish enabled them to connect to their most intimate part of their identity and allowed them to be who they truly were. Through
Spanish, they felt they could for a moment “remove the[ir] Canadianness” and be “simply Latin-American;” through Spanish they could remove their “Canadian skin” and connect to their innermost self, stripping themselves of the Canadian self and leaving the bare mother-tongue self. Like Gloria Anzaldúa, Mrs. Martínez seemed to proclaim “I am my language” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 59). The parents appeared to indicate that the English language was like a reluctant, transient guest, but the Spanish language was an enduring inhabitant in them.

Likewise, parents that did not participate in grassroots groups also constructed Spanish in intimate terms and in terms of it being “a living speech” within them (E. Hoffman, 1999). Mrs. Corral, from Colombia, complained about a school teacher who advised her to speak only in English to her six year-old son, to which she declined because, as she stated, “feelings cannot be transmitted in English” (Interview: 05/29/05-TR7.12). She added that when her son said to her in English “I love you” it did not mean much. She added: “but if he says to me “te amo mamá,” he touches my soul” (Interview: 04/29/05-TR7.13). Mrs. Nuñez, another Colombian mother, stated: “necesito desahogarme, necesito escuchar mi lengua” (I need to unwind; I need to hear my tongue/I need to listen to my language) (Interview: 05/31/05). These mothers also echoed Anzaldúa’s words and displayed a kind of homesickness in the absence of opportunities to hear and use Spanish, which was “at the heart of who they were” (Gonzalez, 2001, p. xix) as persons. Evocative of Hoffman (1999), a Polish immigrant to Canada and then the U.S., Mr. Pedroza, Mrs. Nuñez’s husband, stated that in the English language he felt like an “alien to myself.” These parents spoke from a space of dislocation, having left behind a whole world of friends and human interactions, and having lost the ability to effectively communicate while living in a world where Spanish was their strongest connection to this past.

7.1.2.5 Comfort Language

The Spanish language was also seen as a type of “comfort language” by many families. It was understood as carrying similar implications as “comfort food,” which is often viewed by many people as uncomplicated, inexpensive, and easy to prepare, and satisfying at a deep level. Likewise, the families’ constructions of Spanish included a view that it was the container of the parents’ identity and history, the carrier of emotions and the bearer of the

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31 Spanish was “uncomplicated” in the sense the parents felt the most comfortable speaking it, although it took much effort to transmit it to their children.
fundamental cultural raw material for socializing their children into the beliefs and values of the Hispanic culture. For the parents, like comfort food, Spanish was an uncomplicated language that did not require a great deal of effort; it came spontaneously to them and it was satisfying at a deep level. Therefore, the parents attempted to inculcate into their children the same feelings they had for the Spanish language, both at home and in their safe houses. In contrast to the parents’ feelings about Spanish as an uncomplicated language that did not require much effort to use and comprehend, it did require enormous effort to transmit it to their children, both at home and in the community.

The views the families shared about the meaning of Spanish as a comfort language had various aspects. For instance, many of the families maintained close ties with their families in their countries of origin. Of the three case study families, Mrs. Ruedas’ and Mrs. Aguirre’s families spent time in their respective countries of origin, Peru and Mexico, every year. Both parents stated that their children had strong emotional ties to their extended families and that these trips were always a source of great excitement for the children and an opportunity to strengthen the emotional ties between the families, mediated by Spanish. Although the children were enthusiastic about these experiences, the parents seemed to value these lived experiences the most as a way of linguistically unraveling their thoughts and restoring their cultural vitality. Along with these two case families, many of the other group participants and Phase I families found themselves homeward bound almost every year, which contributed to their emotional well-being because of their ability to connect with their family and culture in their own language. Moreover, these were valuable opportunities to further socialize their children to the use of Spanish and to its connection to their inner selves, as also reported in a previous study with Spanish- speaking families whose children had maintained Spanish (Guardado, 2002, 2006).

Conversely, in the face of their immigrant status in the Canadian “contact zones,” the parents’ sense of self appeared to be “lost in translation” (E. Hoffman, 1990), but at certain times they found comfort in the Spanish language, which, as a security blanket for a child, provided them with warmth, emotional shelter and soothing support. In the same way that people turn to comfort food because of its familiarity, to obtain emotional security, or special reward, many participating families saw Spanish as a type of comfort language. To them it represented what was familiar and a familial connection, it gave them emotional support, it
supported the promotion of cultural pride and self-esteem and most of all, it enabled them to express themselves with eloquence, not as aliens in themselves, but as their real selves. Additionally, just like comfort food provides people with pleasant associations of childhood, Spanish represented a link to their own childhood language socialization and it was associated with their cultural identity and with their families. Finally, as people often eat comfort food in order to obtain a sense of continuity, for the participating families speaking their mother tongue gave them continuity between their past and their present, and it held a strong promise of connecting to their future through the Spanish language socialization of their children.

7.1.2.6 Door Opening Metaphor

The study participants’ constructed Spanish maintenance as a key that opened doors. Their beliefs regarding the value of bilingualism and multilingualism echoed those of participants in other studies with Hispanics (e.g., Guardado, 2002; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001) and with other populations (e.g., Dagenais & Berron, 2001; Dagenais & Day, 1999; Kouritzin, 1999; Sakamoto, 2001) in Canada regarding future economic benefits. Sakamoto’s participants, for instance, were interested in the possibility that bilingualism and trilingualism offered for their children’s future “successful careers” (p. 51) and “social mobility” (p. 52). Moreover, studies in this research area have revealed immigrant families’ prevailing concern with English acquisition (Cummins, 2000; Merino, 1983), considering L1 maintenance a hindrance to that goal (Schecter & Bayley, 1997). In contrast to these studies, the overwhelming majority of participants in the present study not only defied such deficit-model views of bilingualism, but also demonstrated having an organic understanding (Gramsci, 1985) of the role of first language maintenance in learning English and other languages (Crawford, 1992; Cummins, 1981, 2000; Krashen, 1996). Therefore, their construction of Spanish and its role in their families encompassed views that connected it to the production and re-production of linguistic, cultural, symbolic and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The families believed that their children’s future success and well-being largely hinged on the maintenance of Spanish and its potential for opening the doors for other languages and cultures.
7.1.2.6.1 L1 Maintenance and Socioeconomic Mobility

A common motivating factor for transmission of the L1 in all families was the future economic benefits they associated with bilingualism and multilingualism. The economic benefits the families cited referred to better prospects for their children’s job and business opportunities in the future. Moreover, some of the children were also aware of this goal and the potential positive effect of bilingualism in their career aspirations. Olivia asserted:

I’d like to be a criminologist and a teacher. If I become a teacher I can teach Spanish, English or French. In criminology, if there is a need for translation or something related to Spanish, I can do it. (Interview: 09/28/06-TR7.14)

In Mrs. Aguirre’s family, as in the other focus families, the decision to maintain and use Spanish in the family was made when they immigrated to Canada. She asserted that “if they have three or four [languages] it will be better” (Interview: 05/14/05-TR7.15). In this particular statement she referred to their extrinsic motivation (Petri, 1991) to promote the first language, because of the tangible rewards that this promised, namely, future economic benefits. As she spoke: “it can be used to their advantage in the future when they grow up, in their line of work. It allows you to be more mobile” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR7.16). Therefore, mobility and flexibility in employment were goals they expected to achieve as part of their “investment” (Norton, 2000) in the linguistic marketplace.

Aside from the case families, similar feelings were reported by the broader survey of families in the community, whose construction of Spanish often included the ‘door opening’ metaphor. For instance, Mrs. Ovando stated: “we are aware that being bilingual opens many doors” (Interview: 05/24/05-TR7.17). Mrs. Vanegas equated being bilingual with being “educated” and saw future employment opportunities as becoming available by knowing more than one language:

The world revolves around educated people, people who are bilingual. They have better opportunities, are better prepared, and obviously that is their future…doors open in the most unimaginable places. Doors open regarding employment. (Mrs. Vanegas, Interview: 04/23/05-TR7.18)

When Mr. Pedroza spoke of L1 maintenance in economic terms, he saw it as becoming his daughter’s savings box:

She will need Spanish because that will be her plus. Her savings box for the future. Her piggybank for her future. (Mr. Pedroza, Interview: 05/31/05-TR7.19)

32 In accordance with arguments made by other scholars (e.g., Garcia, 1995) and findings in many other studies.
Mrs. Corral also understood L1 maintenance as a means to give her children an economic advantage. She stated: “It’s one more tool that will help position themselves and become more competitive in the job market” (Mrs. Corral, Interview: 04/29/05-TR7.20). However, some parents also saw L1 maintenance as providing benefits other than economic benefits. Mrs. Steinberg saw Spanish as the key to opening employment advantages and accessing other cultures:

Thinking about the future, an additional language always opens many more doors for entering other countries…or in a job where Spanish is required. They can also function in other countries where only Spanish is spoken. A language is an extremely important key. (Interview: 06/24/05-TR7.21)

In sum, these families constructed Spanish maintenance as a key to a better socioeconomic status and as the first step in opening doors for other cultures and other languages (Maguire, 2005). In the next section I examine participants’ constructions of L1 as a facilitator of other languages.

7.1.2.6.2 L1 Maintenance and the Promotion of Other Languages

As already stated, the families placed a great deal of value on having multilingual abilities. Mrs. Vanegas stated: “To speak two languages, three, four, five languages, is a great advantage” (Mrs. Vanegas, Interview: 04/23/05-TR7.22). Therefore, the families did not only count on Spanish to provide these opportunities, but also saw it as a starting point for learning other languages, and thus, increasing their professional potential. This was also evident in the parents’ own interest in learning other languages. Some of the parents, like Mrs. Delgado, already spoke three languages. She was already fluent in Spanish, English and French, and was studying Italian at the time of the interview in May, 2005. This attitude toward other languages and their speakers was also evident in the efforts made by the families in El Centro de Cultura by accommodating three Chinese-speaking students in the group.

In Mrs. Pérez’ case, the doors that were opened through Spanish were not necessarily the doors of economic opportunity or other languages, but the doors of cultural knowing and awareness. Such notions were particularly applicable in this case because the Spanish language is associated with cultural, racial, religious, dialectal and regional diversity. To Mrs. Pérez, the Scout group and El Centro de Cultura, along with the family’s other Spanish language socialization efforts, was key to helping open those doors:
And of course, once they have it [Spanish language], it opens many more doors for you and you can appreciate a whole culture, not one, but many, like Spain, Mexico, Guatemala, Argentina. Because it’s so wonderful, for sure, imagine. Besides, it opens doors for learning other Latin languages. (Mrs. Pérez, Interview: 05/12/06-TR7.23)

Like Mrs. Pérez, other families went beyond the economic benefits they expected Spanish to afford their children. Mrs. Aguirre also addressed the transferability of skills from one language to another (Crawford, 1992; Cummins, 1981, 2000; Krashen, 1996), as evidenced in this quote: “I think that by creating an avenue for another language, one is broadening the options for other languages” (Mrs. Aguirre, Interview: 05/14/05-TR7.24). The family’s efforts in L1 maintenance were directed at creating opportunities for their daughters to build on that knowledge and learn other languages; forming the linguistic foundations the children could draw from in their future language learning endeavors.

Most of the children in the focus families and in the families that participated in the grassroots groups were already bilingual, trilingual and even quadrilingual. Maribel’s children spoke Spanish, English, French, and Dutch. Likewise, Mrs. Pérez’ children already spoke Spanish, English, and French fluently and had a high command of Catalan. Therefore, living in the Canadian context, with French as an official language, the most common third language among the children was French. Many of the children, including Mrs. Martínez’s and Mrs. Pérez’s, as well as the children of Mr. Herrera, Mrs. Kyllonen, Mrs. Bedward, Mrs. Ruedas, and others, were in French immersion. Additionally, many other families had definite plans for French immersion or to pursue French by other means in the near future. These are some examples: Mr. San Martín stated: “In the future they will switch to a school with a stronger focus on French” (Interview: 06/06/05-TR7.25). Mr. Calles: “we want to enroll her in French immersion” (Interview: 05/30/05-TR7.26). Mrs. Vanegas: “we have ensured that our children take French as an additional language in school, because they already know Spanish” (Interview: 04/23/05-TR7.27). Mirroring the findings of Dagenais and Berron (2001), approximately half of the 34 participating families embraced French or French immersion as part of their project of multilingual development, ensuring their children acquired French and English, while developing and using the home language. Although there is currently an increased interest for French immersion among Anglo families, an added benefit for minority-language students is that it puts them at the same linguistic level as their peers (Dagenais & Day, 1998).
Thus, the above analysis shows the families appeared to say that not passing on the language and culture to their children would be equivalent to stealing from them, robbing them of their heritage, their future economic opportunities and the opportunities for them to learn other languages more easily. The parents’ beliefs about Spanish show they recognized the value of linguistic capital in society and identified its potential for reproduction and conversion into other forms of capital. They were interested in adding to their linguistic capital, and were aware of its potential for being converted into symbolic, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

7.1.2.7 Broader Vision of the World

The families’ goals to socialize their children into identities that embraced the importance of languages as part of their value systems were intricately connected to their aims of socializing their children to a broader worldview. Because the families constructed Spanish maintenance as a key factor in fostering strong cultural identities in their children while also being members of Canadian society with strong transnational linkages, their practices displayed cultural attachments that could be understood as transnational. At the same time, their stated attitudes and social interactions indexed a socialization into stances that included pan-Hispanic identifications. Promoting pan-ethnicity, however, did not mean rejecting identities specific to national origin; on the contrary, it was part of their view of Spanish as key to maintaining national identities, being legitimate members of, and identifying with, a pluralistic society, as well as adopting a cosmopolitan outlook that emphasized global citizenry, and thus, a broader vision of the world.

Transnationalism and cosmopolitanism have become popular concepts in recent scholarship in fields such as sociology and cultural geography. However, these constructs have not been clearly defined or differentiated from each other (Roudometof, 2005). Faist (1998) defines transnationalism as emergent communities comprised of individuals who are settled in different national societies and who share common religious, territorial, linguistic and other interests and references across national boundaries. For the purposes of this discussion, transnationalism is used to explain the experiences of individuals and families who maintain strong cultural and familial ties to actual or imagined communities (Anderson, 1983) in their countries of origin while living in diaspora.
The notion of cosmopolitanism is not new. It comes from the Greek term *kosmopolitês*, which means ‘a citizen of the world’ (Roudometof, 2005). Cosmopolitanism connotes mobility of people, ideas, cultures, images or objects (Germann Molz, 2005) across spaces and a relationship between the local, the national and the global (Starkey, 2007). Thus, it refers to a “global sense of place” (Massey, 1994, p. 12) that indicates a shift in collective cultural identities that cultivates the recognition of others (Delanty, 2006). A cosmopolitan disposition allows individuals to draw on the country of origin as a source of identity (Kastoryano, 2000), and at the same time, it promotes in them a “stance of openness towards divergent cultural experiences” (Hannerz, 1990, p. 239). In other words, it assumes the possession of adaptable dispositions and “a commitment to global solidarity and global cultural diversity” (Smith, 2007, p. 39) that nurtures multiple belonging. The relationship between transnationalism and cosmopolitanism is, then, that cosmopolitanism refers to the attitudes and transnationalism describes the individual experiences. A synergy of many cultures, with at least two dominant ones.

### 7.1.2.7.1 Nationalism, Transnationalism and Pan-ethnicity

An important aspect of the understanding of Spanish maintenance for the families was its key role in promoting strong cultural identities in their children. Many of the families, including Mrs. Aguirre and Mrs. Ruedas, had strong ties with their families in Mexico and Peru, respectively. Likewise, their children often referred to the value they assigned to that connection, signaling identities connected to their countries of origin. For the Aguirre-Ramírez family, their annual visits to Mexico were one of the most significant mechanisms for the girls’ language maintenance. It was clear that the Aguirre-Ramírez daughters drew on their linkage to Mexico as a source of cultural affiliation.

Whether the participants had similar or different experiences in relation to their countries of origin, the majority seemed to rely on these countries for a cultural connection. The Ruedas-Blanco children’s attitudes and experiences were quite similar to those of the Aguirre-Ramírez children. They travelled regularly to Peru and saw life in that country as an extension of their life in Canada, sometimes even indicating a closer connection to their country of origin than to Canada because of their family relations. On the other hand, the Fernández-Maradiaga family’s experiences were quite different. They had never returned to their native Guatemala, and yet, depended on it as their most central point of cultural
reference and kept informed about life there. They asserted that socializing their children to identities that included their cultural roots was necessary for their language maintenance. Although living in Canadian society, these families maintained strong ties and shared various interests with their countries of origin. Therefore, the children seemed to embrace national identities connected to their countries of origin and to Canada. The experiences of the children socialized them into transnational spaces where their identities were shaped in unique ways that did not completely resemble those of their parents, their compatriots living in their countries of origin or other fellow Canadians.

The politics of labeling similar populations in the United States has been widely debated in academic circles and elsewhere (Itzigsohn & Dore-Cabral, 2000; Ruiz Baia, 2004; Sornmers, 1991), however, this debate has not yet been taken up in Canadian academic circles, despite the fact that the question of whether a pan-Hispanic / Latin American (or even Spanish-speaking) identity exists is a critical one. Although the study did not specifically seek to investigate the participating families’ attitudes regarding pan-ethnic identifications, in addition to the promotion of national and transnational identities, interview comments and interactions pointed toward positive acceptance and promotion of pan-ethnic identities (e.g., Latinismo and Hispanidad), and toward their children’s socialization into these identities. They frequently constructed Spanish as a common link among people of various Spanish-speaking origins.

For instance, because of the diversity of origins of the families participating in grassroots groups, one of their objectives was to introduce children to the Hispanic world. Thus, they celebrated various holidays such as Día de los Muertos, and engaged in constructing common cultural artifacts, such as piñatas. By focusing on popular themes in Spanish-speaking countries, the parents taught the children about pan-Hispanic identities. This was also evident in the type of language and literacy activities conducted in the groups. For instance, in La Casa Amistad, Mrs. Aguirre conducted an activity where the children participated in naming a restaurant. Despite the children’s suggestions to use country specific names, Mrs. Aguirre insisted on using a more neutral term in an attempt to socialize children into pan-Hispanic / Latin American identities.

Although some scholars argue that terms like Hispanic and Latino constitute a denial of the “national, linguistic, social, historical, cultural, gendered, racial, political, and
religious” diversity of the people of Latin America (Oboler, 1992, p. 22), most participants adopted a “postethnic” position, selecting voluntary, rather than prescribed, affiliations, recognizing the multidimensional and socially-situated nature of their identity and their diverse multi-group memberships (Fishman, 1999). Thus, the beliefs, values, and social practices through which members of this speech community attempted to constitute the identities of their children (Gee, 1999) aimed to foster not just national-origin identities, or Canadian identities, but more inclusive identifications with a broader community.

7.1.2.7.2 Cosmopolitanism

Many of the participating families held the view that Spanish maintenance was an important catalyst in socializing their children into a progressive worldview. Of all the participating families, the Fernández-Maradiaga and Aguirre-Ramírez families emphasized this notion most strongly. First of all, all the parents subscribed to a syncretic notion of cultural identity that strongly embraced their own culture. At the same time, they were aware that their children’s sense of identity was different from their own. Mrs. Fernández stated:

The cultural identity of the girls is a hybrid. We can’t create a mini-world inside these four walls. They have to know their culture, but we can’t enclose them in it. It can’t be done. We wouldn’t be achieving our goals for them to have a broad outlook. (Interview: 05/09/05-TR7.28)

The family was aware of the outside influences on their daughters’ evolving identity and understood that they could not enclose them in a cultural bubble. Additionally, as asserted by Mrs. Fernández, one of their aims was to socialize them into a “broad world outlook.” This outlook can be seen as consistent with pursuing an understanding and appreciation of other cultures, drawing from them in the course of their identity formation.

The Aguirre-Ramírez family had similar views. They placed a central value on bilingualism and multilingualism as part of a belief system that included valuing all languages and cultures equally. Mr. Ramírez stated the family was interested in transmitting a sense of value for languages other than Spanish. They explained they wanted to raise children who were “interested in others,” echoing scholars studying cosmopolitanism (e.g., Delanty, 2006). They added they wanted their daughters to “absorb everything they [were] experiencing in their surroundings, but without losing their roots and the traditions they brought or that we have in Mexico” (Mr. Ramírez, Interview: 04/15/06-TR7.29), thus socializing them into hybrid identities as Canadians, which to them meant embracing an
affiliation to a broader identity beyond that of Latin American or Mexican. To them, Spanish maintenance in the context of the Canadian multicultural milieu meant socializing their children “to be citizens of the world” and incorporating aspects of the Canadian cultural fabric into their identification. These goals were associated with their cosmopolitan stance and their efforts to ensure their daughters have access to increased “mobility,” a characteristic of global citizenship (Lin, 2003), in their futures lives.

These notions were pursued by the Fernández-Maradiaga family both at home and in the Scout group in various ways. Their socialization aims at home included a construction of Spanish maintenance as an essential factor in providing their daughters with a “broader vision of the world,” enabling them to function, think and conduct analyses through more than one cultural system (Schecter & Bayley, 2002), enriching their worldview and increasing their meaning-making capabilities in life. This was an attempt at relating their daughters socialization experiences with local, national (i.e., Canada and Guatemala) and global perspectives (Starkey, 2007) and promoting identity development that drew from multiple cultural sources (Kastoryano, 2000). This also entailed maintaining an open attitude toward other cultures (Hannerz, 1990), and preparing them for creative thinking and intercultural flexibility (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2007).

In addition to the above points, in the Scout group the family’s language socialization aims included promoting good citizenship and contributing toward social change. The maintenance of Spanish language and culture were central to these goals. The parents, as Scout leaders, promoted active citizenship through informal education activities in an attempt to mold the Scout members’ value systems and identities, raising awareness of their roles and responsibilities to their families, their communities, society and the environment. Through this, they intended to foster the children’s social consciousness as their contribution to the community and to effecting social change. Mr. Maradiaga stated their aim was to “form the conscience of the children about their reason to exist, with a social conscience in all aspects of life” (Interview: 11/05/05- TR7.30). Based on interviews and observed interactions, Mr. Maradiaga and Mrs. Fernández’ understandings of good citizenship assumed the maintenance of Spanish language and culture. Likewise, they felt that for the children a cosmopolitan outlook presupposed developing a strong sense of belonging related to their original cultures and languages, as well as an appreciation for other cultures and languages. It
presumed a commitment to the community, to the environment, to social change and to
cultural diversity, in line with some of the current conceptualizations of cosmopolitanism
(Smith, 2007). For them, language and cultural maintenance, good citizenship and
cosmopolitanism were intertwined both at home and in the Scout group’s objectives.

Thus, the families’ construction of Spanish maintenance went beyond more usual
expectations of future economic benefits. It was aimed at maintaining strong cultural
identities, which were influenced by their transnational activities. Nonetheless, it also
encompassed important elements of cosmopolitanism. Contrary to popular opinion, language
maintenance was not just about preserving a mythic past; it was about raising their children
as cosmopolitan people with the ability to establish social relations and to bridge gaps
between local and global ways of thinking. Language maintenance was constructed in a
progressive rather than a nostalgic and conservative sense, and as a way of creating a synergy
of many cultures (with at least two being dominant) in the language socialization experiences
in which they sought to immerse their children. The families influenced the development of
their identities in particular ways that fostered a global sense of place (Massey, 1994).

7.2 The Processes of Language Socialization

In the previous section I analyzed how the families constructed Spanish and language
maintenance in a variety of ways. Because language socialization practices affect language
maintenance (Field, 2001; Friedman, 2006; Garrett, 2005; Howard, 2008; Nonaka, 2004;
Ochs, 2002; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008), in the following section I provide an analysis of
some of the characteristic strategies and issues of the language socialization processes the
children experienced at home and in their grassroots groups. Whereas the content analysis
discussed in the first section of this chapter interweaved perspectives of the three case
families with those of the participants in the broader survey, this section will focus
exclusively on analyzing the findings from naturalistic interactions that took place in the
three focus families and in their grassroots groups.

7.2.1 Socializing Linguistic Ideologies

As argued by Ochs and Schieffelin (1995, 2008), understanding language ideologies
is a key move towards understanding the bilingual development of children as these have a
strong effect on children’s language socialization processes. Linguistic ideologies refer to the
values and beliefs of individuals and communities about the worth of their languages and
how these languages should be used (Baquedano-Lopez & Kattan, 2008) in their social lives. Language socialization is primarily concerned with how individuals are socialized into language and through language (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b), and because the central question in language socialization deals with *how* (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Ochs, 2002), in this section I examine some of the ways in which families in the study attempted to inculcate their linguistic values and communicative practices (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002) into their children. The parents in this study displayed a variety of explicit and implicit practices designed to socialize their children into particular language ideologies, policies and practices. At times they used explicit and implicit directives and recasts as “corrective feedback” to directly or subtly guide children to follow Spanish-only rules. Less frequently, they used lectures to encourage children to maintain the habit of speaking Spanish, thus fostering positive Spanish language ideologies. Occasionally, children also self-repaired after having produced a dispreferred utterance (e.g., using English or code-mixing between English and Spanish). In this way they displayed their nascent understanding of their parents’ language ideologies.

### 7.2.1.1 Language Policies

The three focus families had strong commitments to the transmission, maintenance and use of Spanish in the home. To that end, they had established Spanish-only rules which included communication among all family members. These policies varied somewhat in theory and in practice. For instance, the Aguirre-Ramírez family had a Spanish-only rule which included communication among their daughters. However, they were aware that the older girls often spoke in English to each other and accepted it as a fact of bilingualism. Outside the home, however, they sometimes relaxed this rule (e.g., when non-Spanish speaking children were present). Likewise, the Fernández-Maradiaga family expected family members to communicate only in Spanish. In contrast to the Aguirre-Ramírez family, however, they also expected them to maintain the rule outside the home. They asserted their daughters spoke almost exclusively in Spanish to each other. The Ruedas-Blanco family had a Spanish-only policy at home that they characterized as “not 100% strict.” Therefore, the older children tended to speak some English to each other, but spoke only in Spanish to Graciela, the youngest child.
The language policies in the grassroots groups were more complex. La Casa Amistad had a very strict Spanish-only rule. In general, there was compliance to this rule, particularly when the families participated in planned activities. When children engaged in unstructured play, usually outdoors, attempts were often made to maintain the use of Spanish, but in general, children tended to switch to English almost exclusively as they played. El Grupo Scout Vistas also had an explicit Spanish-only policy, and children were frequently reminded to follow it. However, there was at least one occasion when the leaders designed an activity that allowed some children to use English. Two children working on learning the promise were instructed to do it in English, with the objective of ensuring the internalization and memorization of the words of the promise. This decision likely had a detrimental effect on the language ideologies into which their parents and leaders intended to socialize the children, sending a message that key activities should be conducted in English instead of Spanish. Of the three groups, El Centro de Cultura displayed the most controversial language usage. Mrs. Pérez’s class was conducted almost exclusively in English with heavy reliance on translation. Mrs. Martínez’s class had an inclination toward the use of Spanish in the activities, but also relied heavily on Spanish-English translation and explanations in English. In sharp contrast, Mrs. Nieve’s class, which included the youngest children, was conducted exclusively in Spanish, and the Spanish-only rule was strictly enforced at all times. Therefore, the language policies and practices in the three families and groups provided a range of language socialization experiences to the children, highlighting the locally-defined nature of language ideologies and practices.

7.2.1.2 Directives: Explicit and Implicit

One form of corrective feedback (e.g., Lightbown & Spada, 1990) parents used with children to instruct them to switch to Spanish was directives. Directives, particularly explicit ones, are somewhat akin to prompting. Prompting refers to “caregivers providing explicit instruction in what to say and how to speak in a range of recurrent activities and events” (Ochs, 1986, p. 5). Prompting behavior (e.g., ‘say thank you’) has been observed in families in a variety of settings (e.g., Demuth, 1986; Eisenberg, 1986; Miller, 1982; Rabain-Jamin, 1998; Schieffelin, 1986, 1990). Analyses of the recorded and observed naturalistic interactional data show that one of the most pervasive language socialization strategies the
adults in the study employed to cultivate favorable linguistic ideologies was the use of speech acts such as explicit and implicit directive forms.

Explicit directives were by far the most common type of the two as they seemed to come automatically to the parents, as evidenced in the following example from Chapter 6, which took place in La Casa Amistad (Mrs. C=Mrs. Clavel):

[Excerpt 7.1]

1 Child 1: ((Speaking in English)) (xxxxxxxxxx)
2 Child 2: the program (xxx)
3 Perla: (xx) but (xxx) over there=
4 Mrs. C: =in SPANish hey hey hey. What’s the matter my friends?

The context of this interaction was an arts and crafts project led by Mrs. Clavel. The children were caught having switched to English entirely, prompting an admonition from Mrs. Clavel. As with explicit prompting, her directive was initiated by an imperative form that carried a particular intonational contour (Ochs, 1986), which she followed with a rhetorical question. In monolingual societies, prompting is commonly used to lead children to use a particular speech form, to “correct or expand children’s utterances to be socially appropriate and grammatical, repeat and paraphrase their own speech” (Paugh, 2005, p. 57), “to ‘teach’ children the ‘proper’ uses of both languages” (Howard, 2008, p. 192), among other goals. Likewise, these families used directives to elicit from the children the required code—Spanish. In order to accomplish this goal, they typically used an imperative form (e.g., ‘speak Spanish’) with some prosodic feature for emphasis (e.g., word or syllable stress), which was sometimes followed by some type of reprimand with the aim of further constituting their utterances as orders (Ochs, 1996). Ochs (1986) suggests that prosodic features have a strong prompting effect, even when they are not accompanied by explicit directives.

Parents also often used directives that exhibited non-explicit features. The following is a typical example of the type of indirect discourse parents often used to convey to children the message that they were using the wrong code for the social situation or context: (Mrs. A=Mrs. Aguirre):

[Excerpt 7.2]

1 Mrs. A: what is that Flo-Penelope?
2 Penelope: it’s a (0.2) paper=
3 Mrs. A: =it’s a WHAT?=  
4 Penelope: =a °paper’ (xx[x)
5 Mrs. A: [I don’t understand
In this particular interaction, as analyzed in Chapter 6, it is clear that Mrs. Aguirre was not interested in the propositional content of three-year old Penelope’s words, but in the code she used. In line 3 Mrs. Aguirre’s utterance came immediately after Penelope had used the English word *paper*, which Mrs. Aguirre did not accept. Instead, she attempted to encourage her to use the right Spanish word, raising her voice in the word *WHAT?* In her reply, Penelope again used the word *paper* and was still talking, presumably explaining what it was she had in her hand, when Mrs. Aguirre overlapped her speech. Rather than simply using a direct command (e.g., speak Spanish), Mrs. Aguirre drew on other linguistic resources to call Penelope’s attention to the appropriate linguistic behavior. There was no uptake of the message on Mrs. Aguirre’s part once she had made her point through an implicit directive (I don’t understand). In implicit directives the message of the directive is expressed indirectly (Clyne, 1996). However, given that this was a common occurrence in her family, as well as in the other two case families and other group participants, it can be argued that the implicit directive contained an explicit command through its prosodic features (i.e., loudness of voice). In addition, a similar argument can be made using Grice’s notion of *conversational implicature* (Levinson, 1983). Implicit directives tend to rely on conversational implicature in order to produce contextually-situated meanings. Implicature is used to explain utterances that mean more than what is said. In the interaction above, Mrs. Aguirre’s utterance (I don’t understand) has a meaning that is quite different from what she actually said. Her utterance could be paraphrased as “I heard your answer, but I’m not going to accept it and I will pretend not to understand it until you say it in Spanish, the ‘proper’ language in the family.” Penelope was expected to draw this inference from Mrs. Aguirre’s utterance “I don’t understand” and produce the Spanish word “*papel*” in Spanish, thus displaying the expected language behavior aimed at socializing her to the family’s linguistic ideologies. This example illustrates the “ideologies and power relations that underlie socializing interactions” (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 343) in the three case study families.

### 7.2.1.3 Recasts

Recasts are a common form of corrective feedback given to language learners (Carpenter, Jeon, MacGregor, & Mackey, 2006; Ellis & Sheen, 2006; Lyster, 1998, 2001; Lyster & Ranta, 1997; Nassaji, 2007; Nicholas, Lightbown, & Spada, 2001; Schmidt, 1990;
Sheen, 2004). Nicholas, Lightbown and Spada (2001) describe recasts as reformulations made by listeners of a speaker’s incorrect utterances. Recasts acknowledge the content of a speaker’s utterance, helping maintain the flow of communication and providing an alternative model (Nicholas et al., 2001). However, some scholars consider recasts too ambiguous because of the repetition of the speaker’s statements, which may be interpreted as focusing on meaning (Lyster, 1998), overlooking the error made. Additionally, as part of this discussion, noticing, or paying attention to speech, has been suggested to activate language acquisition (Schmidt, 1990). Yet, because of the implicit nature of recasts, without directly calling the speaker’s attention to the error, the speaker may not notice a correction was made. Despite some contradictions, corrective feedback using recasts is considered a valuable strategy in second language acquisition by several scholars, albeit sometimes with reservations (e.g., Long, Inagaki, & Ortega, 1998; Lyster, 1998, 2001; Nicholas et al., 2001).

The interactional data from the grassroots groups show that parents used at least two main types of recasts. They used recasts to provide negative evidence to children regarding incorrectly formed utterances (e.g., verb forms, lexis, syntax), and to offer a subtle code correction, that is, to keep the children focused on speaking Spanish. Whereas the type of recasts usually discussed in the SLA literature refers to within-code corrections, the latter type mentioned above (cross-code) was meant to prompt a code switch. While this type of negative evidence in L1 acquisition has previously been acknowledged (Loewen & Philp, 2006; Long, 1996), its existence and use as a way of socializing linguistic ideologies in heritage language maintenance studies has not been discussed in the research literature.

In L1 or L2 learning contexts, recasts are formulated by juxtaposing the incorrect forms with the correct forms (Loewen & Philp, 2006). In the contexts under analysis here, recasts were produced by juxtaposing the ‘incorrect’ code with the ‘correct’ code, in order to induce noticing. As the following example demonstrates, the recasts used by parents were clearly meant to provide to the children a reformulation of an utterance spoken in the wrong code (i.e., English) (Teacher=Mrs. Nieve):

[Excerpt 7.3]

1 Graciela: this is black
2 Teacher: ese es negro {this is black}
3 Graciela: negro {black}
4 (4.1)
5 Graciela: black se dice negro {black is said black}
6 Teacher: exactamente {exactly}
In this interaction Graciela produced an utterance in English, but through Mrs. Nieve’s recast in Spanish (ese es negro), she seemed to learn a new semantic relationship, and repeated the lexical item negro modeled by Mrs. Nieve. Although Graciela likely already knew the word negro, Mrs. Nieve’s corrective feedback captured her attention and triggered in her the realization that ‘black se dice negro’. The long pause in line 4 (4.1 sec.) before such realization indicates the recast led to her noticing the problematic utterance and to verbalize her recognition with emphasis in NEGRO.

Mrs. Nieve’s recast acknowledged the content of Graciela’s utterance and, although no extensive communication followed, it showed an invitation for communication. By focusing on the meaning of Graciela’s utterance and providing an alternative model to follow, rather than simply issuing a command to switch languages, Mrs. Nieve created a positive environment that led to an interaction in which she continued to positively reinforce and support Graciela’s noticing and repetition of the correct utterance and commentary.

Several researchers have argued that because of their implicit, and therefore ambiguous, nature, the modifications made in recasts may not be noticeable to learners. Lyster and Ranta (1997) suggest other forms of correction, such as metalinguistic feedback, clarification requests, and teacher repetition of error may be more effective than recasts. While these reservations may apply in single-code interactions, cross-code recasts are not affected by such disadvantages. On the contrary, they seem to be effective ways of indicating to children they are using an inappropriate code, as it is unlikely that children receiving this type of corrective feedback will not notice that a different language is being used in the recast. In a sense, in using recasts to promote Spanish language ideologies “the medium is the message” (McLuhan, 1964; Postman, 1986).

The example above demonstrates that cross-code recasts can retain the central meaning while remaining communicatively oriented, as opposed to implicit directives such as ‘I don’t understand’ or explicit directives like ‘speak Spanish’, which tend to shut down the communication channels. Therefore, because language socialization is an interactionally-negotiated process (Ochs, 1988), I argue that in this kind of context recasts can generate interactions with the potential to foster acquisition and to socialize linguistic ideologies.
7.2.1.4 Self-repairs

Self-repair has been studied from various research perspectives, including Conversation Analysis in L1 settings (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) and classroom discourse in L2 settings (Kasper, 1985). As with recasts, self-repair often falls within the scope of communicative and psycholinguistic perspectives on SLA. From a psycholinguistic perspective the notion of self-repair is based on complex theories of monitoring behavior, such as The Perceptual Loop Theory of Monitoring (Kormos, 1999), which constitute the foundation of self-repair. It is argued that through monitoring, speakers notice erroneous or inappropriate output, triggering a self-initiated and self-completed correction. While it is not my intention to articulate a comprehensive discussion of self-repair theories in this section, I would like to draw on this notion to illustrate another aspect of the linguistic ideology socialization processes evidenced in the children’s interactions.

Some of the interactions observed contained a type of corrective behavior that could be characterized as self-repair. Although it was less common than the adult-initiated correction styles observed in the interactions, there were some unambiguous manifestations of self-corrective behavior by the children. These incidents usually involved code-mixing, as shown in the example below, rather than full-fledged code-switching, such as the recast interaction discussed above. For example, in the following excerpt Graciela produced the Spanish equivalent of ‘French’ almost immediately after finishing her utterance that included the word in English: (Teacher= Mrs. Nieve):

[Excerpt 7.4]

1  Teacher: ¿fuiste a la escuela hoy Graci? {did you go to school today Graci?}
2  Graciela: a::h si a French {yes to French class}
3  Teacher: ¿si? {yes?}
4  Graciela: al (.) francés {to French}
5  Teacher: ¿y que hiciste en la escuela? {and what did you do at school?}

Mrs. Nieve’s Spanish-only policy was strictly enforced in her class and she usually modeled the expected behavior by never speaking any English herself. In this interaction, although Graciela produced a word in English (French), Mrs. Nieve did not orient to it, as she did in the recast example. However, in line 5 Graciela corrected herself, pointing to her awareness of the language policy in the class, and suggesting she noticed it was an inappropriate utterance. What this example shows is that Mrs. Nieve did not always use the same linguistic
ideology socialization strategies. She gave children opportunities to monitor their speech and make adjustments as necessary, thus, allowing them to not only experience other-repair, but also to have the opportunity to exert agency in their socialization. The example also demonstrates that Graciela was aware of Mrs. Nieve’s Spanish-only policy and used her ‘mental eyes’ to watch her own linguistic behavior and regulate it as necessary. Because Graciela lived in a household with a Spanish-only policy, the reinforcement she experienced in El Centro de Cultura, particularly in Mrs. Nieve’s class, was in perfect alignment with her socialization into linguistic ideologies at home, one that assigned Spanish a central position.

7.2.1.5 Lectures

A fairly uncommon, but nevertheless significant, characteristic of the children’s language socialization processes was the parents’ use of explicit pleas urging the children to persist in their efforts to use Spanish within and outside the grassroots groups. One case in point was a talk given by one of the parents, Mr. Hernández, at the end of a Scout group nature hike and parent outing. This lecture was, in all probability, motivated by the pervasiveness of English in the children’s speech during the leisure activities of the day. Mr. Hernández’s talk was an invitation to the children to become more aware of the value of the Spanish language and to encourage them to continue speaking it. Below is an excerpt from his impromptu address to the group:

I’d like to tell you (pl.) that I’m happy to see that all of you speak the Spanish language, Castilian. This is a very beautiful language, and one of the most important features of this group is (xxx) and to maintain that. To the newcomers, I would like to ask you to persevere in speaking in Spanish, to try to speak Spanish with one another. It’s such a pretty language, okay? And um I’m also very glad to see that everyone speaks Spanish so well and I took the liberty of inviting some people who are friends of mine …and I would like all of us to maintain that practice of talking to them they speak English perfectly, like all of you, but I would like you to always speak to them, to always speak Spanish because it’s part of what distinguishes us from others. (Observation: 06/24/06-TR7.31)

Mr. Hernández’s initial words were designed to recognize the efforts and gains of the children by congratulating them for their Spanish skills. He then made a positive appraisal of the Spanish language (“This is a very beautiful language”), stated that maintaining it was one of the Scout group’s objectives and appealed to the children to continue using it. Subsequently, he began a second round of positive assessments: “It’s such a pretty language,” expressing satisfaction with the children’s Spanish development and appealing to them to persevere in their efforts. Finally, he acknowledged the children’s language
circumstances of living in an English dominant context, showing empathy for them, and made a final plea based on his own hopes for the children and the group. To close this sequence, he made a statement about the uniqueness of the group members based on the Spanish language and culture.

An analysis of the rhetorical moves used (see Appendix I) reveals that Mr. Hernández’s utterance contains several appeals to the children to use Spanish, which are interspersed with positive assessments of the language and statements of exaltation regarding the children’s language abilities. This combination of moves was designed to highlight the children’s success in learning and maintaining Spanish and to further sensitize them to the importance of continuing to do so, in hopes of socializing them to positive Spanish language ideologies. In contrast to the use of more forceful commands (speak Spanish), these explicit directives contained positive discourse, such as “I’d like to ask you,” instead of “you must.” I have argued elsewhere (Guardado, 2002) that the type of encouragement that parents give to their children to speak the L1 may have a facilitating or a detrimental effect. The communication style used by Mr. Hernández had the potential of promoting a positive attitude in the children as it couched an implicit directive within a positive appraisal of the children and the language.

Juxtaposing and contrasting Spanish and English and making an argument for the fundamental significance of Spanish can also be seen as an attempt to counter the hegemony of English. Mr. Hernández’s talk was designed to make a case for the continuity, rather than change, of the parents’ linguistic ideologies and behaviors as essential elements of the cultural significance of their heritage, persuading them to unabashedly, and enduringly, subscribe to and build on, their parents’ linguistic ideologies and practices. Therefore, he hinted that the discontinuity of these elements (i.e., linguistic ideologies and behaviors) threatened the coherence of their community of practice, and ultimately would jeopardize the children’s sense of identity.

In conclusion, his talk was an attempt to construct Spanish as the foundation of their group and individual identities, elucidating to the children who they were, and persuading them to feel and act as “one of us.” Hence, he endeavored to help uncomplicate their sense of identity and to forge a Hispanic identity in diversity. His talk was performed on suspicion that the children might be at risk of not becoming “one of us” but “one of them.” This
indicates that the families’ socialization practices aimed to transmit and reproduce their own cultural and linguistic ideologies and practices, recreating themselves in their children. It is possible, though, that as they mature many of the children will not claim either an English or Spanish identity, but will see themselves as a symbiotic blend. Their experiences in the dynamic constructive interaction between home cultures and those of the fluid Canadian society point to the development of a unique hybrid identity.

7.3 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I examined key patterns emerging from the three focus families and their grassroots groups, as well as from the broader survey of participants in Phase I. I discussed the aims and processes of language socialization in the families concerning language maintenance. I argued that the group participants created spaces to resist assimilation and to transmit Spanish and Hispanic values to their children. I demonstrated how the families constructed spaces where they felt a sense of place, fostered family values and validated their language and culture. Moreover, I posited that the participants constructed L1 maintenance as a way of connecting their family’s histories with their future aspirations, particularly with respect to intergenerational communication and cultural identity development. I also contended that the families strived to transmit Spanish to their children to foster identities and worldviews that transcended the limits of their home cultures. Finally, through an analysis of naturally occurring interactions I examined the processes involved in the families’ attempts to socialize their children into linguistic ideologies that incorporated Spanish as a central component of their identities and into linguistic behaviours that were consonant with the families’ Spanish-only rules. In the next and final chapter I summarize the main findings of the study and present contributions as well as implications for policy, pedagogy, and research.
Chapter 8

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

8.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the language socialization of families from various Spanish-speaking countries residing in Metro Vancouver with a particular focus on their children’s home language maintenance experiences and status. The overarching question posed at the beginning of the project was: “What are the contextual factors and ideologies that impact the bilingual and multilingual language socialization of immigrant Hispanic families and their children in home, school, and community settings in Metro Vancouver?” Indicative of the emergent nature of ethnographic research design, the original focus of the study changed during initial fieldwork when several families involved with Hispanic grassroots groups were interviewed. The discovery of these groups and the significance they had for the interviewed families in relation to my research question prompted me to modify the original project in order to make three of these groups, and one case-study family within them, the central focus of the investigation. As is often the case with ethnographies, the data collected in the 18-month period of fieldwork provided abundant evidence for my answers to this question. Only a segment of the vast data-set was analyzed as part of this dissertation, and an even smaller selection of issues were chosen for in-depth discussion. In a similar fashion, I conclude this dissertation by selectively, but purposefully, highlighting what I believe are some of the most significant issues raised by this study. In particular, I draw attention to how my findings may or may not resonate with the existing research on home language maintenance and loss. I also suggest some of the implications of these findings for language education policy, pedagogy and possible directions for future research. Last, I close with some reflections on the project and the topic itself.

The study was organized in two distinct phases and one sub-phase. Phase I served to “map the community” in relation to the research question. It consisted of interviews and other forms of data collection with a broad survey of families (n=24). Phase IIA consisted of in-depth multiple-case ethnographic study of three grassroots groups zooming in on one family within each of the groups. Phase IIB consisted of amplifying the scope of the group description and analysis by inviting group co-participants to be part of the research. These
families’ involvement in the study included interviews, questionnaires and naturalistic interactions. In the next section, I provide a summary of the cross-case analysis and interpretation of the findings chapters. To recapitulate, the findings and discussion chapters together follow a particular-to-general orientation. These chapters focus on the three case families and the groups and incorporate the group co-participants into the ethnographic description and analysis and finally, in the cross-case analysis, interweave data from the broader survey of families that were part of Phase I into the themes discussed.

8.1 Summary of Findings and Discussion

In Chapter 7, I provided a cross-case analysis focusing on the aims and processes of language socialization. Specifically, I discussed the families’ goals of Spanish maintenance, the meanings they assigned to Spanish, and the processes through which they attempted to transmit a sense of Spanish valorization to their children. Although the main focus of the chapter was on major patterns emerging from the three focus families and their groups, I also interpersersed comments made by participants in Phase I of the study, which allowed me to provide a broader sense of the beliefs and attitudes families held about Spanish maintenance.

This study highlights the complexity of families’ goals of language socialization. Many families in the study formed support groups with the intention to transmit language and culture to their children. These environments became important for parents to feel valued, networked, and socially-engaged in the local Hispanic community. They strategically turned these spaces into important settings for resisting assimilation and into authentic venues for the Spanish socialization of their children. However, through an in-depth analysis I found that the families constructed Spanish language maintenance in a wide variety of ways. Echoing other studies, Spanish language maintenance was constructed as crucial for intergenerational communication, family cohesion and unity. It was described as an emotional connection to the parents’ inner selves, and as a source of identity. At times, Spanish language maintenance was also constructed as a key that opened doors for socioeconomic mobility, and as a bridge for learning other languages. However, beyond these commonly understood rationales for Spanish language maintenance, these parents also constructed their children’s language maintenance as a passport to a worldview that went beyond the limits posed by national identities. These findings imply that language maintenance is viewed by these families as a more complex phenomenon than is currently
understood. It is crucial to conceptualize the maintenance of minority languages as key to the emotional well-being of families and as a bridge to the promotion of multilingualism in society. Since these families are active agents in resisting assimilation, the lessons learned from this study should be taken into consideration in educational policy formulations and incorporated into pedagogy, which are discussed in the implications section of this concluding chapter.

The other broad domain discussed in Chapter 7 was the various ways in which families promoted the socialization of Spanish ideologies and cosmopolitan identities. The families and their respective groups had differing types of Spanish-only policies governing the use of Spanish with different levels of flexibility. In their efforts to enforce these policies and transmit a sense of the urgency to adhere to this rule, the families used a variety of strategies that included different forms of corrective feedback (e.g., prompting, recasts) and lectures. My findings show that children attended to the parents’ expectations by sometimes correcting themselves and each other when they used English in a context that called for Spanish. These language use policies and patterns point to the existence of strong efforts on the part of the families for the advancement of their goals of language maintenance. They also foreground the attitudes of the children in their families’ language maintenance endeavours and the ways in which the children cooperated with these goals and sometimes resisted them. These findings unveil further insights into the dynamics of language maintenance in the lives of linguistic minorities.

8.2 Known Issues in L1 Maintenance

8.2.1 The Benefits of L1 Maintenance

Many of the study findings are in alignment with those of other research. For instance, previous studies have identified economic opportunities as important benefits of being bilingual and multilingual (Dagenais & Berron, 2001; Dagenais & Day, 1999; Guardado, 2002; Kouritzin, 1999; Pacini-Ketchabaw et al., 2001; Sakamoto, 2001, p. 252; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Schecter et al., 1996; Winsler, Diaz, Espinosa, & Rodriguez, 1999). The present study provides further evidence that parents believe there is a link between language maintenance and these benefits. It shows instrumental reasons motivate families to pursue bilingualism, as the families, and sometimes their children, consider an additional language gives people an advantage in their business and professional lives.
However, based on the findings I argue that it is within the family domain where the benefits have the most important impact, as the development and use of family languages enable members to participate in intergenerational communication, strengthen family ties and facilitate access to family history. Additionally, the study demonstrates that families do play an important role in the development of children’s home languages (M. E. Garcia, 2003; Li, 1999; Thomas & Cao, 1999). Likewise, it indicates that families are directly affected by the maintenance or loss of L1s (Ng & He, 2004; Wong Fillmore, 1991), because the language use choices that parents and children make have immense consequences for their future ability to communicate well, especially at more complex levels. Thus, L1 loss and maintenance is always destined to have intergenerational communication consequences (M. E. Garcia, 2003; Kouritzin, 1999; Schecter & Bayley, 2002; Suarez, 2007; Thomas & Cao, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 1991), most often between children and extended family members. The participating families’ aims and processes of language socialization were consistent with their aspirations to ensure family cohesion and intergenerational communication continuity.

8.2.2 The Dialectical Relationship between L1 Maintenance and Identity

The study shows that identity is a key factor related to L1 maintenance. L1 is a useful tool for transmitting a sense of the family’s ethnolinguistic background to the children and inculcating a sense of cultural pride, as amply demonstrated by previous research (Cummins, 1984; Dagenais & Day, 1999; Guardado, 2002, 2006, in press; He, 2006; Kouritzin, 1999, 2006; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002; Schecter et al., 1996; Suarez, 2007). Thus, L1 plays a central role in children’s socialization into “specific domains of knowledge, beliefs, affect, roles, identities, and social representations” (Duff, 1995, p. 508). The study findings indicate that the participating families relied on Spanish for transmitting their cultural roots and values to their children. These findings also reveal that the promotion of a sense of Hispanic cultural identity strongly contributes to language maintenance in children. Based on the findings, I argue that a strong L1 identity is one of the most critical factors conducive to L1 maintenance, highlighting the dynamic interrelationship that exists between cultural identity and language and revealing an iterative relationship between the two.

8.3 Expanding Notions of L1 Maintenance

The study did not only provide further support for recurrent findings in other investigations, but it also identified several issues, or dimensions of known issues, that had
not been dealt with in the past. These emerging issues have the potential of expanding the conversation on L1 maintenance and L1 loss which no doubt will contribute to a better understanding of this phenomenon. By incorporating these issues into the discussions, they will draw attention to factors affecting the phenomenon and to families’ insights of their goals, processes, and experiences in regards to the language socialization of their children.

8.3.1 Grassroots Groups as Surrogate Extended Families

One key finding of the study is the existence of grassroots groups managed by parents, with the mandate to transmit the language and culture to their children. It has been argued that parental input cannot by itself ensure the acquisition and maintenance of a language (Kravin, 1992), and that a larger linguistic community is always necessary, although, as Landry, Allard and Henry (1996) have argued, an array of other factors also need to be present in order to ensure success. Given the lack of a larger Spanish-speaking community in Metro Vancouver, many parents organize small groups, in some ways resembling mini-heritage language schools, which are operated and funded by volunteer parents. These groups had the function of enabling families to resist assimilation and provide what families described as authentic venues for immersing their children in the Spanish language and its cultures, thus offsetting the lack of a larger ethnolinguistic community.

These groups, however, were not just mini-heritage language schools to the parents. The families created these symbolic spaces to feel a sense of place, to foster a feeling of family and to validate their language and culture. In view of the fact that the majority of parents participating in the groups were having an out-of-country and out-of-language experience 33 (Rushdie, 1991), having left their places of origin, they believed these groups provided a sense of place and belonging to them. This meant the families could experience mutual recognition and legitimation as they saw these places as spaces where their language and cultures were validated and where they could display these cultural elements to their children and socialize them according to their cultural values. Thus, in this context, they felt empowered to fulfill their child-rearing aims by attempting to replicate key aspects of their own language socialization experiences. In this way, they felt they regained some of the agency they lost as newcomers in a new cultural and linguistic milieu. These parents

33 This refers to the parents’ experiences outside the home, but in the case of mixed-language families, at times the out-of-language experience was partially true also at home.
believed—borrowing from an African proverb—that it “takes a village to maintain a home language,” and they acted on this belief by creating the village.

### 8.3.2 Diasporic Familism and L1 Maintenance

As argued above, previous research has raised the importance of family factors, such as intergenerational communication and family cohesion, in relation to L1 maintenance as one aspect among several issues (e.g., Sakamoto, 2001) and has described the negative effects of children’s L1 loss on families (see e.g., Wong Fillmore, 1991). Additionally, a recent survey study specifically investigated the role of family relations on L1 maintenance (Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005), concluding that family factors should be considered “as central to language maintenance rather than merely as by-products” (p. 305), as these factors have often been treated.

Despite this, the construct of familism has not yet been associated with the maintenance of heritage languages, particularly Spanish, whose speakers have frequently been found to exhibit high levels of familism (Mindel, 1980; Sabogal et al., 1987). Familism refers to core values that emphasize loyalty to the nuclear and extended family as a unit and relying mainly on its members for support. The findings from the present study with Hispanic families suggest familism as a useful notion to describe and examine aspects of Hispanic families’ language socialization goals, resources and practices in relation to L1 maintenance.

The findings suggest most participants defined themselves in relation to membership in large families. They longed for the support they were used to receiving from extended family members, saw their families as resources for heritage language exposure and sources of support for language and cultural maintenance, and as one of the main motivations for striving to achieve those goals. Familism serves as a resource, since extended family members contribute to greater exposure to L1 and culture. This is heightened when visiting family in the home country because of the increased exposure and participation in the language and culture. It is also the mode through which families seek social, cultural and linguistic support, and creates spaces for L1 maintenance and cultural identity to develop on a continuous basis. Finally, it is a goal of L1 maintenance because families deem communication among family members to be essential to family unity and connectivity. Not having such benefit was stressful and a source of sadness for some of the parents and their
children in this study, many of whom actively sought out proxy family relationships. Thus, the grassroots groups in which many of them participated became “surrogate extended families” to many of them.

This argument can also be extended to immigrants in general, particularly those from cultures that exhibit high familism. In this regard, the type of familism that develops in the context of immigration is not quite the same as the familism that diasporas might have known in their home cultures. Neither is it the same as the familism that Sabogal et al. (1987) have researched and described with Hispanic / Latin American cultures. The familism that develops in the context of immigration shares many characteristics with Sabogal et al.’s familism, but it also departs from it in the way individuals adopt “surrogate extended families,” adopting cultural practices according to their circumstances as ethnolinguistic minorities in need of creating an atmosphere of identification, solidarity, collective support and reciprocity with others. This diasporic familism also incorporates elements that are crucial to the continuation of their cultures and languages. The “surrogate extended families” become important sources of input and support for the home language and culture and one of the aims of families’ language socialization efforts.

Although subscribing to identities that value familism could be interpreted as a narrow definition of language maintenance, the data indicate that as part of the complexity of this issue, the families strived for a holistic understanding of language maintenance that included strong identification with family, from an intimate viewpoint, while also pursuing goals that connected their identities to a broader conglomerate.

8.3.3 The Complexity of L1 Maintenance Constructions

This work supports conceptualizations of L1 maintenance as a complex phenomenon and adds additional layers of intricacy than previously reported. A significant aspect of this inherent complexity is the way families constructed Spanish at intimate and broader levels. In this regard, the parents’ connection to the emotional aspect of language cannot be overstated. They conceptualized Spanish as central to their emotional strength and positioned it at the core of who they were. My analyses reveal the parents also viewed Spanish maintenance for their children in varied ways. For example, the parents’ most common construction of Spanish maintenance for their children indicated it was a key that opened a variety of doors, a bridge for learning other languages, and a passport to a broader vision of the world.
8.3.3.1 L1 Maintenance and the Schooling of Children

The study findings echo scholarship that points toward the school environment as playing a significant role in the development of the language use patterns of minority language children (e.g., Wong Fillmore, 1991). Many families in this study struggled with various assimilative forces, some of which were associated with their children’s schooling and attributed part of the blame to the school system. Mr. Maradiaga and Mrs. Fernández (Chapter 4), for instance, stated to a great extent schools were to blame for children not learning Spanish or other heritage languages, or not wanting to learn about their ethnic background. Consequently, they resorted to various strategies in order to resist this force and foster their daughters’ interest in the language and culture. Some of the families also reported having received specific instructions from school to try not to speak Spanish to their children. Some of the families recognized that many well-intentioned teachers recommended that the parents speak English at home, in order not to confuse their children and to save them from difficulties in school, as reported by other scholars (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999; Kouritzin, 1999; Lawson & Sachdev, 2004; Rodríguez, 1982; Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Wong Fillmore, 1991). However, these families did not accommodate those requests, indicating they did not blindly accept the authority and reasoning of teachers and trusted their own intuition on language use. For instance, Mrs. Corral (Chapter 7) refused to switch to English at home on the belief that such a move would jeopardize her emotional connection to her children. Thus, although the families in the study perceived the strong influence of the schools on their children’s socialization, they assumed proactive stances to resist such pressures and pursued counter-hegemonic practices.

Despite negative associations between bilingualism and children’s school experiences prevalent in past decades in North America (e.g., poor achievement of Hispanics in the U. S. and in Canada) (Colin Baker, 2001; Hakuta, 1986; Sorace, 2007), the present findings show that linguistic minority families, or segments of them, have a sound understanding of the positive relationship between bilingualism and academic performance (Crawford, 1992; Freeman, 2004; Krashen, 1996), cognitive benefits (Bialystok, 2006; Cummins, 1989; Valdés, 2003), and transferability of skills between languages (Bialystok, Luk, & Kwan, 2005; Crawford, 1992; Cummins, 1981, 2000; Krashen, 1996; Schecter & Bayley, 2002). Hence, it is disturbing, based on school-related implications alone, that some school teachers...
and other personnel still advise families against the use of their minority languages for family communication.

8.3.3.2 The Role of L1 Maintenance in the Development of Children’s Syncretic Identities

Although the relationship between identity, L2 learning and L1 maintenance has been abundantly documented elsewhere, the findings demonstrate that for this group of families, the relationship between Spanish and identity was much more complex than previously shown. Spanish maintenance was constructed as a tool that would enable children to develop syncretic identities that included a broader worldview. Through the maintenance of the language and the cultures of the parents, families endeavored to socialize their children into values aimed at promoting good global citizenship. Thus, their conceptualization of identity did not only refer to often-cited notions that index generic and static identities. Theirs was one that pointed to multilayered and dynamic identities that encompassed a broad range of their experiences and those of their children and the effects of these experiences on their children’s evolving identities.

8.3.3.3 The Effect of Parents’ Educational Background and L2 Proficiency on Children’s L1 Maintenance

Although it has been demonstrated that some working-class families actively engage in their children’s education and devise strategies to support their bilingual development (Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006), it has also been argued that class differences can fundamentally influence language socialization practices in families (Heath, 1983; Paugh, 2008), which is directly related to their class-based interest in languages. Given that the majority of the study families had a middle-class background and high levels of education, the findings suggest that the language loss and maintenance phenomenon plays out differently among participants of dissimilar socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, in terms of their active involvement and dispositions (Dagenais & Day, 1999), and in terms of their aims of language loss and maintenance as well as in the processes of language socialization they experience. With some notable exceptions (Bayley, Schecter, & Torres-Ayala, 1996; Schecter & Bayley, 1997, 2002), whereas previous research suggests many

34 As Paugh (2008) cautions, care should be taken not to depict working-class or middle-class families as homogenous.
families from working-class backgrounds tend to focus almost exclusively on the material advantages of bilingualism (Guardado, 2002, 2006), this research suggests middle-class families with higher formal education may also assign other meanings to the maintenance of heritage languages. The families in this study recognize the potential economic benefits that bilingualism promises, but also asserted the potential gains related to their children’s emotional well-being and access to other languages and cultures. In addition, they spoke of L1 maintenance in terms of cognitive development, academic performance, and acquisition of a broad perspective of the world in which they live.

Bourdieu asserts that "economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital" (1986, p. 252). In other words, all forms of non-economic capital originate in economic capital. In this way, cultural, symbolic, and even linguistic capital, are only masked forms of economic capital. Thus, all capital can be converted back into its original forms through various forms of investment (e.g., work, time) under appropriate conditions.

It is hypothesized that the ability of most parents to speak English well in the current study is the result of their educational background, which may be correlated to the children's ability to maintain the L1. If faced with the need, most of these families could raise their children through the use of English, but they choose not to do so. Conversely, many working-class families may not adequately undertake the rearing of their children through English if their proficiency in the language is not high enough (Thomas & Cao, 1999; Wong Fillmore, 1991). Undertaking their child-rearing in English can be counter-productive for families as children may lose respect for their parents when their language proficiency is higher than theirs (Norton, 2000). The inability of parents to raise their children through English should not pose a serious problem, however, as they should be able to undertake the task in the family language. Unfortunately, in many cases it does become a serious problem for families because parents cannot raise their children in their L1 due to their children’s lack of skills in it.

8.3.3.4 Linguistic Ideology Socialization, Accommodation, and Resistance

The language socialization processes experienced by the children of families committed to home language maintenance were shown to be relatively complex. There was a variety of ways in which children were socialized into ideologies that valued Spanish and they reacted in diverse ways by sometimes accommodating and other times resisting such
socialization. Although Spanish-only policies have been previously mentioned in the research literature, there has not been a discussion on how exactly these policies play out in the language socialization of the families and how these are interactionally enacted, negotiated, achieved, and resisted.

For instance, parents used lectures, recasts, directives and other tactics to remind their children to attach to Spanish-speaking behaviours. Likewise, children responded in various ways to these strategies. They complied and accommodated to these appeals, resisted them, and sometimes attempted to subvert their parents’ rules. The children were at times able to act on their attitudes and modify the dynamics of the communicative situation, thus asserting their roles as agents in their own socialization.

Parents endeavoured to transmit linguistic ideologies that valued Spanish. This could be theorized as resistance on the part of the parents toward the children’s affiliation to English-speaking identities. The children’s inclination to these identities could potentially become an important factor in socializing each other and the parents. Still, despite occasional resistance on the part of the children toward the language policies in the groups, there did not seem to be any serious linguistic tensions between the parents and the children. However, it is impossible to ignore the influence of the children on each other’s linguistic behavior, which collectively at times became an indication of the children’s ambivalence, resistance and even rejection of the identities being imposed on them. They perhaps resisted an imposed common identity and selected a self-forged, individual one.

8.3.3.5 Cosmopolitanism, L1 Maintenance and the Hegemony of English

Throughout the various group activities and home interactions, this study documented the many ways that parents attempted to instill in the children a sense of pride and self-worth rooted in the Hispanic culture. However, in addition to socializing their children into Spanish ideologies and Hispanic / Latin American cultural identities, these parents also attempted to inculcate a sense of value for other cultures and languages in the community, including English. In this way they worked to add a hybridized, cosmopolitan layer to their children’s identities. Despite their possession of various types of symbolic, cultural, linguistic, and perhaps, economic capital, their efforts were fraught with a particular type of paucity: their own lack of hybridized, cosmopolitan identities. Admittedly, they had enough of an understanding and embracement of cosmopolitan attitudes, but arguably, had not been
socialized into those types of identities from childhood. Thus, in this sense they were treading uncharted territory. From a language socialization perspective, this phenomenon problematizes the notion of expert and novice, as parents may not be experts in this regard.

It is difficult to succeed in the maintenance of home languages and cultures without subscribing to a cosmopolitan point of view, either explicitly or unconsciously. Because it only provides a type of tunnel vision, a nationalist outlook focuses people on their participation in a particular geographical location, emphasizing their locally-defined identities. In this fashion, individuals strive to succeed as citizens of a particular nation-state, generally only requiring or supporting command in one language. Immigrant and other linguistic minorities may in these circumstances find little reason to promote their native languages in their children, possibly even viewing these languages as obstacles to their children’s full acquisition of the dominant language and their school success, thus precluding their complete social integration and acceptance. Hence, they may opt for a shift to the dominant language. A cosmopolitan stance may be seen as key to maintaining languages and cultures because individuals do not define themselves in nation-state, geographical terms only, but see themselves as citizens of a much larger conglomerate. Although linguistic minorities may maintain a strong affiliation with a particular nation-state or cultural group, as in the case of transnational families, their cultural associations may be much more fluid and dynamic—more flexible—as cosmopolitan individuals. These individuals may tend to adopt and adapt aspects of the cultures they interact with and embrace more syncretic identities.

Additionally, in their attempts to socialize their children into believing all languages should be valued equally, the parents pose a paradox to their children. In English-speaking contexts, and elsewhere, English is generally a hegemonic force in relation to other languages. Despite the parents’ attempts to cast all languages as equal, English may continue to be more powerful than minority languages, and this is a fact that will make the process of socializing children into such values, a struggle, forcing families to have to grapple with this challenge. One of the ways parents may encounter a challenge is in the contradictory nature of such conviction, especially when they emphasize Spanish to their children, while professing the equality of languages, and at the same time, making room for English and conducting activities through English, as was the case in El Centro de Cultura, and to a lesser extent, in El Grupo Scout Vistas.
8.3.3.6 The Need to Reconsider the L1 Maintenance Construct

The term *L1 maintenance*, and its variations (e.g., mother tongue maintenance, heritage language maintenance), has been used widely in applied linguistics scholarship. However, so far the exact meaning of the term has not been fully fleshed out. In general, although *L1 maintenance* entails complex socialization processes of cultural continuation and the development of particular identities, it is often seen as an autonomous, amorphous, linear, and unproblematic phenomenon. Additionally, though *maintenance* connotes something that is already present, for second-generation linguistic-minority children, this is generally not the case as they need sufficient exposure to the family language in order to acquire it. Moreover, their socialization experiences tend to be much more complicated; outside the home, they are socialized through a societal language that is usually different from that of their parents. In the home, these children may be socialized through their parents’ languages, through the societal language (in the case of language shift at home), or through a combination of more than one language.

The findings of this study underscore such complexity and call attention to the need to reconceptualize *L1 maintenance* as a multifaceted, contested, and socially-situated process whose meaning goes beyond retaining something concrete that is already in one’s possession (i.e., language ability). Rather, language maintenance comprises fostering, developing, and using both a repertoire of language/literacy knowledge and practices and a particular cultural orientation in individuals in childhood and beyond. More than *maintaining*, to be successful this process entails a more active and deliberate transmission of linguistic ideologies and cultural connections to younger generations. These ideologies and connections may already be shared by the families, but the final “product” may be a symbiotic blend of the families’ histories, beliefs and practices in relation to language and culture and those of the milieus in which these children interact, which may be rather different from what their parents experienced in their own socialization. The findings of this study provide a more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon and draw attention to the limited explanatory power and thus the inadequacy of the construct *L1 maintenance*, highlighting the critical importance of reconceptualizing its use and unpacking its multiple meanings. These meanings, for instance, might refer to maintaining a linguistic knowledge base and set of traditions across generations vs. developing the linguistic repertoire in new generations, possibly to higher
levels of proficiency (e.g., across a wider range of oral/written genres and registers) than even the parents’ generation. Thus, future research needs to more fully account for the intricacy and textured nature of the factors implicated in minority-language socialization.

8.4 Implications

8.4.1 Policy

Given that Canada is the only country in the world with an official multiculturalism act within a “bilingual framework,” it is expected that there would be ample societal, governmental and educational support to make multiculturalism and multilingualism a reality for all members of society. In-depth examination of the issues affecting the Hispanic population, including, but not limited to, heritage language maintenance and loss is an important step in understanding the challenges they face in school, the home, and the community. Do current policies act to protect and promote minority languages and to foster diverse linguistic identities? How do Canada’s official bilingualism and multiculturalism shape linguistic minority identities, and more specifically, Hispanic identities? How do these identities affect and how are they affected by home language practices?

Even with official multiculturalism laws within a “bilingual framework” in place, the maintenance of minority languages is not only failing to obtain enough societal and school support, but it is within those very settings that some of the strongest assimilative forces reside. The Canadian “bilingualism framework” seems to be fully supported only if it is French-English bilingualism. This was a good start in the 1960s, but four decades later, it is time to take the next steps. The implication that official multiculturalism should also be understood as multilingualism, at the moment does not seem to be of enough concern to those in positions of influence (e.g., policy makers, school teachers). There is need for a better understanding of how these official policies facilitate school boards’ efforts in fostering heritage languages, and how provincial ministries of education, school boards, and school districts interpret Canada’s official multiculturalism policies as well as how they implement or fail to implement support programmes. Integrating heritage language programmes more aggressively in schools and creating more opportunities for minority and majority students to work together on language issues would be an important step to move away from a stance that privileges the Anglicization and cultural assimilation of Canada’s linguistic diversity/minorities and to adopt a position that champions the diversification of
thinking of Canada’s Anglo majority as well as a way of promoting a cosmopolitan orientation in all of Canada’s populations alike. If this is not a reasonable move for educational policy, then, we have to ask ourselves: Is Canada’s multiculturalism a deeply-rooted value reflected in educational policy or is it only a “celebratory multiculturalism”?

Work in this vein enriches our current understanding of the issues that Hispanic populations, amongst others, grapple with in terms of their formal education, adaptation, and integration into the Canadian context. As a country that relies heavily on new immigrants as one of its key population resources (Dolin & Young, 2004), and as a nation that prides itself on its multicultural mandate (Canadian Heritage, 2002), Canada is also responsible for providing equal access and opportunities at all levels (e.g., social, educational, political, economic) to immigrants from all countries alike (Canadian Heritage, 2002). Hence, research on heritage language issues among Hispanic populations should continue to be identified as a priority, and should move beyond an assessment of how members of these populations fare by also including federally-funded programs that better prepare Hispanics in Canada to successfully integrate into the different spheres of Canadian life.

One significant area where Canada can take steps to fulfill the promise of official multiculturalism to ethnolinguistic minorities (Canadian Heritage, 1988) is related to family grassroots organizations. The fact that families are already reaping important benefits in the intergenerational transmission of their language and culture under adverse circumstances (i.e., without external support) is a lesson to which the government of Canada should pay attention. It should also encourage and support such initiatives in order to amplify their positive outcomes in other communities. Whether there is governmental support or not, however, it is also a lesson that should be heeded by Hispanic and other minority groups in order to ‘capitalize’ from the experiences of the families in this study.

Canada’s government can more strongly contribute to this goal by devising comprehensive programmes within its existing Multiculturalism Act, making funds and other forms of support available to linguistic minority groups for the development and maintenance of parent grassroots groups. In this way, families of all socioeconomic backgrounds can benefit from the rich ‘funds of knowledge’ (Moll et al., 1992) they possess in promoting minority languages and cultures.
8.4.2 Pedagogy

As demographic trends in large urban centers in Canada indicate, educators at all levels can expect to work with linguistically and culturally diverse students in their classes. Given that schools have often been called upon to take a more active role in the promotion of the languages and cultures of children (Schecter et al., 1996; Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006), there are several areas where teachers can more forcefully contribute to L1 and cultural maintenance and the promotion of supportive learning environments. For instance, a possible direction would be for schools to more explicitly attempt to engage the children’s families in conversations about organizing support groups in order to establish school-parent partnerships that address the ‘funds of knowledge’ (Moll et al., 1992) that families and communities possess, which could also potentially help minimize the mismatch between the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and practices of families and those valued by schools (Baquedano-Lopez & Kattan, 2008; Chick, 1996; Duff, 2008b; Heath, 1983). These alliances could greatly enhance minority language maintenance, as the key to socializing children into valorizing, developing, maintaining and using these languages lies in ensuring that all three domains of language socialization (i.e., home-school-community) “support rather than weaken the minority language socialization of children” (Morris & Jones, 2008, p. 141).

Since, according to parents who raised this issue, some educators encourage linguistic-minority families to use English at home, new teachers taking Teaching English as a Second Language courses in teacher education programs could also discuss the advantages of learning more than one language. Student teachers in these programs would then be cognizant not only of the advantages, but also of the importance of validating L1, and consequently encourage parents to use L1 in the home. If parents employed the home language practices implemented by parents in this study, it would certainly contribute to L1 maintenance.

Pre-service teaching programs need to incorporate courses that address the characteristics, resources, as well as the challenges, of minority-language students and their families. Additionally, in-service teachers also need to become more aware of culturally-relevant pedagogy through seminars and workshops incorporated into their regular professional development days. Pre-service and in-service teachers would greatly improve their practice in this regard by participating in events where they can obtain information and
experiences, as well as opportunities for discussion and reflection, with the goal of fostering a stronger appreciation for difference (Worthy & Rodríguez-Galindo, 2006).

Families who participated in this investigation identified maintaining the home language and/or learning more than one language as significant in relation to a cosmopolitan worldview. Parents who value such a perspective of the world would support learning at least one language in addition to English (and/or French) because their children would have a broad understanding of the world and develop a sense of belonging to a global community. Schools, therefore, need to emphasize the importance of preserving heritage languages and/or learning additional languages in order to foster this cosmopolitan perspective as it would benefit all students.

Since classrooms are the locus for change (MacDonald & Monkman, 2005), teachers need to more decisively promote supportive classroom communities (S. A. Brown, 2007) by turning their classrooms, and the entire school for that matter, into safe houses, places to help students not only resist assimilation, but also to validate their languages and cultures. Canadian schools need to adopt a stronger stance in recognizing and validating not only the languages and cultures of all students, but also in recognizing their manifold talents and multi-modal meaning-making abilities (Duff, 2007a).

Another important area for action is one that provides more opportunities for students to learn from each other’s “prior knowledge and understandings” (Duff, 2007a, p. 1008), or “funds of knowledge” (Moll & Greenberg, 1990), and support each other’s learning in the “zone of proximal development” (Vygotsky, 1986). This way, majority- and minority-language students can benefit from the rich linguistic knowledge both groups possess. While engaged in “language buddy” or other forms of language support for each other, students will also reap important benefits in the strengthening of their self-esteem, being positioned as experts in a certain area, and will gain critical skills that will be valuable in their future academic and even occupational roles. Thus, these classrooms need to become sites where languages and cultures, both minority and majority, are valorized and where both, linguistic-minority and majority students are given opportunities to foster positive multicultural attitudes and to cultivate their potential for multilingualism (Duff, 2007a) as part of the school’s official ethos and agenda. This way, all students might have opportunities to develop strong cosmopolitan identities and grow up to be citizens who are not only tolerant
of difference, but who embrace and value difference as a key social and human resource. Thus, these cosmopolitan citizens will develop dispositions and stances of openness towards diverse cultural experiences (Hannerz, 1990), and will assume more adaptable dispositions and a stronger commitment to local and global cohesion and ethnocultural diversity (Smith, 2007).

Since teachers in North America continue to be mostly monocultural and monolingual (Nieto, 2001; Rodriguez, 2007), the above goals are not attainable unless their pursuit is extended to teachers so they develop interest and skills in additional languages and become more aware of multicultural issues (Nieto, 1999), potentially leading to their own development of a broader vision of the world. Only then, I believe, the goal of advancing an effective culturally-responsive pedagogy in multicultural/multilingual settings will be within reach.

8.4.3 Research

This research has identified what parents’ believe are the positive outcomes of language maintenance, such as strengthening family ties and communication, developing a strong sense of affiliation, self-esteem and identity, and the interactionally-negotiated nature of identity development and linguistic ideology socialization. Our knowledge of language maintenance strategies that seem to work for some families/individuals, and of behavioral patterns to avoid in order to prevent language loss, has also been expanded. Given that research on Spanish maintenance issues in Canada is still in its infancy, more research along these lines is needed if Canada commits itself to its mandate of genuine cultural and linguistic diversity. The following areas are promising paths for future research agendas concerned with these issues:

- Identify and describe Spanish as a heritage language programmes in Canada and create a database with information that might be used by Hispanic immigrant families interested in L1 maintenance, as well as researchers examining related issues: e.g., number of immigrants to Canada from different countries (location per province, and per city, if possible); heritage language programs available in the community; studies conducted on Spanish maintenance issues in Canada.
• Examine the experiences of Spanish as a heritage language students enrolled in Spanish as a foreign language in high school classes across a variety of socio-economic contexts.

• Conduct longitudinal, ethnographic studies that span across an extended period (e.g., ten years) in the life of young individuals (from childhood to adolescence to young adulthood) and track Spanish language status.

• Gather the children’s / youths’ perspectives in conjunction with the perspectives from adults; study the impact of social networks (friendships) in young children’s Spanish language maintenance.

• Examine the role of family values such as familism in relation to Spanish maintenance among children and adolescents using established scales (e.g., Romero, Robinson, Haydel, Mendoza, & Killen, 2004; Steidel & Contreras, 2003).

• Investigate the long-term effects of diverse home language practices on the cultural identity of those who have lived this process, and their level of command of the language in order to draw more definitive connections about particular styles of approaching this task and to identify best principles to follow.

• Investigate the research questions examined in this dissertation with working-class Hispanic immigrants in Canada.

• Study the trajectories of linguistic ideology socialization in similar and different contexts.

• Investigate the existence of grassroots groups in other ethnolinguistic communities in order to identify and document characteristics, successes and challenges that may help better understand the phenomenon across Canadian minority populations.

• Further investigate the role of language and other variables in the academic performance of Spanish-speaking students in Canadian schools.

• Investigate the relationship between language and ethnic identity in minority-language teens in Canada using proven and/or new instruments to examine current identification trends and the applicability of constructs such as ‘postethnicity.’

This study raises additional awareness of the fact that families who are already committed to L1 maintenance are the ones that tend to express interest in participating in studies investigating this phenomenon. It is vital that scholars find ways of attracting families...
who are not necessarily as strongly committed to L1 maintenance, in order to understand the reasons behind their attitudes and resulting linguistic practices. Only then will a more comprehensive picture of the L1 maintenance phenomenon emerge. Future research, then, will need to address questions similar to the ones addressed in this study, with more typical immigrant families who are not as committed as the families in this study are to L1 maintenance. This work may make clear how the issues investigated in the present study play out for families with diverse educational and socioeconomic backgrounds.

8.5 Scope of the Study

The purpose of this ethnographic study was to examine the language socialization experiences of Hispanic families and their children in the Metro Vancouver area, with a particular focus on home language maintenance issues. This study did not set out to discover the “objective truth” about language socialization and home language maintenance issues that are generalizable to all Hispanic populations. Therefore, this report contains a profile of the language socialization experiences of a group of families during a particular period of time. It is an in-depth content analysis of the families’ perspectives on language loss and maintenance and a thematic and discourse analytic account of the researcher’s observations of the naturally occurring interactions of the parents, children and the interlocutors they interacted with in other settings.

While the results of the study contributed to a better understanding of the special language and cultural issues facing all immigrant children and families in Metro Vancouver and for promoting the retention of minority languages and cultures as a societal goal, several issues associated with the research design and hence, the results of the study, need to be addressed. First, while my co-ethnicity with the participating parents could be viewed as an asset in building rapport with the families and obtaining an emic perspective, the same could be seen as the source of potential bias in the interpretation of the families’ comments. Additionally, in order to save face, parents might also feel compelled to provide a more positive depiction of their language and culture ideologies in order to be viewed as champions of the culture. It was my intention to eliminate such a predicament by analyzing the naturally-occurring interactions of the families.

Second, the sample in this study is small and cannot be used to generalize to a larger population. The participating families are not representative of the Hispanic population in
Metro Vancouver or elsewhere. Whereas the majority of Hispanic immigrants living in this region come from modest socioeconomic backgrounds, the participating families were largely middle-class and university educated. I did not purposefully seek such elite research participants, as my goal was to obtain a diversity of perspectives. However, the fact that more privileged, highly-educated families were attracted to the issues under investigation reveals important characteristics of the research questions as well as the evolving (non-a priori orientation) nature of ethnographic research and qualitative research in general. It can be assumed that the families that volunteered to participate were families that already had an interest in the maintenance of home languages and cultures, and therefore that the participants provided a particular perspective on the issues. Families with other backgrounds and life experiences would likely have different opinions and might well display different positions in their interactions. Moreover, the case-study families participated in unique language and culture maintenance activities in the community, a characteristic that should not be viewed as representative of other Hispanics in this city or elsewhere. However, while the study results are not generalizable to the Hispanic experience Canada-wide or to Hispanics residing in small towns or rural areas, the thick ethnographic description provided is intended to help others concerned with these issues to consider the transferability of the results.

Finally, although I had initially planned to conduct participant observation in schools, it became logistically unfeasible to focus on the three domains of language socialization equally. Therefore, a decision was made to only focus on the families’ perspectives in relation to their school experiences.

8.6 Researcher’s Reflexivity and Positionality

The present study posed a variety of challenges to me as a researcher with an “insider” status. Although this *emic* positionality allowed me to promptly build rapport with participants, enabling me to perceive and interpret cultural and linguistic nuances and to probe topics in more depth, it also generated a unique set of disquietudes. These had to do with a variety of areas, but in this section I will only address some examples of the issues related to my personal investment in the research topic, my position as a potential resource person, my relationship and that of my children to the participating families, my attitudes about the families’ language and cultural practices, and my interpretation of these practices.
First of all, one of the main reasons I chose this research topic was my own interest in heritage language development and maintenance. I was personally invested in this goal and recruited likeminded families as participants in my research project. As stated in the previous section, this also meant that the majority of the participants were already interested and committed to heritage language development and maintenance, giving my project a very particular orientation.

Additionally, during the initial participant recruitment stage and as a result of my recruitment efforts, several members of the Hispanic community asked me to become involved in a variety of activities within the community. For instance, I was invited to write a regular column for a Spanish language newspaper and a monthly article for a Spanish language magazine and to be on the editorial board of a nascent online intellectual magazine, among other projects. However, I made a decision to decline due to the demands of my research project at the time. I was also asked to talk to groups of parents about Spanish language maintenance. I felt especially conflicted about the latter because of the potential of influencing future participating families about home language ideologies and practices. I dealt with this dilemma in two ways. First, I conducted the talks as focus group discussions following a brief introduction in which I only raised some issues without taking a particular perspective. Second, I did not include participants from these group discussions in my research. Although at first this seemed like a considerable sacrifice to make, as the project evolved it became clear that I would be able to recruit plenty of participants.

Another source of internal conflict for me was connected to the families’ language practices. Hearing about and observing how families addressed home language development and maintenance made me reflect on my own practices with my children, sometimes questioning my practices, other times validating them, and yet other times adopting the participating families’ practices. The most significant example of the effect the participating families had on my own family’s language and cultural practices was the enlisting of two of my sons in two of the grassroots groups, eventually becoming permanent members of El Grupo Scout Vistas. Although the decision to join the group was made by my children out of their own interest, this move had a further favorable outcome: being the parent of two Scouts rapidly facilitated my acceptance as a full participant, putting me in a privileged position with access to the same events and information that all other families had. However, this also
meant that I had the same responsibilities as the other parents and was expected to participate in the group’s division of labour, which at times interfered with my role as researcher. Oftentimes, I was asked to perform particular tasks that took me away from the research site and other times, my observations and note-taking were interrupted by parents who wanted to discuss an issue or just mingle.

The families’ language and cultural practices varied, both at home and in their voluntary groups. As expected, I was more favorably aligned with some groups, families and activities than with others. However, I deliberately assumed a non-judgmental attitude and always refrained from giving families advice about their practices. For example, some of the parent-teachers in El Centro de Cultura taught Spanish with strong, even exclusive, reliance on English. Although I disagreed with this practice, both as a parent and as a language teacher, I never expressed this opinion to any of the group members. I decided to not criticize this or other practices and to leave it up to the reader to make inferences about these practices.

Finally, being too much of an insider may, in some circumstances, lead a researcher to provide an overly sympathetic interpretation of the data. This potential shortcoming was offset by having a variety of systems in place to ensure my interpretations were rigorous. The most important scrutiny and verification of the analysis was provided by my research committee. All the committee members were distant from the participating families and were able to provide a balance of interpretation, a form of triangulation, ensuring that my own interpretations were solid and supported by evidence. In our regular meetings and through multiple drafts of chapters, committee members often indicated areas in which they disagreed with the analysis, provided an alternative interpretation, or added to my interpretation. This verification process, along with member checks and peer-debriefing described in Chapter 3, allowed me to provide a balanced analysis, making sure my arguments were verifiable and grounded in the data.

8.7 Concluding Remarks

I believe that this study has contributed significantly to understanding some of the complexity of L1 maintenance in a busy urban centre. It has suggested ways in which families, communities, schools and society as a whole, can foster the maintenance of heritage languages and healthy development of multilingual and multicultural identities. Recognizing
and promoting the value of heritage and other languages in micro and macro contexts is vital to these processes and needs to form an integral part of research, theory, practice, and policy formulation.

While these and other factors are all important with respect to L1 maintenance, it is the home language practices unfolding in the trenches that ultimately have the most direct and proximate effect. Due to the lack of empirical evidence regarding the long-term effects of diverse home language policies and practices on the cultural identity of those who have lived this process, and their level of command of the language, it is not possible to draw definitive connections about particular styles of approaching this task. It is possible, however, based on the current findings, to identify principles to consider in the maintenance of Spanish, which may be applicable to other linguistic minorities as well. For instance, some families focus on home language practices alone, while others feel additional nurturing enhances their family’s cultural and language abilities. To that effect, families with like motivations come together to form groups in which they can collectively work towards the common goal of socializing their children into linguistic ideologies and immersing them in a linguistically and culturally rich environment, as well as socializing them with respect to cultural practices and values, such as familism. As previously stated, these surrogate extended families serve the purpose of fulfilling the need for a social network that provides support and gives them a family feeling in the absence of blood relatives.

It will be interesting to see how bilingual and bicultural identities are negotiated and perhaps transformed into multilingual and multicultural identities as local, transnational, and cosmopolitan identities are re/constructed in the emerging global context. Future research in language maintenance and cultural identity will no doubt be shaped by the ways in which language and cultural identities surface in the decades ahead.

Another related aspect of the findings suggests that the interaction of issues related to cultural awareness, identity, familism and home language practices have an impact on L1 maintenance. Cultural awareness, of both Canadian and Hispanic culture, can be identified as an important first step in the on-going process of linguistic ideology socialization and cultural identity construction. The study findings point to the level of cultural awareness immigrant families have as directly related to cultural identity and commitment to L1 maintenance. These factors play a significant role in whether and the degree to which L1 is
maintained. Therefore, it could be argued that, for this sample, the more culturally and linguistically aware people are, the more likely they are to raise children with a high level of command of L1 and a strong sense of attachment to their family’s cultural roots.

Although many families do succeed in raising multilingual and multicultural children at home through their daily interactions and creative strategies, a synergistic approach (e.g., group participation) adds another powerful socializing tool that creates an enhanced combined effect. This becomes an important culturally-reaffirming experience for children, especially those that do not have frequent opportunities to visit family and friends in their parents’ home countries. For those that do have those opportunities it becomes a virtual cultural immersion in between visits.

Finally, these families were not typical Hispanic immigrants in the sense that they had at their disposal a range of symbolic, cultural, linguistic and in many cases, economic capital. Thus, they possessed the means necessary to be active and proactive subjects within an English-dominant cultural milieu, rather than passive objects of larger forces such as assimilation. They exerted their agency in order to assume roles as central actors and not as passive objects of those larger forces. Through daily family interactions and creative activities within their support groups these families became actively involved as agents of change. Hence, they assumed a proactive role in shaping their identities and the identities of their children. Ideally, all parents would have all the resources to assume a proactive stance in relation to the promotion, development, and maintenance of their families’ languages and cultures. In reality, most ethnolinguistic minorities are differently positioned for achieving this ideal. L1 and cultural maintenance cannot be understood outside of particular family situations or without recognizing that families and groups do not enjoy equal access to the necessary resources and social networks that may facilitate the continuation of their heritage. This is an area where educators could contribute to the valorization and continuation of minority languages. Given that language is central to human life and that successful mother tongue maintenance requires an approach that views language and literacy socialization as a way of life, promoting more decisively the interaction of minority and majority cultures, languages and their speakers can encourage a broader vision of the world among all Canadians. This will also contribute to the goal of cultivating a stronger and more understanding society by promoting a more compelling “politics of recognition,” to quote
Charles Taylor (1994), ensuring recognition and equality of status of all ethnolinguistic groups within the framework of national unity and Canadian identity and in the context of Canada’s official Multiculturalism policy.
References


Appendix A

Recruitment Notice

“Experiencias de bilingüismo y biliteracia: La socialización lingüística de niños y niñas hispanos/as en la Columbia Británica”

Esta es una atenta invitación a familias de la comunidad hispanohablante a participar en un estudio sobre el proceso de adaptación y transición cultural y lingüística en esta provincia y las estrategias que utilizan para lograr sus objetivos. Este estudio se está realizando como parte de mi programa de estudio doctoral en la Universidad de la Columbia Británica (UBC).

Más específicamente, y como parte del proceso amplio de adaptación, el estudio busca también examinar cuestiones relacionadas al mantenimiento o pérdida del idioma español que afectan a los niños y niñas en el hogar, la escuela y la comunidad en general, con la intención de llegar a una mejor comprensión de los factores que contribuyen o impiden el desarrollo de identidades bilingües y biliterarias (habilidades de lectoescritura en inglés y español), así como al mejor entendimiento de cuales son las consecuencias de la pérdida o el mantenimiento de la lengua materna. Se espera también que el estudio ayude a descubrir aquellos factores que podrían estar afectando de manera positiva o negativa el éxito escolar de los estudiantes hispanos en esta provincia.

El llamado es a familias originarias de diferentes países hispanos con pocos años de haber emigrado a Canada y que tengan niños o niñas de edad escolar.

Inversión de tiempo: Aproximadamente 2 horas para entrevista y conversación informal con la familia en su hogar.

Como un gesto simbólico de agradecimiento se entregará un pequeño libro de cuentos infantiles en español a cada familia participante.

De antemano,

¡Muchas gracias por su colaboración!

Investigadora Principal: Dr. Patricia Duff, PhD

Co-investigador: Martín Guardado, PhD Candidate
Tel: 604-321-2176 Email: guardado@interchange.ubc.ca
# Appendix B

Certificate of Approval

## Certificate of Approval

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Investigator</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duff, P.</td>
<td>Language and Literacy Educ</td>
<td>B05-0030</td>
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</table>

**Institution(s) Where Research Will Be Carried Out**

Guardado, Martin, Language and Literacy Educ

**Sponsoring Agencies**

Social Sciences & Humanities Research Council

**Title:**

Experiences of Bilingualism and Biliteracy: The Language Re/Socialization of Hispanic Children in BC

**Approval Date:**

MAR 14 2005

**Term (Years):**

1

**Documents Included in This Approval:**

March 2, Contact letters (English & Spanish) / March 1, 2005, Assent forms / Consent forms / Questionnaires

**Certification:**

The protocol describing the above-named project has been reviewed by the Committee and the experimental procedures were found to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

Approval of the Behavioural Research Ethics Board by one of the following:

Dr. James Frankish, Chair,
Dr. Cay Holbrook, Associate Chair,
Dr. Susan Rowley, Associate Chair
Dr. Anita Hubley, Associate Chair

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the experimental procedures.
Appendix C

Informed Consent and Assent Forms

CONSENT FORM FOR PHASE I- PARENTS

“Experiences of bilingualism and biliteracy: The language socialization of Hispanic children in British Columbia”

Principal investigator: Dr. Patricia Duff, Associate Professor
Department of Language and literacy Education, UBC
2034 Lower Mall road, UBC
Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: 604-822-9693 Email: patricia.duff@ubc.ca

Co-investigator: Martín Guardado, PhD Candidate
2034 Lower Mall road, UBC
Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: 604-321-2176 Email: guardado@interchange.ubc.ca

PURPOSE:
The purpose of this project is to explore how immigrant families and their children cope with the challenge of being socialized into Canadian society. More specifically, it aims at examining the issues they face in relation to the Spanish language loss and maintenance of their children in the home, school and community, with the hopes of illuminating factors that contribute to or impede the development of bilingual / biliterate identities, as well as consequences of heritage language loss and maintenance. It also aims at better understanding factors that hinder many Hispanic students in their academic success. The project is part of my Doctoral Dissertation and is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which is a national government agency.

PROCEDURES AND DURATION:
The initial time commitment to this study on your part is about one hour for interviewing and a maximum of one hour for brief observation of language use at home. Subsequent to the completion of the interview and observation, you may be selected and invited to take part in a longitudinal 12-month study, which will require a considerable time commitment on your part. Participation in Phase I of the project does not oblige you to take part in Phase II.

CONFIDENTIALITY:
The names of people, places and any other identifying information will be kept confidential. That means that the identities of parents and their children will be
disguised through the use of pseudonyms in all reports. All confidential information will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Principal Investigator’s office at UBC.

REFUSALS:

Please note that your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from participation at anytime during the study.

REMUNERATION:

All participating families will be offered a children’s book in Spanish as a token of appreciation for their participation in this project.

INQUIRIES:

We will be happy to answer any questions about the research at any time. Please do not hesitate to contact us either in person, by e-mail, or by telephone.

CONCERNS:

If you have any concerns about your rights or treatment as research participants, you may call the Research Subject Information Line at the UBC Office of Research Services and Administration at 604-822-8598. You can also contact any member of the research team (listed above) if you have questions or concerns about the project.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!
CONSENT

Please complete the following and return it to Martín Guardado.

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above. You understand that your family’s participation in this research is voluntary, and that you have freely and willingly consented to allow your family to participate in this research project. Your signature also indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records. You may withdraw your consent at any time without any consequences to your family.

Please check the appropriate box for each line:
You agree that your family, including young children:

[ ] Can participate in **Phase I** of this study

[ ] Can be **audio/video recorded** for this study

Name (please print): _____________________________________________________

Signature: ____________________________________________________________

Date: ________________________________________________________________
CONSENT FORM FOR PHASE II- PARENTS

“Experiences of bilingualism and biliteracy: The language socialization of Hispanic children in British Columbia”

Principal investigator: Dr. Patricia Duff, Associate Professor
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Co-investigator: Martín Guardado, PhD Candidate
2034 Lower Mall road, UBC
Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: 604-321-2176 Email: guardado@interchange.ubc.ca

PURPOSE:
The purpose of this project is to explore how immigrant families and their children cope with the challenge of being socialized into Canadian society. More specifically, it aims at examining the issues they face in relation to the Spanish language loss and maintenance of their children in the home, school and community, with the hopes of illuminating factors that contribute to or impede the development of bilingual / biliterate identities, as well as consequences of heritage language loss and maintenance. It also aims at better understanding factors that hinder many Hispanic students in their academic success. The project is part of my Doctoral Dissertation and is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which is a national government agency.

PROCEDURES AND DURATION:
The time commitment to Phase II of this study is about three hours for interviewing (three interviews lasting approximately one hour each), 3-4 hours for informal journal writing about language use experiences, and one hour for collecting language samples of your children and unobtrusive observations. The interviews will follow the same format as the interviews in Phase I, and will build on the responses provided at that time. The observations will take place bi-weekly or monthly (depending on your availability) on different days of the week and at different times, within your comfort level. During the observations, I will focus on the interactions of your children among themselves and with the adults in the home. Whenever possible, these interactions will be audio or video taped. Parents will be asked to write a type of acculturation and language socialization reflection journal. This may be done weekly or bi-weekly in the medium of your choice (paper, email, digital recorder, etc). At the end of the project, children will be given the option of writing a short reflection or creating a visual representation of their language, culture and identity beliefs and experiences, in
the language or languages that they feel the most comfortable. Also, at least one “focal child” will be selected from each family. I will collect samples of the focal children’s bilingual speech and writing using wordless picture story books for children, such as *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969). Towards the end of the project, I may also ask the focal children to write some type of personal narrative such as describing a weekend activity to supplement the language samples.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

The names of people, places and any other identifying information will be kept confidential. That means that the identities of parents and their children will be disguised through the use of pseudonyms in all reports. All confidential information will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Principal Investigator’s office at UBC.

REFUSALS:

Please note that your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from participation at anytime during the study.

REMUNERATION:

All participating families will be offered a children’s book in Spanish as a token of appreciation for their participation in this project.

INQUIRIES:

We will be happy to answer any questions about the research at any time. Please do not hesitate to contact us either in person, by e-mail, or by telephone.

CONCERNS:

If you have any concerns about your rights or treatment as research participants, you may call the Research Subject Information Line at the UBC Office of Research Services and Administration at 604-822-8598. You can also contact any member of the research team (listed above) if you have questions or concerns about the project.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!
CONSENT

_Please complete the following and return it to Martín Guardado._

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above. You understand that your family’s participation in this research is voluntary, and that you have freely and willingly consented to allow your family to participate in this research project. Your signature also indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records. You may withdraw your consent at any time without any consequences to your family.

Please check the appropriate box for each line:

You agree that your family, including young children:

[ ] Can participate in Phase II of this study

[ ] Can be audio/video recorded for this study

Name (please print):__________________________________________________

Signature:  _________________________________________________________

Date:  _____________________________________________________________
ASSENT FORM FOR PHASE I - CHILDREN

“Experiences of bilingualism and biliteracy: The language socialization of Hispanic children in British Columbia”

Principal investigator: Dr. Patricia Duff, Associate Professor
Department of Language and literacy Education, UBC
2034 Lower Mall road, UBC
Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: 604-822-9693 Email: patricia.duff@ubc.ca

Co-investigator: Martin Guardado, PhD Candidate
2034 Lower Mall road, UBC
Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: 604-321-2176 Email: guardado@interchange.ubc.ca

PURPOSE:
In this study I explore how immigrant families and their children experience their new lives in Canada. More specifically, I look at the uses of English and Spanish by the families and their children. I am interested in how some children are able and willing to speak Spanish and others are not. Also I am interested in knowing how being able or unable to speak, read and/or write in Spanish may affect the children’s school work and other possible consequences. The project is part of my Doctoral thesis and is being funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), which is a national government agency.

PROCEDURES AND DURATION:
There is no time requirement on your part, except for an observation of you and your family’s language use at home for a maximum of one hour.

CONFIDENTIALITY:
The names of people, places and any other identifying information will not be published. That means that your name and the names of your family members will be kept confidential through the use of false names in all reports. All the information will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Principal Investigator’s office at UBC.

REFUSALS:
Please note that your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from participation at any time during the study.

REMUNERATION:
Your family will be offered a small present: a children’s book in Spanish.
INQUIRIES:

We will be happy to answer any questions about the study at any time. Please do not hesitate to contact us either in person, by e-mail, or by telephone.

CONCERNS:

If you have any concerns about your rights or treatment as a participant, you or your parents may call the Research Subject Information Line at the UBC Office of Research Services and Administration at 604-822-8598. You can also contact any member of the research team (listed below) if you have questions or concerns about the project.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!
**ASSENT**

*Please complete the following and return it to Martín Guardado.*

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the information provided above or have understood the explanation provided by Martín Guardado. You will also receive a copy of this assent form for your own records. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may abandon this project at any time without any consequences to you or your family.

Please check the appropriate box for each line:

You agree that you:

[ ] Can participate in **Phase I** of this study

[ ] Can be **audio/video recorded** for this study

Name (please print):___________________________________________________

Signature: _________________________________________________________

Date: _____________________________________________________________
ASSENT FORM FOR PHASE II - CHILDREN

“Experiences of bilingualism and biliteracy: The language socialization of Hispanic children in British Columbia”

Principal investigator: Dr. Patricia Duff, Associate Professor
Department of Language and literacy Education, UBC
2034 Lower Mall road, UBC
Vancouver, BC, Canada V6T 1Z2
Tel: 604-822-9693  Email: patricia.duff@ubc.ca

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PURPOSE:

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PROCEDURES AND DURATION:

I will make informal observations of you and your family during different activities. If possible, I would like to audio or video tape some of these observations. You do not need to do anything special during the observations. At the end of the project, you will be asked to write a short paragraph or make a drawing about your experiences related to language use in Spanish, English or both. Also, at least one of the children in your family will be selected to do extra activities. For example, I will try to get samples of the child’s spoken and written language. One way might be by using wordless picture story books for children, such as Frog, where are you? (Mayer, 1969). I will also ask this child to write some type of personal story, such as describing what he/she did on the weekend. The total time required to do the activities is one hour. If you are selected to do the extra activities, you will need one extra hour.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

The names of people, places and any other identifying information will not be published. That means that your name and the names of your family members will be kept confidential through the use of false names in all reports. All the
information will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the Principal Investigator’s office at UBC.

REFUSALS:

Please note that your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from participation at any time during the study.

INQUIRIES:

We will be happy to answer any questions about the study at any time. Please do not hesitate to contact us either in person, by e-mail, or by telephone.

CONCERNS:

If you have any concerns about your rights or treatment as a participant, you or your parents may call the Research Subject Information Line at the UBC Office of Research Services and Administration at 604-822-8598. You can also contact any member of the research team (listed below) if you have questions or concerns about the project.

Thank you for giving this important research project your consideration!
ASSENT

Please complete the following and return it to Martín Guardado.

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood the information provided above or have understood the explanation provided by Martín Guardado. You will also receive a copy of this assent form for your own records. Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may abandon this project at any time without any consequences to you or your family.

Please check the appropriate box for each line:

You agree that you:

[ ] Can participate in Phase II of this study

[ ] Can be audio/video recorded for this study

Name (please print):___________________________________________________

Signature:    _________________________________________________________

Date: _________________________________________________________
**ORAL SCRIPT FOR CHILDREN**

**Phase I**
I am interested in how people talk and the languages they use, for example, English or Spanish. I will be talking with your family for one hour about this. I will also watch you and your family for another hour at your house. Is that okay with you?

**Phase IIA and Phase IIB**
Remember we met some time ago? Remember I talked with your family and watched you at your house? I’d like to do some more of that. I also want to watch and tape some of your conversations with your family. I want to ask you to do a little writing for me, perhaps a short story about something you did. I will show you some picture books like these (will show them several ‘frog’ books) and will ask you to tell me a story about them. Is that okay with you?
Appendix D
Questionnaire for Parents-Phase I

Datos demográficos y generalidades

1. Nombres de padres participantes
   Edades:

2. ¿País de origen?

3. ¿Cuándo emigró a Canadá?

4. ¿Vivió en otro país (fuera del suyo) en el proceso de emigrar a Canadá? ¿Dónde?

5. ¿Razón o razones principales de dejar su país?

6. ¿Por qué escogió Canadá?

7. ¿Cuántos años (o nivel) de educación formal tiene usted? ¿En cuál país estudió? ¿Especialidad?

8. ¿Cuál es su ocupación actual?

9. ¿En su opinión, cuál es su dominio del inglés?

10. ¿Qué nivel de estudio tienen en general sus parientes? ¿Especialidades?

11. Datos de sus hijos/as

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<th>Grado</th>
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12. ¿Cuál fue el primer idioma que hablaron sus hijos/as?

13. ¿Cuáles idiomas hablan actualmente sus hijos/as?

14. ¿Cuál es el idioma dominante?

15. ¿Saben leer y escribir en español sus hijos/as?
Appendix E
Interview Questions
Sample Parent Interview Guide-Phase I

1) Información escolar

   a) ¿Cómo les va en la escuela a sus hijos/as?
   b) ¿Se han adaptado bien a la escuela?
   c) ¿Tienen muchos amigos/as?
   d) ¿Qué idiomas hablan sus amigos/as?
   e) ¿Hablan español sus hijos/as en la escuela?
   f) ¿Le gustaría que sus hijos/as hablaran español en la escuela?
   g) ¿Se apoya el uso del español en la escuela de sus hijos/as?
   h) ¿Si no se apoya, entonces, le gustaría a usted que hubiera algún tipo de apoyo para el uso del español?

2) Integración

   a) ¿Ha experimentado su familia dificultades con el idioma durante el proceso de adaptación a la sociedad canadiense?
   b) ¿Qué tipo de dificultades?
   c) ¿Ha logrado su familia sobrepasar esos desafíos?
   d) ¿Cómo?
   e) Si no, ¿me puede decir más al respecto?
   f) ¿Han habido dificultades culturales? ¿Existe algo cultural con lo cual su familia ha tenido que luchar?
   g) ¿Hay algún tipo de ayuda para familias que necesitan superar esos desafíos?
   h) ¿Qué tipos de apoyo le gustaría que existieran?
   i) ¿Hay algo más que quiera agregar al respecto?

3) Ideologías lingüísticas

   a) ¿Cómo ven ustedes el inglés en la comunidad?
   b) ¿Cómo ven el español en la familia/comunidad/mundo?
   c) ¿Cree que vale la pena conservar el español en casa en Canadá?
   d) ¿Me puede decir más al respecto?
   e) ¿Cuál idioma piensa usted que es más importante para sus hijos en este momento?
   f) ¿Me puede decir más al respecto?
   g) ¿Y en el futuro? ¿Qué expectativas tiene respecto a la necesidad de usar el español?
   h) ¿Alguna vez piensan o hablan en su familia respecto a la necesidad de usar otras lenguas en el futuro?
   i) ¿Qué idiomas le gustaría que su familia hablara en el futuro? ¿Le gustaría que en su familia se usara más de un idioma?
4) Identidad

a) ¿A qué grupo cultural siente que pertenece? ¿Con qué idioma se identifica?
b) ¿Desea que eso cambie en el futuro? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
c) ¿Ve algunos desafíos para lograr esas metas?
d) ¿Es la identidad cultural de su hogar importante para usted? ¿Para su familia?
e) ¿Cuán importante es el español para su identidad?
f) ¿Es el español importante para conservar su identidad cultural?
g) ¿Cree que su familia ha desarrollado o está desarrollando una nueva identidad cultural?
h) ¿Piensa que esas identidades se complementan?
i) ¿Me puede decir más al respecto?

5) Patrones de uso lingüístico

a) ¿Tienen sus hijos/as muchos amigos/as angloparlantes? ¿De qué etnicidades? ¿Países de origen?
b) ¿Tienen amigos/as hispano-parlantes? ¿Se hablan en español entre ellos?
c) ¿Si sus hijos/as usan ambas lenguas, ve usted algún patrón de uso cuando habla una lengua o la otra (inglés / español)? ¿Mezclan los dos idiomas?
d) ¿Tiene usted alguna preferencia fuerte de cual idioma o idiomas le gustaría que sus hijos/as desarrollaran? ¿Por qué?
e) ¿Piensa usted que sus hijos/as están perdiendo el español?
f) ¿Tratan sus hijos/as de hablar en español?
g) ¿Ha hecho algo para ayudar a sus hijos/as retener el español?
h) ¿Tiende planes para el futuro respecto a esta situación?
i) ¿Que impresiones tiene de su propia fluidez lingüística en inglés?
j) ¿Está preocupado/a acerca de la comunicación que tiene con ellos/as?
k) ¿Le preocupa que sus hijos/as no podrán comunicarse con miembros de la familia, como por ejemplo, abuelos, abuelas, tíos, tías, primos y primas, etc.?
l) ¿Cada día, cuánto tiempo pasan hablando inglés sus hijos/as? ¿Con quién?
m) ¿Cada día, cuánto tiempo pasan hablando español sus hijos/as? ¿Con quién?

n) ¿Les habla en español o en inglés?
o) ¿Sus hijos/as le hablan en inglés o español?
p) ¿En qué idioma hablan sus hijos/as entre ellos?
q) ¿Si sus hijos/as son completamente bilingües, tiene algún consejo que quisiera compartir con otros padres y madres que desean que sus hijos/as sean bilingües?
r) ¿Si piensa que sus hijos/as están perdiendo su primera lengua, existen ciertos factores que cree que han contribuido a la pérdida del idioma?
s) ¿Si los padres y madres desean que sus hijos/as sean bilingües, qué les aconsejaría para promoverlo?
6) **Preguntas varias**

(a) ¿Han experimentado ustedes algún tipo de desafíos en la comunicación con la comunidad en general?
(b) ¿Desafíos o dificultades más allá de la lengua?
(c) ¿Se sienten bienvenidos en esta sociedad?
(d) ¿Han experimentado racismo? ¿Discriminación?
(e) ¿Los han tratado de manera condescendiente?
(f) ¿Con quienes han tenido esas experiencias: empleados de gobierno, escuelas, gente en general, miembros de su grupo étnico, otras minorías?
(g) ¿Qué piensa de la cultura canadiense?
(h) ¿Está familiarizado con la ley de multiculturalismo oficial en Canadá?
(i) ¿Qué piensa de las leyes oficiales de multiculturalismo en Canadá?
(j) ¿Creen que hacen alguna diferencia en la sociedad? ¿En su vida?
(k) ¿Ayudan esas leyes a hacerlos sentir más bienvenidos? ¿Más incluidos? ¿Piensan que las leyes también se reflejan como valores en la actitud de los canadienses acerca de usted como inmigrante?
(l) ¿Qué piensa del bilingüismo oficial?
(m) ¿Piensa que debería haber más apoyo para bilingüismo en otras lenguas?
(n) ¿Piensa que solo el bilingüismo en inglés-francés debería ser valorado y apoyado por el gobierno?
Sample Children Interview Guide-Phase II

1) Misc. Preferences
   a. Do you have a Spanish TV channel?
   b. What is your favorite cartoon character? What TV programs do you like?
   c. Do you read more Spanish books or English books?
   d. Do you listen to more Spanish music or English music? Spanish videos or English videos?
   e. What is your favorite food? Do you like Latin American food?
   f. Who do you want to be when you grow up?
   g. Can you name your favorite famous person?
   h. What is your favorite holiday? What do you do on this holiday? Do you celebrate Hispanic holidays?
   i. How do you usually spend your birthday?
   j. Do you have pocket money that you can use yourself?
   k. Where do you buy things you need?

2) School
   a. Do you like your school? Why or why not?
   b. How many hours do you spend on homework every day?
   c. Do you feel schoolwork is hard?
   d. Do you like your parents to visit school? Why or why not?

3) Parents
   a. What kinds of things do you usually do together with your Mom and Dad?
      (concert, sing songs together, read stories together, help with homework, play games, visit museum, play sports, tell stories, do housework chores)
   b. Which activity do you like best, among all these?
   c. Do you argue with your parents? How often? What things do you argue about?

4) Perceptions of Spanish
   a. Would you like to be able to use Spanish in the future for work, travel, studies?
   b. How might Spanish help you (or be important to you) in your future life? Work? Studies?
   c. How well can you understand/speak/read/write Spanish?
   d. Is Spanish difficult for you? Why or why not?
   e. What’s the most difficult thing about Spanish?
   f. What’s the most difficult thing about being bilingual?
   g. Which language are you most comfortable with?
   h. Are you proud of knowing Spanish?
   i. How important is Spanish to you?
   j. What languages would you like to speak in the future?
   k. How do you feel about your parents talking to you in Spanish all the time?
   l. Do you wish they talked in English to you? Sometimes? All the time?
   m. Do you like going to the Group? Why or why not?
   n. What happens if you and your sisters grow up and you can’t speak Spanish?

5) Peers
a. Do you have many friends? Can you name one of your best friends?
b. Who do you like to make friends with? What kind of children do you like to play
with? Why?
c. What kind of things do you usually do when you are with friends? (games,
homework, fighting, shopping, discussion, etc.)

1) Identity / Being Canadian
a. Do you like Canada? What do you like about it?
b. Do you like [country of origin of parents]? Why?
c. What’s the most difficult thing about being Canadian?
d. How different do you think you are from other Canadian children? (appearance,
ideas, culture, spending patterns, etc)
e. Do you think you are different from your class mates? How different?
Appendix F
Children’s Language Samples

Chapter 4
Idalita

Un día, un niño, su tortuga, su rana y su perro fueron al parque.
Cuando nadie se dieron cuenta, la rana se fue y se despidió de sus amigos.
La rana se fue en una aventura. Tuvo hombre tonces se como un insecto.
Se lo dijo, pero después sintió algo bien raro.
Cuando lo descubrió, se dio cuenta que había un abeja.
La rana después encontró unas señoritas que tenían un picnic.
La rana saltó adentro de la canasta.
La señora después sintió algo bien raro adentro de la canasta.
Ella levantó su mano con la rana allí colgada, el señor que estaba parado, se desmayó del susto.
La señora se puso y se puso a gritar a la rana.
La rana se fue a pararse en una rama.
Se puso a ver un niño y su barcito.
La rana saltó ensima del barco.
El barcito se hundió por el peso.
La mamá del niño se emocionó el vestido y se fue en la agua para aguar el barco.
La rana después se fue y encontró una señora con su bebé y su gato.
La rana saltó adentro de la carreta y después se dieron cuenta el bebé y el gato. La rana iba atormentar de la pocha pero el gato saltó en el. El gato como a la rana.
El gato la estaba ensima pero el niño su perro y su tortuga salieron de la rana. Los amigos después despidieron del rana.
El niño está con su perro y con una rana y una tortuga y se van a el parque ay muchas mariposas la rana salta y se va. El niño se pone camino con el perro y la tortuga y la rana dese, a dese. La rana ve a las mariposas y comiendo orugas y felíis y se comió una abeja. y le doló al abne so boca y salió la abeja. Des per se escocé donde estaba una mujer y un hombre. La rana se metió en una havana. La mujer metió su mano y la rana se suave a su mano y la mujer sacó su mano y se susto y la rana saltó. Des per se suave a un pabio y veió un niño que estaba sentado y la rana calló sin un bongo a ella y subió en la agua, el niño se susto su madre se fue a recer el bongo y la rana se subió a la grama. La rana saltó a una carape don de estaba un bebe, la rana estaba vendo se ay y avea un gato gomense ver a la rana, se caló el carape y el gato primo a agurar la rana y el niño en gontro la rana el perro susto a el gato y des per se fueron a la casa.
Frog on his own

un día, un niño muy travieso, decidió llevar a su rana, tortuga, y gato al parque. La rana estaba bien aburrida, así que decidió explorar. Saltó de el balde siniace el niño se de cuenta.

Primero, se encontró con una abeja. Tenía amarre, así que se la comió. AAAAAuuhh!!! gritó la rana. La abeja le había mordido! La soltó, y se fue saltando hasta que encontró una pareja tomando té. La rana saltó a la consta, y cuando la señora abrió la canasta, ¡Ahhhhhh! gritó. La rana se asustó y vio a un chiquito jugando con su barco. Decidió molestarlo, así que saltó en su barco, y lo asustó. Cuando le dijo a su mamá, la rana era tan rápida, que se escapó bien rápido a un coche con un bebé y era de una señora. La rana agarra la mamadera, y la empezó a tomar. El gato se molesto, y empezó a perseguir
a la rana. De un momento a otro, el gato paró, y se fue corriendo. La rana se quedó quieta, asta que brió el perro de el dueño de la rana, y bien rápido, saltó a el balde. estuvo contento ya que estaba con su dueño.
La rana abandonada

Un día lindo había un niño, un perro, tortuga y una rana. La rana y la tortuga estaban en un balde, cuando la rana saltó y se fue de sus amigos. La rana se perdió y dentro al mercado mundo. Primero fue a donde estaban las otras ranas y las miró. Le sorbió se fue a otra sitio. El segundo tiempo fue a una canasta donde una niña con su papá estaban teniendo hongos. La niña puso se mano en la canasta donde estaba la comida para agarrar algo y la rana saltó hacia la rana saltó de la canasta el papá de la niña dieron el café
que tenía. Después la rana se fue. La rana vio a un niño que estaba llorando. La rana saltó y tiró al niño y hizo que el niño llorase y trazó a su mamá. La rana otro día se escapó. Vio a una mamá con su bebé y la rana fue. La rana entró al coche y tomó la leche del bebé y tiró al bebé llorando. El gato mala estaba persiguiendo al niño, la tortuga y el perro pararon al gato. La rana estaba en el brazo del niño y fue durmiendo.
Había una vez un niño y un pico
Y iban a ir al parque. Y también
traían a su rana y tortuga en
una que ventié. Después la rana de el niño
brincó de la cubeta. Cuando el niño no se
estaba dando quenta. Y le estaba disfrazando
al tortuga adiós. La rana estaba muy
 CONTENTOTA. Pero después en eso algo y de comer entonces
buceó unen moseca. Entonces una aveja pero
el pino que era una moeza y se la camio,
Después la aveja le pico la lengua. Furtamente
la rana vio a unas personas teniendo un
De Neco entonces se metió a una canasta y se
estaba comiendo la comida. Y cuando la moeza
iba a agarrar la comida agarro a la ranita y
la moeza gritó y la rana saltó. Y después
la rana quería nadar y entonces vio un
varcito de un niño entonces la rana brincó
al varcito. Y se empezó a andar entonces
Su moeza tuvo que sacar el varcito.
Después la rana vio a una carioca y como
estaba muy cansada entonces se metió a la
carioca. Y vio un gato al afuera de la
carioca. Después la moeza le dijo la leche a la
rana en vez de ala niña entonces el gato
le vino ala ranita y la rana estaba
muy asustada porque el gato le agarró
después el niño vio a la rana
El pino fue a morder al gato pero lo mordió
Entonces, puso el ata rana a esto. Pasaba.
Y se fueron a su casa.
Florencia

Una vez un niño se fue al río con su perro y dos ranas, estando viendo muchas cosas bonitas como mariposas y su perro también le gustó pero no vio que se escaparon las ranas y se metió una tortuga. A las ranas estaban muy envidiadas y se comieron casi todas las moscas. Si les gustó estando salas y después jugaron con las mariposas pero después algo que alguien se cayó y volcó y no vieron nada. Después por un acidente con su lengua atrapó una abeja y le pico. Pero no vio que unas personas estaban comiendo allí. La rana se metió con algunos de ellos y cuando la niña metió la mano para agarrar algo sintió la rana y cuando sacó la mano allí estaba colgado se de la mano de la muchacha y después la mu-
Jefe gritó de susto y el jardinero se murió de risa y después... POW! se calló en el piso y la mujer mientras la rana se escapaba, la mujer abrió su bolsa de las verduras y después un niño saltando en su valija y después unos ríos de rana y plop se calló en el valija y se nado. Después empezó a llorar el niño y dijo que se metiera antes que agarara a la rana, se fue afuera del río y vio que una mamá le estaba haciendo la leche de su hijo y la ranita saltó a donde estaba el niño y cayó a su carreola y en vez de que se tomaran la leche lo vivió y después el gato trató de acariciar a la rana pero la rana brinco y tiró la carreola. El gato y el bebé empezaron a llorar y la mamá trató de volver al bebé. El gato trató de adueñarse a la ranita y después había acostado una pera no se perdió y después toda la rana. Después el perro empezó a ladear y se asusto. Mientras el gato y el niño que era el dueño de la ranita había salvado a la rana y el perro también estaba agradeciendo la rana y tortuga.
Appendix G

Group Participation Interview Questions

1. Why did you join this group?
2. How did you find out about it?
3. What was your spouse’s reaction?
4. Why do you want to maintain the language and culture?
5. Do you expect to sustain the same effort in the long term?
6. What does the group mean to you?
7. How do you feel about the activities?
8. What do you get out of it?
9. What do you expect to get out of it in the long run?
10. What do your children get out of it?
11. What effect do you think group participation is having on your children?
12. How do they respond to group participation?
13. What else do you do to pursue language maintenance goals?
15. Is there anything you wish you did, but don’t, get out of it?
16. What do you wish were different?
17. How do you envision the group in the future?
18. What are the characteristics of families who stay?
19. What are the criteria for new families?
Appendix H

Transcription Conventions\textsuperscript{35}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(0.5)</td>
<td>The number in brackets indicates a time gap in tenths of a second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>A dash indicates the sharp cut-off of the prior word or sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(.)</td>
<td>A dot enclosed in a bracket indicates a pause in the talk of less than two tenths of a second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.hh</td>
<td>A dot before an ‘h’ indicates speaker in-breath; the more ‘h’s, the longer the in-breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hh</td>
<td>An ‘h’ indicates an out-breath; the more ‘h’s, the longer the out-breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(( ))</td>
<td>A description enclosed in a double bracket provides additional information. It may indicate a non-verbal activity, for example ((looking at Angela)). It may provide grammatical information in a translation, for example ((pl.)) indicates the original word in Spanish was marked for plural. It can also enclose comments or background information, for example, ((the answer ‘si’ could be in response to a non-verbal question))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>Colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter. The more colons the greater the extent of the stretching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>An ‘x’ enclosed in single parentheses indicates the presence of an unclear word in the recording. The number of ‘x’s enclosed indicates the number of unclear words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(guess)</td>
<td>The words within a single bracket indicate the transcriber’s best guess at an unclear fragment in the recording</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>A full stop indicates a stopping fall in tone. It does not necessarily indicate the end of a sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under</td>
<td>Underlined fragments indicate speaker emphasis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{35} Adapted from Wooffitt (2001).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>↑↓</th>
<th>Pointed arrows indicate a marked falling or rising intonational shift. They are placed immediately before the onset of the shift.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAPITALS</td>
<td>With the exception of proper nouns, capital letters indicate a section of speech noticeably louder than that surrounding it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>° °</td>
<td>Degree signs are used to indicate that the talk they encompass is spoken noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; &lt;</td>
<td>‘More than’ and ‘less than’ signs indicate that the talk they encompass was produced noticeably quicker than the surrounding talk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>The ‘equals’ sign indicates contiguous utterances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[</td>
<td>A left-hand bracket indicates the beginning of overlapping speech, shown for both speakers. It also indicates that speakers start a turn simultaneously.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bold</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bold</strong> typeface indicates the text was originally spoken in English.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix I

**Rhetorical Moves**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Rhetorical moves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I’d like to tell you (pl.) that I’m happy to see that all of you speak the Spanish language, Castilian.</td>
<td>exaltation + congratulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This is a very beautiful language</td>
<td>positive appraisal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and one of the most important features of this group is (xx) and to maintain that</td>
<td>statement of group’s objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the newcomers, I would like to ask you to persevere in speaking in Spanish, to try to speak Spanish with one another</td>
<td>appeal to use Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s such a pretty language, okay?</td>
<td>positive appraisal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And u::m um I’m also very glad to see that everyone speaks Spanish so well</td>
<td>congratulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and I took the liberty of inviting some people who are friends of mine …and I would like all of us to maintain that practice of talking to them</td>
<td>appeal to continue using Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they speak English perfectly, like all of you</td>
<td>acknowledgement of children’s reality in an English dominant society (showing empathy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but I would like you to always speak to them, to always speak Spanish</td>
<td>appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because it’s part of what distinguishes us from others</td>
<td>statement of uniqueness of group members based on language and culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix J

Quote Translations

Chapter 4

TR4.1
El conocimiento de nuestra cultura también va en nuestra comida y en nuestras tradiciones.

TR4.2
Al final cada capítulo es entendido en su totalidad incluyendo el problema matemático (en el caso de Idalita).

TR4.3
La respuesta es bastante positiva, y es mejor de la esperada, comentan de lo que se les ha explicado y en el caso de Idalita ha entendido muy bien la parte filosófica de la matemática. A Diana, le gusta escuchar las narraciones de la historia y las ironías que se presentan.

TR4.4
Solamente se cumplían parte de los objetivos pero no todos, algunos libros son alienantes.

TR4.5
La hegemonía de una cultura.

TR4.6
El que tengan una base sólida intelectual con conocimientos en muchos aspectos, en la ciencia exacta y las ciencias sociales.

TR4.7
Que aprendan que la cuna de las ciencias no es exactamente Occidente, la historia se desarrolla en Medio Oriente, Bagdad.

TR4.8
Después de comer.

TR4.9
El hecho que los niños hispanos no hablen español es parte de la responsabilidad del School Board porque ellos mismos les dicen a los papás que no presionen a los niños a hablar español en sus casas, porque el inglés es el oficial y el idioma de ellos es el inglés porque ellos viven aquí y son pequeños que se están educando en la cultura canadiense.

TR4.10
En el caso de mi hija mayor, no fueron las trabajadoras [multiculturales] del School Board. Ella desde que la niña entro al kínder, la misma profesora le dijo que no hablara español, ya tenía que hablar el puro inglés. Entonces para nosotros esto fue…en los primeros días fue frustrante…

TR4.11
El rendimiento académico no reflejaba el énfasis que nosotros le dábamos acá. Entonces era sencillamente porque ella estaba en una situación de ambivalencia. Por un lado nosotros le exigíamos que hablara español. Por el otro lado, la sociedad, la escuela como pequeña sociedad, le exigía que se relacionara más con ellos y que no hablara el español, porque si hablaba español no era parte del sistema, del grupo, lo cual era la actitud de los maestros también. Entonces lo que ella allí recibía se reflejaba de una manera, en que el rendimiento académico estaba bajo.

TR4.12
Nosotros le estamos echando al costal y alguien le está sacando por abajo.
La identidad cultural de las niñas es un híbrido. No podemos hacer un pequeño mundo dentro de estas cuatro paredes. Ellas tienen que conocer su cultura, pero tampoco encerrarlas en eso. No se puede. No estaríamos logrando nuestros objetivos, de que ellas tengan una visión amplia.

Las batallas más grandes ya se han ganado. Entre ellas dos se hablan en español. Solo cuando no saben las palabras en español lo dicen en inglés.

La guerra no está ganada, pero hemos ganado una batalla.

Uno no puede transmitir lo que no conoce. …que ellos desde muy pequeños sepan de donde vienen.

Es muy importante que las niñas sepan de donde son, de donde vienen. A la más pequeña, siempre se le dice que aunque ella haya nacido acá, ella es de nacionalidad guatemalteca, con ciudadanía canadiense. Pero culturalmente, ella es guatemalteca, y aun más, con raíces maya. Pues es importante que ellas sepan de donde vienen, para que ellas se sientan tan orgullosas. Lo que queremos es que ellas en el futuro se sientan libres de lo que son. Se sientan unas personas completas. Que sepan su español, es una parte de la cultura. Una parte de nuestra identidad. El español es importante para la identidad cultural y para que tengan éxito en todas las facetas de su vida. El idioma les ayuda en el conocimiento. Se abren las fronteras con saber más de un idioma.

Un niño cuando habla más de un idioma intelectualmente crece. Ha habido estudios creo, que los niños son más inteligentes ¿no? Tienen otra visión del mundo que es lo que la otra parte que queremos darles a ellas. Otro punto de vista, varios puntos de vista y que ellas después escojan ¿no? La identidad cultural es necesaria para lograr mantener el español. No se puede saber de su cultura si no se sabe su idioma. Yo no puedo conocer más a fondo de los chinos, de los japoneses, porque no hablo la lengua de ellos. Ellos me podrán pasar una información platicándolo, pero no es lo mismo. A las niñas les da una visión más amplia del mundo, no de un lugar más pequeño, pero del mundo.

Por necesidad

El líder cuando llegaban los padres de familia blancos, el líder salía y los saludaba a todos…o a los que podía, y cuando nosotros estábamos parados allí mismo, pasaba y no nos saludaba.

Porque primero era racista, era discriminador, miraba a los padres de familia como sus sirvientes, etc. Le dije, ‘no’, ya no quiero que esté mi hija allí. No me gusta porque el escultismo no es racial, no es religioso y no es político-ideológico en todo el mundo, ni es
sexista ni cosas por el estilo. Todos los niños y las niñas tienen los mismos derechos e igualdad de condiciones. Esto no tiene discusión.

TR4.24
…la solución es simple, la creación de un grupo scout de estructura latina, nosotros… nosotros tenemos diferencias culturales abismales con ellos. Entonces y tenemos la concepción del escultismo desde otro punto de vista.

TR4.25
…me di cuenta que Scouts de Canadá tenía errores conceptuales acerca del escultismo.

TR4.26
Ellos piensan idéntico a nosotros. Nosotros por nuestro lado y ellos por su lado. Entonces sin pensararlo, nosotros pensábamos igual, pero nosotros a nivel de Scouts de Canadá estábamos solos.

TR4.27
El escultismo no fue creado como una organización de participar en actividades puramente recreativas, sino es una total formación en varios aspectos. La formación del culto al cuerpo en el sentido que entienda que estar en buenas condiciones físicas es importante. El conocimiento de la naturaleza, de la relación del ser humano y la naturaleza y la importancia que tiene el conocerlo, por eso una parte de la ley de los scouts dice que el scout cuida y protege la naturaleza.

TR4.28
La formación de ciudadanos, formar la conciencia en los niños acerca de tener una razón por la cual existir, con una conciencia social en todos los aspectos de la vida.

TR4.29
Y a nosotros nos da la satisfacción de darle a la comunidad, tan simple, algo… prestar, tener allí nuestro modesto aporte a la sociedad, a la transformación de la sociedad.

TR4.30
El aporte del grupo es la formación de niños para que después como adolescentes, jóvenes adultos y como adultos puedan ser útiles a la sociedad.

TR4.31
Porque yo veo que tres horas al mes es poco y mi vocabulario es limitado porque es un vocabulario de la vida de casa y aquí les están dando otro vocabulario que tiene que ver con la naturaleza, tiene que ver con otras cosas, por eso; es por la lengua. Hay otros valores. Ya conociendo a José y a Idalia me doy cuenta que tienen una ideología fantástica y a mí me están ayudando a educar a mis hijos, dándoles más independencia y, o sea que estoy muy contenta de traerlos porque aparte de mi objetivo principal, ahora tengo otros más.

TR4.32
La llevo a lugares donde se habla español. Por eso la llevo a los scouts, porque allí se habla español.

TR4.33
Les ayuda a crear un poco de independencia, de autoestima y pues porque era en español, eso era un factor importante. Porque scouts se encuentra en cualquier parte, cerca de la casa hay un grupo de scouts, pero este, porque además de eso les estimulaba al español.

TR4.34
Ellas no se están dando cuenta que están aprendiendo. Ellas solo están jugando. Ellas no vienen aquí a aprender; ellas vienen a jugar.
De una u otra manera... los niños en ese momento están aprendiendo ya sea a través de la comida o de la música o de cualquier otra palabra que surge en los momentos que se reúnen y van a vivenciar y en ese momento los niños están aprendiendo algo propio de nosotros. Es una manera de inculcarles algo diferente, pero diferente con relación a nuestra cultura, no a la cultura de acá canadiense, sino a la cultura latina.

Y claro, una vez ya lo tienen [idioma español], pues te abre muchas más puertas y puedes apreciar toda una cultura, no una, muchas, como España, México, Guatemala, Argentina. Es que’s maravilloso, claro imagínate. Aparte te abre las puertas para aprender otras lenguas latinas.

Es una manera de romper con la rutina; sin querer queriendo es una manera de ayudarnos todos a relajarnos. Es como un relajante muscular; una distracción de una manera, olvidarse por completo en un momento dado de todas las cosas que se tienen que hacer, del carro, del trabajo con los hijos, de las obligaciones, es un momentito, es un break que se da.

Es una satisfacción para nosotros ver lo que ellas hacen allí. Y hasta para nosotros mismos entre el grupo también ganamos. Para nosotros también es otro círculo social porque también estamos haciendo amigos acá, y no crea, es una distracción, cambia la rutina. El hecho de que el viernes viene uno aquí... se distrae uno, así que sentimos que también ganamos nosotros.

¿Y los niños han escrito algo en español este día?

Todos mis abuelitos son doctores.

Ir a cualquier país y puedo comunicarme con cualquiera.

Con mi esposo desde un principio decidimos poner la regla que en la casa hablamos español.

... llegan a un país extraño y quieren adaptarse lo más pronto posible, es una de las primeras cosas que dice ¿no? tengo que hablar sólo en inglés, lo que es cerrado ¿no? porque si no pierden. Yo tengo muchos amigos que han venido en la misma situación, que no han mantenido el español.

... es imperdonable y la falla es de los padres definitivamente, porque el niño solo no hace las cosas.

Viven pegados a la familia.

Es un idioma tan lindo.

Nosotros insistimos en que sea en español aunque se demore más.
TR5.10
Ponme como hablo yo.
TR5.11
Cuando ellos estén grandes si ellos no quieren entonces ya no puede exigir. Si ellos no quieren entonces que voy hacer ¿no? Pero al menos de parte de nosotros siempre va a haber esa exigencia interna en que de alguna manera tengan el contacto, que lean libros y que vean televisión hispana ¿no?
TR5.12
Quería que conocieran más de Perú.
TR5.13
Dentro del currículo debería de haber algo que promueva la cultura de cada uno. Que sepan qué visten, qué comen, qué hacen, qué hablan en cada lugar. Que vean los records de la población estudiantil y que organicen actividades.
TR5.14
Que te de vergüenza mentir, pero no hablar un idioma que es tan bonito.
TR5.15
Este término ha regresado por algunas horas allí [ESL]. El está algo fastidiado, pero yo le digo si no puedes expresarte cien por ciento que te den ayuda. Tiene las ideas, pero no las escribe completas. Yo prefiero que lo refuerzen en ESL, pues eso le va a beneficiar.
TR5.16
Mi hija mayor ya llega por allí y me dice ‘mami me gustaría aprender a hacer cosas de la cocina’, entonces le explico en español y lo entiende y a veces me dice, ‘pero ¿qué es esto? y le explico en español y no se lo digo…a menos que sea un ingrediente que ella nunca ha escuchado en español y le digo ‘es lo que acá se llama tal cosa’ y al final ella lo recoge en su cabeza como español.
TR5.17
Ser creativos para que los niños tengan ese interés, sino nunca vas a poder [hacer] que acepten y que les guste.
TR5.18
Yo les hago pistas, como buscar un tesoro y a cada uno le hago diferentes pistas y les escribo todo en español. “¿qué es lo que más te gusta comer?” por ejemplo. Si hay uno que le gusta la pasta, entonces donde guardo la pasta, allí escondo el huevito. Es una manera de que lean el español y…siempre trato de que de alguna manera estén expuestos ¿no?
TR5.19
En la casa tienes que ser creativo con el español: danzas, canciones, juegos, etc. Puede ser divertido para los chicos y a la vez ellos pueden internalizar un poco.
TR5.20
Los que tienen interés en mantener el idioma.
TR5.21
…la verdad que ellos dan la bienvenida a cualquier persona interesada en aprender, o sea, el ejemplo está en este grupo de chinitas que no es su primera lengua. Los padres tampoco hablan el idioma, simplemente les interesa el idioma para que tengan otro más pero el grupo es abierto a recibir personas. Yo no he visto al menos desde que estoy ninguna excepción para ninguna persona.
Creo que no tenemos ningún criterio. Aceptamos a todos. Si quieren aprender español, aquí está.

Otro de los objetivos es introducir a los niños al mundo latinoamericano, entonces intentamos celebrar fiestas latinoamericanas.

Veo que es muy bueno que mis niños vean que hay otras personas que hablan español aparte de mí, y es muy bueno para ellos también practicarlo…

Que juegue con otros niños en español.

Yo lo que temo es que si ella se siente tan sola, va a llegar el momento donde ella diga, no quiero más español como hicieron mis sobrinos, y ellos no lo hablan, no lo entienden, no lo ven, no lo escuchan, nada.

Por lo menos una vez a la semana están expuestos a eso.

Definitivamente que les va a ayudar.

Por casualidad, por accidente.

…no tolero mucha distracción, entonces me pongo mal porque yo hago y soy directa… “mira si te estás moviendo tanto te vas con los niñitos”, o “sino quieres repetir alto lo que tenemos que repetir, te vas con los tiernitos,” entonces los saco de eso y lo hacen porque quieren estar ahí, pero si les toleras demasiado, no aprenden…

Veo que es muy bueno que mis niños vean que hay otras personas que hablan español aparte de mí, y es muy bueno para ellos también practicarlo, entonces esto ya para mi es suficiente como para continuar.

Yo no tengo mucha paciencia para hacerlo en la casa, entonces por lo menos una vez a la semana están expuestos a eso.

Olivia que me ayude con los chicos que estaban más atrasados, eso le entusiasmó un poco a Olivia porque en ese momento tenía que ser profesora.

Mi hija lo busca: ‘mami vamos a la clase de español,’ le cuesta, pero ella también lo necesita.

Pero sí, siempre es una buena oportunidad para venir, conocer más gente, no simplemente ellas, enterarse de nuevos…por ejemplo yo no estoy muy enterada de lo que hace la comunidad Latina aquí. Por medio de este grupo me he enterado de los Scouts y fui a conocer los Scouts por medio de este grupo um…varias cosas dentro de Canadá también, exhibiciones donde hemos participado, o sea por medio muy particular mío, porque mi hija habla más el español, y por conocer más gente.
TR5.36
…y aparte, no es de solo enseñar español a los niños, sino que se ha creado como un grupo social y entonces ya hemos creado amistades entre nosotras y para nosotras…Incluso a las mamás les está llenando un vacío porque la mayoría de nosotras tenemos nuestras familias en otros países, y el inglés, a pesar de que llevamos aquí muchos años, nunca se domina tanto como el español.

TR5.37
Mi primera prioridad es que se comuniquen con mis padres y la segunda que es un regalo que les estoy dando, es una lengua y si yo supiera tocar piano, les enseñaría a tocar piano; eso sería otro regalo. Esos son mis únicos motivos, el decir ¿porque nó si puedo dárselos y que se comuniquen con mis padres?

TR5.38
…más como un soporte. Ahí vendría la familia, pero claro, como no vivimos en un sitio hispano, y no hay tanta gente y tanta familia donde puedan ayudar, estoy pensando que a lo mejor este grupo pueda ayudar en llenar alguna de las faltas donde estemos fallando.

TR5.39
Yo llegué aquí sin familia, la única persona fue mi esposo y su familia, eh relativamente cuando yo me casé con mi esposo es cuando yo llegue aquí a Canadá. Llegué como nueva en un país diferente, sin hablar la lengua, sin conocer a nadie. Inmediatamente tuve a mi hija, la cual a:h fue un cambio muy grande para mí. Entonces el empezar a conocer gente de mi mismo idioma acá me hizo sentirme un poquito más, este, tener algo en común con las-las hispanas. Es uno de los motivos… como que siempre tenemos esa cosa de que si no tenemos la familia, por lo menos tenemos una buena amiga con quien no se-compartir, platicar, cualquier cosa. Y es lo que encontré aquí precisamente.

TR5.40
Si uno tiene una necesidad urgente ellas viven cerca de mí. Siempre, cualquier cosa, usted sabe que puede acudir a pedir ayuda, ya sea de las niñas, que le cuiden a la niña, que si tiene una emergencia, siempre nos ayudamos mutuamente. Entonces eso es como encontrar a una parte de su familia en Canadá.

TR5.41
La oportunidad de practicar nuestra lengua, con nuestras mismas personas de nuestra propia nacionalidad, eso es bien importante, el tener esa oportunidad de contacto con tu México en otro país.

TR5.42
…las mamás se quieren sentar, a platicar es un break y a platicar en su idioma, y como dije la mayoría tienen esposos que hablan otro idioma, entonces tú no te…cuando tú hablas otro idioma no estás tan relajado como cuando hablas tu idioma porque a mí me dicen cuando hablas español te cambia, y cuando hablas inglés eres diferente, así que eso…eso es otro cosa que te hace ir a estos lugares, aquello de que es para ti, cuando hablas otro idioma, tú te sientes que no casi así…y cuando hablas tu idioma…es tan relajado y te sueltas, ademanes y expresiones y lo que sea no, entonces eso para ellos también…es un-es un momento de- de ser como son, de ser latino y eso es- es otra de las cosas que por lo que la gente va ahí también, y es una lástima que no-que no continúen yendo.

TR5.43
Emocional ah más que todo, y emocional porque te regresas a tu idioma, te regresas a lo que deberas sos al fondo, un latino…
TR5.44
…y cuando llegas a esos lugares, te abres, te relajas, te-te quitas lo canadiense y te quedas latino, te quitas como-como sin el pellejo de que te pones todo el tiempo de canadiense…

TR5.45
Yo creo que el hecho de que un niño siga con la lengua es cuestión de que los padres insistan y que tengan interés; y muchas veces los padres no tienen el interés. Yo pienso que esta asociación debería tener hasta listas de espera, pero no es así, no se interesan.

TR5.46
Bueno, me gustaría que hubiese más voluntarios que estuvieran dispuestos a venir con diferentes ideas, con nuevas ideas, a hacerlo como le digo, más también cultural, no nada más aprender la lengua, que hubiera más clases, más maestros, y que el grupo creciera.

TR5.47
Fíjate que esta semana me han llamado dos familias diferentes con bebés. Entonces, incluso una cosa que se podría crear es seguir un poco la moda del Mother Goose y crear un Mother Goose en español, porque son parejas jóvenes que realmente sé que les gustaría muchísimo. Y eso es sólo de hacer un poquito de búsqueda de canciones y poemas y organizarlo. No cuesta nada y hoy en día con el internet menos todavía, esta es una cosa que tengo en mente quizá para atraer sangre fresca al grupo, porque es precisamente cuando tienes los bebés que tienes más tiempo y para dedicarle, porque todas nosotras empezamos cuando nuestros niños eran bebés.

Chapter 6

TR6.1
…fueron muy difíciles para ella. Lloró todos los días.

TR6.2
Las niñas son perfectamente bilingües. Mi inglés sigue siendo muy limitado. Yo podría haber aprovechado a las niñas para que mi inglés fuera mejor, pero yo podría haber ganado pero ellas habrían perdido.

TR6.3
Sí, en español o en inglés, tu dime, pero por favor no me digas en el tuyo. No te entiendo.

TR6.4
Pueden decir misa, pero nosotros vamos a seguir detrás de que ellas sigan hablando el español.

TR6.5
Si tienen tres o cuatro [idiomas] es mejor.

TR6.6

TR6.7
Yo creo que abriéndote el canal de un idioma más, estás abriendo las opciones para otros idiomas.

TR6.8
Que sepan que no solo es el español. Que hay otros idiomas.
TR6.9
...de toda la oportunidad que tienen de convivir con diferentes personas, de diferentes países, y creo que de alguna manera siempre las lleva a pensar en la propia, en las suyas, en lo que nosotros acostumbramos a hacer, en todo lo que pretendemos llegar a hacer ¿no? creo que el reto que dice Orlando [Mr. Ramírez], que mantengan la [cultura] de nosotros y asimilen las partes positivas de las demás y que aprendan a respetar las diferentes [culturas]...ese yo creo que es la base, o sea, la teoría aquí en Canadá es una de que tu respetes al otro individuo como es, en sus creencias, en sus formas de actuar, mientras NO interfieras en tu...no en tu espacio, sino que no provoque un daño al otro, lo que es la libertad, ser libre, y hacer lo que tú...a donde tú quieras llegar, pero sin dañar a otros, entonces yo creo que esa parte es muy rica para ellas.

TR6.10
Todo esto le refuerza esa parte emocional, y yo digo que puede a la larga pues dar seres humanos, espero, más seguros y más fuertes, más orgullosos de sí mismo, pero además, interesados en los otros.

TR6.11
A lo mejor es el reto ¿no? Porque sí sería triste que perdieran esas tradiciones por absorber otras y no porque unas sean necesariamente mejores que otras, no, sino porque esas tradiciones vienen de tus raíces ¿no? entonces, ese es el reto, tal vez lograr que las niñas, este, mantengan ese espíritu abierto ¿no? para absorber todo lo que están viviendo a su alrededor, pero sin perder las raíces y las tradiciones que traían o que tenemos en México ¿no?

TR6.12
...yo pienso que es mucho más enriquecedor. Al principio puede llegar a ser confuso, y por eso creo que ese es el reto, el llegar a integrar lo que nosotros como familia, no solo ellas, asimilamos de esa diversidad.

TR6.13
...tampoco quiero dar una noción nada más nostálgica del país ¿no? Porque lo ausente siempre es perfecto. Entonces no quiero que sea irreal, pero porque no quiero que sea irreal, no quiero que se queden nada más con la parte negativa o con la parte positiva, sino que la tengan completa.

TR6.14
¿Qué significa ser canadiense? Ser ciudadano del mundo.

TR6.15
Uno aprende en su propia piel ¿no? Y como a mí me está costando mucho, no quiero que a ellas les cueste. Es una maravilla poder hablar más idiomas. No quiero que pierdan la oportunidad, hoy que la tienen gratis ¡Gratis!

TR6.16
Número uno: mantener la comunicación con la familia. Tanto mamá, papá, hermanas, como la familia que dejaste en México. Por más que alguno de ellos aprenda a manejar el inglés en la escuela, no es lo mismo. La comunicación familiar. Segunda: la oportunidad que tú le das a una persona de manejar otro idioma. Le abres muchas puertas. Creo que el evitarles o el no permitirles o el no propiciarles el que manejen dos idiomas, es como decirles, bueno no tan drástico, no uses las dos piernas solo usa una. Oye pero puedo caminar mejor con dos. ¡Sí, pero también puedes caminar con una! Te pongo una muleta al lado y puedes caminar. Si tienes la capacidad de hacerlo, como desperdiciar una cosa que ya tienes. Además que puede
ser muy bien aprovechada ya después cuando ellas crezcan ya en su campo de trabajo. Te permite moverte mucho más fácil. Son las dos motivaciones que nos mueven para que ellas mantengan el idioma.

TR6.17
Les repercute directamente al aspecto emocional. Se sienten seguras

TR6.18
Les da otro color, otro sabor…otro tipo de aprendizaje…un toque diferente.

TR6.19
…tengan esa capacidad de entenderlo y hablarlo…y escribirlo. Esa es la última parte y es a la que posiblemente tengamos que prestar más atención. Ahorita lo hablan y lo entienden, pero es el escribir lo que les cuesta más trabajo.

TR6.20
Habilidad fácil de perder. Aunque no lo hables, siempre lo vas a entender. El segundo nivel es que ademas lo puedas hablar. Pero el hecho que lo puedas hablar no necesariamente implica que lo vas a poder escribir. Entonces, esa es la tercera habilidad y que queremos buscar que no se pierda.

TR6.21
…no les vamos a pedir tener el nivel de manejo de español escrito que tienen los niños en México, porque creo que es muy difícil.

TR6.22
No se van a pelear tanto con eso. Lo van a practicar un poquito y lo van a sacar luego luego.

TR6.23
Hablamos los dos.

TR6.24
Es como que cada año tienen un curso intensivo nada más de español, porque allá nadie les habla en inglés, nadie. Durante todo el año que estamos aquí, o durante los diez meses que estamos aquí, tú puedes ver el proceso de cómo el español se va quedando atrás. Ahorita ya es pleito. Ahorita ya es reto. Aquí me hablas en español. Yo especialmente les he marcado, en español…y no te entiendo. Y como ellas saben que yo no hablo bien, entonces para ellas es algo real. Pero como me ven que afuera a veces hablo, me dicen, si entiendes. Entonces les digo, sí, si entiendo, pero si tú no hablas el español yo pido un boleto para México, no pido cuatro. Porque en México nadie te va a entender en inglés. Ese eso es como un incentivo, o a lo mejor amenaza…para que lo hablen ¿me entiendes? Les encanta, lo están esperando. La pasan muy bien. Quieren hacerlo.

TR6.25
No han cambiado el casete en sus cerebros.

TR6.26
Mejor peleemos en español de nuevo.

TR6.27
…idioma español oralmente lo tienen prácticamente dominado.

TR6.28
Aquí, Martín, lo que les hace falta es actividades de, número uno leer, y número dos escribir. Allí es donde falta. Y no se les ha forzado mucho porque el tiempo que pasan en ese tipo de actividades es normalmente haciendo tareas, leyendo libros para la escuela, pero de todos modos hay que buscar la manera de que lo hagan sin que represente para ellas algo oneroso
¿no? Por eso el Family Centre cumple esa función, porque aunque es nada más una vez a la semana….

TR6.29
No me gusta que las niñas jueguen en su idioma en la escuela. Me parece irrepetuoso.

TR6.30
Sentirse verdaderamente ORGULLOSOS de donde vienen.

TR6.31
Nuestro objetivo final es que ellas aprendan el español. Que aprendan a expresarse, que aprendan a leerlo, que aprendan a escribirlo. Por otro lado que no pierdan sus raíces culturales y familiares. Lo más importante, nuestra labor más importante para lograr eso es que no se convierta en un conflicto. Ser sutiles en esa presión. Que sepan que es una presión constante, pero algo que no les cree una reacción contraria. No solo que no lo pierdan, sino que en un momento dado se den cuenta que es importante tener dos o más idiomas.

TR6.32
Es de vivir una familia. Además que es divino porque nos alquilan un lugar, un Family Centre, que es toda una casa, es una casa. Tú entras a la cocina. Los niños pueden llegar y comer allí su refrigerio antes de trabajar, antes de jugar ¡¡¡Es una casa!!! No es un salón. Eso todavía te da más, así como que entras y dices ¡wow! Entras a la casa y dices ¿donde está la tía? ¿Está en la cocina? No, está en el baño. O sea…es una experiencia muy familiar. Es como la casa de la abuelita que no está la abuelita. Es muy bonito.

TR6.33
Tienen conocimiento de donde vienen, de su cultura. O sea, creo que cualquiera de los que estamos allí, sabemos la historia, no?, entonces, creo que eso da el orgullo de querer transmitir …el orgullo que quieres transmitir a los tuyos, a los chicos.

TR6.34
…[tratar de transmitir el idioma y la cultura] equivale a que ya tuviste tiempo y tuviste la oportunidad de no tener que estar pensando en que voy a comer, o que me voy a poner en los pies…para poder ocupar tu vida en otra cosa.

TR6.35
Queremos que nuestros hijos estén exposed al español y que vean a otros niños también de padres hispanos y que jueguen y aprendan el español, aprendan a conversarlo, a leerlo y a escribirlo.

TR6.36
Ha sido prácticamente una lucha constante encontrar la manera de que los niños se expongan al español…

TR6.37
Algo más como con la comunidad, más como convivir con otra gente y que hablen español y que sea familiar, con familias que estén interesados también en el español.

TR6.38
…que tengan la oportunidad de vivir cosas que en su país se viven. Como las posadas, navidad, reyes magos, el día del niño, el día de muertos. Cosas que te van a, hablando de su país ¿no? De lo importante que son determinadas fiestas; porque son importantes.

TR6.39
La idea de los papás fue que los niños practiquen el español. Pero si te pones a analizar las razones personales de cada papá, no era nada más que ellos hablaran español. Era también encontrar una parte de ti junto a otras familias.
TR6.40
Que la familia no sólo es para desde que se nace hasta los 18 años, sino que para toda la vida.

TR6.41
Entonces, pasa lo que pasa con tu familia. Hechas raíces y te jalan las raíces. Entonces como que dices “¡ouch!” me va a volver a doler cuando yo me vaya de aquí y estas raíces las vuelva a cortar para volverme a plantar en un lugar donde no conozco a nadie, donde tengo que volver a echar raíces ¿no? Entonces yo creo que este grupo...eso también existe. Esa parte que es muy importante, es el apoyo entre familias. Empezamos a hacer nuestras propias raíces aquí nosotros entre nosotros ¿no? Puedes hacer esto más tuyo ¿no? Es un país que es más tuyo.

TR6.42
Las mamás nos dicen ‘nada más hablen en español’ cada vez, y ya saben que no les vamos a hacer caso ha ha ha.

TR6.43
Me gusta cuando ponen actividades divertidas.

TR6.44
Les encanta. Les gusta. Es como ir a una fiesta todas las semanas. Es una fiesta. Las niñas van encantadas de la vida. Les gusta.

TR6.45
Para los niños ha sido como un play date. Extended play date.

TR6.46
Les gusta, no les gusta cuando es tan estructurada la clase. Cuando es más como escuela no les gusta. Les gusta más cuando es como juego.

TR6.47
En el aspecto emocional, apoya la autoestima, en el aspecto académico refuerza lo que ellas ya saben, producción al hablar, y en el momento en que se escribe cuando hay maestra. Y en cuanto al social...si yo pongo de primero a tercero, cual es el que más se refuerza, primero es el social, yo te dejaría el emocional al mismo nivel quizás, y después te dejaría el académico al final. Así sería en ese orden.

TR6.48
La parte más fuerte del grupo es la parte social. Porque la forma de relacionarse entre las familias es muy latina, es muy abierta, se da más fácil la expresión de sentimientos tanto de gusto como de enojo, y las relaciones entre las mamás también, entonces es social. Aunque nosotros le hemos querido dar una connotación pedagógica para el aprendizaje de la lengua escrita, eso no ha sido posible, no lo hemos podido hacer, porque no todos los niños están en el mismo nivel. Unos provocan que la actividad se detenga y creo que las niñas han ido avanzando en esa área, pero creo que podrían haber avanzado mucho más, pero la finalidad del grupo, la primera no es el aspecto pedagógico, sino el aspecto de relaciones personales, entre ellos, en base obviamente al idioma español, pero todas las demás con que se dan son latinas. Entonces, creo que no ha cambiado. Han llegado objetivos en cuanto a escritura y lectura con algunas niñas, pero básicamente es el otro aspecto.

TR6.49
...momento en el que de nuevo se vuelve a remarcar la importancia del idioma. Para que vean que no soy la única loca en el espacio y que yo y Orlando [Mr. Ramírez] les remarcamos el español.
TR6.50
…es el más alto en el grupo. Si pueden llegar a tener beneficio, en el sentido de que cuando ven que otro está hablando mal, ellas hacen la corrección y automáticamente ellas refuerzan el conocimiento que ya tienen. Como es cualquier aprendizaje en la escuela, el del más alto, el de los niveles próximos, se dice que uno alto con uno intermedio…con un bajo y un bajo con…o sea, mezcla, no pones los altos juntos allá ¿no? Y el más alto sí tiene beneficio del intermedio, porque al ver que el intermedio mete la pata, que no lo está haciendo bien, el más alto le dice como y entonces se refuerza a sí mismo. Ese es el beneficio que tienen ellas. Es de reforzamiento. No es de que se voltea una niña y les diga no se dice así. Es de un proceso más elaborado. Ese es el que yo creo que tienen. El social y el de reforzamiento de lo que sí saben.

TR6.51
Si ellos no fueran al grupo la oportunidad que tendrían de practicar sería muy mínima y sería cuando yo estoy aquí, pero si yo, por ejemplo, estoy afuera tres semanas, la práctica del español es como prácticamente…o sea no hay…no tenemos televisión en español, no tenemos un hermano, un tío, un vecino, nadie ¿no? Entonces encontrarán tal vez a Gloria y le dirán hola y les hablan en español algunas frases pero eso es todo, y ahí por lo menos por cada semana que van y por dos horas aunque yo no esté, pero por dos horas que lo mantengan. Eso es lo que creo que para mi me da el grupo. Me parece muy importante en ese sentido.

TR6.52
Para ellos un factor que creo es bien importante es que ellos normalmente no ven el uso de la lengua, o sea, es el idioma del papá.

TR6.53
La Casa Amistad realmente provee un ambiente natural que todos desde chiquitos, bebés, hasta los papás, todos hablan español. Es normal, es un ambiente normal en español. Entonces es como un ambiente fuerte. No es como nada más un papá hablando en la casa.

TR6.54
Y yo creo que también se dan cuenta que no son las únicas. Porque a veces cuando yo les digo que vamos a ir a México a pasar navidad “hay mamá pero, pero podemos quedarnos aquí y podemos ir a la montaña y la nieve,” etc. Pero cuando ven que también hay otras niñas que también sus papás vienen de otros lados y que se quieren ir a esos países a pasar navidad, se dan cuenta que no son las únicas.

TR6.55
Les da sentido de que es una comunidad, una pequeña comunidad en que aprenden otro idioma. Eso es lo que yo creo que les da.

TR6.56
Este grupo cubre esa parte de la práctica del español con la familia, la socialización, la comunidad.

TR6.57
…la socialización, el sentido de comunidad, el mejorar amistades. Digo con Gracia [Mrs. Aguirre] y con otras gentes porque convives más, te da toda esa convivencia. Te da la oportunidad, de alguna manera también…crea una red de apoyo porque pues ya la relación mejora cuando vas al mismo grupo. Y un día Gracia [Mrs. Aguirre] llama y dice: “puedes pasar a recoger las niñas o ir a dejar las niñas” y esto y lo otro y ese apoyo que se da porque
la relación mejora. No creo que se daría si nomás nos dijéramos hola en la escuela. Entonces yo creo que la parte de la socialización trae consecuencias, beneficios.

TR6.58
Ha sido una buena experiencia para ella. Y también ve como los padres son amigos, los hijos son amigos. Le da más encouragement para que los niños formen amistades.

TR6.59
Lo que sí he notado es que Sandra tiene más interés ahora en el lenguaje que tenía antes. Está tratando de leer sola. Le ha prendido un spark que antes no tenía. Entonces en eso estoy muy agradecida del grupo porque ella misma yo veo que se esfuercia más y trata de hablar y trata de leer y escucha mucho más ella misma la música latina y trata de seguir las canciones. Entonces en ese sentido yo creo que le está dando cultural identity. Que ella se siente orgullosa.

TR6.60
Les recalca ese sentimiento de orgullo.

TR6.61
Yo personalmente sí de repente dije YA, ya me cansé. Entonces, porque, porque no hay un apoyo de todas las familias…ellas sí quieren seguir. La que está cansada soy yo. La que está un poco cansada soy yo, pero ellas sí quieren seguir.

TR6.62
Sí, y aceptar que no va a ser 100% como lo que queríamos nosotros, aceptarlo nosotros como papás y hacer la parte que nos corresponde a nosotros en casa. Es un buen arreglo entre los dos grupos.

Chapter 7

TR7.1
Veo que es muy bueno que mis niños vean que hay otras personas que hablan español aparte de mí…

TR7.2
El derecho a la diferencia.

TR7.3
La parte más fuerte del grupo es la parte social.

TR7.4
Estamos sostenidos por un mundo de palabras, todas dichas en español.

TR7.5
En defensa de nuestro idioma español.

TR7.6
Siento que hay una distancia entre nosotros.

TR7.7
El español es necesario para su identidad cultural.

TR7.8
Van a perder su propia identidad.

TR7.9
Identidad cultural e idioma es lo mismo. Se puede llegar a la cultura a través de otro idioma, pero se pierde mucho en el camino.
Les ayuda a crear independencia y autoestima.

Todo esto le refuerza esa parte emocional, y yo digo que puede a la larga pues dar seres humanos, espero, más seguros y más fuertes, más orgullosos de sí mismo, pero además, interesados en los otros.

Los sentimientos no se pueden transmitir en inglés.

Si él me dice “I love you” yo no le entiendo. Y si me dice “hay te amo mamá” allí me toca el alma.

Yo quiero ser criminologista o profesora. Si soy profesora puedo enseñar español, inglés o francés. En criminología si necesitan traducción o algo en español, yo lo puedo hacer.

Si tienen tres o cuatro [idiomas] es mejor.

Además que puede ser muy bien aprovechada ya después cuando ellas crezcan ya en su campo de trabajo. Te permite moverte mucho más fácil.

Estamos conscientes de que ser bilingües abre muchas puertas.

El mundo se mueve en rededor de la gente preparada, de la gente bilingüe. Tienen mejores oportunidades, están mejor preparados, y lógicamente es el futuro de ellos…y se abren puertas por todos lados inimaginables. Las puertas se abren en cuanto a trabajo.

Necesita el español, porque ese será el plus de ella. Su caja de ahorros para el futuro. Su alcancía para el futuro.

Es una herramienta más que los va a ayudar a posicionarse y a ser competitivos en un mercado laboral.

Pensando a más futuro, un idioma más siempre abre muchas más puertas para entrar en otros países…a través de un trabajo donde necesiten que se hable español. Para entrar a países donde se hable solo español. Es una llave importantísima, la llave del idioma.

Hablar dos idiomas, tres, cuatro, cinco idiomas es una gran ventaja.

Y claro, una vez ya lo tienen [idioma español], pues te abre muchas más puertas y puedes apreciar toda una cultura, no una, muchas, como España, México, Guatemala, Argentina. Es que’s maravilloso, claro imagínate. Aparte te abre las puertas para aprender otras lenguas latinas.

Yo creo que abriéndote el canal de un idioma más, estás abriendo las opciones para otros idiomas.
En el futuro se van a cambiar a una escuela donde el francés sea más fuerte.

Queremos ver si la metemos a [inmersión de] francés

Nosotros también nos hemos asegurado de que nuestros hijos en la escuela lleven francés como otra lengua, porque ya el idioma español ya lo conocen.

La identidad cultural de las niñas es un híbrido. No podemos hacer un pequeño mundo dentro de estas cuatro paredes. Ellas tienen que conocer su cultura, pero tampoco encerrarlas en eso. No se puede. No estaríamos logrando nuestros objetivos, de que ellas tengan una visión amplia.

Para absorber todo lo que están viviendo a su alrededor, pero sin perder las raíces y las tradiciones que traían o que tenemos en México ¿no?

Formar la conciencia en los niños acerca de tener una razón por la cual existir, con una conciencia social en todos los aspectos de la vida.

Yo quiero decirles que estoy contento que hablen la lengua española, castellano. Este en sí es un idioma muy bonito, y una de las cuestiones muy importantes de este grupo es (xx) y conservar eso. A los nuevos y a todos, yo les pediría que insistieran en hablar en español, que traten de hablarse en español. Es un idioma muy lindo ¿okay? Y este este también me da de veras mucho gusto ver a todos que hablan muy bien español y me permití invitar a unas otras personas amigos…a mí me gustaría que conserváramos eso de que les hablan perfectamente inglés como ustedes pero a mí me gustaría que más bien les hablaran que hablan siempre en español que es parte de lo que nos distingue de los demás.