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Diverging Paths: Case Study of Spanish Bilingual Schools and the Related Latino Community in a Large Western Canadian City

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Diverging Paths: Case Study of Spanish Bilingual Schools and the Related Latino Community in a
Large Western Canadian City

by

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This research is an attempt to study some puzzles that present themselves around the Spanish/English bilingual schools in Alberta. These schools are the most in demand of the bilingual school offerings in Alberta at the present time but they are poorly attended by the children of the large Latino community presently in the major urban centres where these schools are located. In order to understand why this is, the commentaries of a number of the Latino parents who did send their children to these schools as well as those who chose not to were analyzed and discussed. Parallel to this a number of the teachers and administrators of these schools were also asked to comment on the puzzling phenomenon of low Latino involvement in these schools. The demographics are not known with precision, but it is clear from the commentary of the principals of the schools in question that at least ten percent of the enrollees are of Latino origin. The population of Latinos in Alberta is presently between censuses but the previous census lists their numbers as roughly the fifth largest minority group. This research is a case study of the circumstances in a single large Alberta urban centre that involves these parents, teachers and administrators. Discourse analysis was applied to the recorded commentaries of these Latino parents, teachers and administrators. The results of the study were three fold: first there were a number of systemic barriers to more Latino children's participation, such as the lack of free school buses and the fact that the programs are designed entirely for speakers of English in order to learn a second language; secondly not all of the parents felt that it was crucial to maintain the Latino versions of Spanish language and culture and emphasized rather that they wanted their children to master English as they could always get Spanish at home anyway; and third the Latino community was not as well organized nor as willing to participate as some of the other communities in Alberta such as for example the Ukrainian or German ones who also have bilingual schools and where the language and culture and the participation of the parents was seen as crucial to their success. It also became clear from the

commentaries that the Latino culture was not central to the approach to Spanish in the schools and that Spanish was essentially just used as a translation from the standard English programs in all Alberta schools. Although there were some U.S. studies of Spanish-English bilingual schools the situation in the United States is sufficiently different from the Canadian context so that it is not helpful.

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DEDICATIONS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

In this introduction I will present something of the history of bilingual schools in Alberta in order to lead into the study of Spanish/English bilingual schools in Alberta. This introductory chapter will mention how immersion schools developed in Quebec in order for English speaking people to learn French. Heritage language programs for unofficial languages such as Ukrainian, German and Mandarin developed following the success of French immersion. Following the success of these heritage languages being implemented in Alberta the term “heritage languages” was changed to “international language programs” of which Spanish/English was one.

In this introductory chapter as well the problem of the low attendance of Latino children in these programs will be introduced by pointing out the purpose of the study is to find out from the parents of the Latino children who sent their children to these schools why they did so and what they understand to be the reasons why others in the community do not. As well parents who did not send their children to these schools will be contacted to find out what they have to say about their own choices. The teachers and administrators in these schools will also be considered important to discuss the same questions with. The research questions subsequent to the fact that there is little Latino involvement in these schools will also be introduced as will a theoretical framework that assumes the importance of the role of English is dominant.

Then the methodological approach to answering these questions (namely a case study based on discourse analysis) will be presented, as will the researcher’s assumptions. Her initial assumptions are that in part the programs of the school do not encourage Latino involvement and that the broad culture of the Latino community is probably ignored in the educational offerings of the school. This introduction will then be followed by a comprehensive literature review.

1.2 Background

Initially, international bilingual programs in a province of Western Canada emerged from heritage language programs. In contrast, new programs were introduced but with a different perspective. These new programs were designed to emphasize language as a tool to allow people better opportunities for jobs in a global market. In this sense, cultural maintenance, important in heritage language programs, became less important (Tavares, 2000). Also, these new programs were conceived with speakers of English in mind who wanted to expand their linguistic knowledge (Alberta Education, 2010; Governments of Alberta Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 1999) One of these, the Spanish bilingual program, clearly demonstrates that the vast majority of students are English speakers, while only a few speakers of Spanish and heritage language students attend bilingual schools. This is significant because the Latino community, the fifth visible minority group in this place, is almost absent from schools. Moreover, compared with other international bilingual programs also offered such as Chinese and German, the presence of these language speakers is more evident. This qualitative critical case study analyzes why the Latino community is almost absent from Spanish bilingual schools. Based on the previous context, two research questions were posed: what are the dominant discourses and practices regarding the participation of speakers of Spanish and with heritage language knowledge in Spanish bilingual programs? and what are the consequences of these discourses and practices? In qualitative research, reality is conceived as social construction. In this sense, speakers are perceived as social actors and context as a socially signified place. In this critical research, bilingualism is conceptualized as a social phenomenon and framed in a sociolinguistic approach in which social inequalities are the central concern. These inequalities are the result of power relations attached to discourse and social practices. In this research discourse and social practices are concepts that enclose other concepts. Speakers and settings form the core of these concepts. In another level, speakers are conceived as social actors part of communities and the settings become contexts at the moment in which the time and space are socially

signified. Finally, contexts and communities are part of complex structures represented by discourse and social practices. Discourse analysis is the method used in this research. In essence, this is a multiple case study with two components: Spanish bilingual programs and the local Latino community. Participants have been interviewed and documents have been analyzed as techniques to gather data. Field notes and audio records have also been used to file data. The information from the interviews and the analysis of documents have been triangulated. Through coding derived from the interviews, I found patterns and distinguish the discourses and practices in the Latino community and in the Spanish bilingual programs. The results were that the discourses and practices in the schools portrays a passive and disruptive presence of Latino parents and students but not so of the teachers and guests artists from the same community. In the Latino community with children enrolled in the Spanish bilingual program there is a participation in the schools but that is not considering the linguistic and cultural identity of parents and students. Finally among Latino families who have children enrolled in other programs, they expressed the idea to have an educational system where English, French and Spanish could be included.

In Canada there are several ways of learning additional languages. Besides the standard instruction of languages in all Canada, there are three common types of bilingual education: French immersion, heritage language programs, and indigenous language programs (Dicks & Genesee, 2017). According to these authors, bilingual education can be defined “as a program at elementary or secondary school where two (or more) languages are used as media for content instruction” (Dicks & Genesee, 2017, p. 2). Heritage and indigenous programs follow the model of French immersion dating back to the creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, and the language policy formulated by Pierre Trudeau in the late 1960s (Hayday, 2005). This model was created in St Lambert, Quebec by a group of parents who wanted their children to develop a higher proficiency in French and felt the time allocated to learn French in schools was not adequate. Enlisting the help of researchers from McGill University, they proposed to the school boards to teach content by using only French as the

language of instruction and to later introduce English (Roy, 2008). The program was inaugurated in 1965 (Swain & Lapkin, 2005) and afterwards spread throughout Canada and overseas demonstrating the adaptability of immersion programs to different circumstances and groups (Gibson & Roy, 2015; Swain, 2000).

Heritage language programs emerged due to the success of French immersion programs. Heritage language programs were created “for students with backgrounds in nonofficial languages such as Ukrainian, German, and Mandarin” (Dicks & Genesee, 2017, p. 2). During the hearings of the Bilingualisms and Biculturalism commission, various ethnic groups, especially the Ukrainians, played a decisive role in recognizing diversity in Canada. As a result, the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework opened the door for the promotion of heritage languages and cultures. As a result, the demand for bilingual heritage language programs rose. With the development of bilingual education, in non-official languages during the 1970s and 1980s, the term heritage became popular and “was deemed to be more appropriate in referring to community languages spoken by various ethnocultural groups in Canada” (Tavares, 2000, p. 167). This reframing was of particular value to groups that were interested in including teaching of their heritage languages in the public school system.

My research indicates that Tavares (2000) is the only author to explore how heritage language programs became international language programs in the Western Provinces. One example that illustrates this history of heritage language programs can be found in Alberta. In 1978, Alberta was one of the first provinces to successfully launch an English-Ukrainian program (Tavares, 2000). Later, other bilingual programs were introduced that represented other heritage communities including German (Tavares, 2000).

In the 1990s, in Alberta the term heritage language programs was changed to international language programs. Since then, Heritage language programs refer specifically to the programs organized by the community. For example, the Swedish communities in many Canadian cities have Swedish

language schools on Saturdays via Swedish societies. They are not part of official bilingual curricula and international bilingual programs are part of the public school system (Cummins, 2014). This change represented the tendency of Alberta's politics in conceiving languages as part of a global world as materialized in *Alberta's International Education Strategies* (See Appendix A, Alberta Education, 2010). One objective of the document was to put "less emphasis on cultural maintenance and more emphasis on the application of languages for career opportunities and economic development in a multilingual global society" (Tavares, 2000, p. 161). Then, for example, in the 1990s, a Japanese language program was introduced not "as "heritage" programs targeted at Canadian students of Japanese [...] origin, but were primarily directed at students with no heritage connection to either language or culture but with an interest in Asian-Pacific studies" (Tavares, 2000, p. 161).

According to Tavares (2000), the same years the Japanese language program was introduced, the Spanish language program was also created. It too targeted students who did not necessarily have previous contact with the target language. The main interest in Spanish language was based on globalization and internationalization in education instead of cultural maintenance. That is, because of the commercial relationship between Canada and Latin America, especially Mexico due to a Free Trade Agreement, learning Spanish became necessary to better communicate with those countries. These two programs are clear examples of the tendency in Alberta to expand the scope from heritage language programs to international language programs. That is, moving from a value in cultural diversity to the need to learn another language because of the market's demands.

Although Japanese and Spanish bilingual programs have a similar origin, they also have certain differences. The main difference is in the popularity of the programs. According to Tavares (2000), a 1999 survey, carried out in Alberta, "revealed that Spanish was the most frequently requested language for new language programs, and it had the highest enrollment of languages other than French (French Immersion and French as a Second Language programs)" (p. 162). Spanish bilingual programs are

second only to French Immersion programs in enrollment with 3591 students enrolled in 2015 (Appelt, 2017).

Only in one city of Alberta, the Spanish bilingual programs have experienced the highest demand. Here, 14 schools offer Spanish bilingual programs. Six schools, apart from Spanish bilingual program, offer other programs like French immersion or regular programs. The rest, eight schools, offer only Spanish bilingual programs and they are mainly elementary schools with the highest number of enrollments. As with other bilingual programs, at the elementary level 50 % of the subjects are taught in English and the other 50% in Spanish (Alberta Education, n.d.). At the junior high level, the percentage of subjects using Spanish for instruction reduces to 35% and decreases at the senior high level to 25% (Naqvi et al., 2014).

1.3 Problem Statement

Spanish bilingual programs are in high demand, attracting mainly English speaking students who want to learn Spanish as a second language (Schmidt, 2018). According to Appelt (2017), a case study carried out in a Spanish bilingual school, found over 95% of students in the program were monolingual and Caucasian. They chose the bilingual program not only for learning a second language but also for considering this education to be of a higher quality than regular programs. In their research, Appelt (2017) and Schmidt (2018) point out certain concerns regarding the level of language proficiency that students acquire. Students' perceptions are that they are not fluent speakers of Spanish. As a consequence they do not feel competent in the second language they are learning and do not consider themselves as bilingual (i.e., fully competent in Spanish) (Appelt, 2017). There is an institutional interest to invest in bilingual schools to foster bilingualism among English speakers. However, reality is different from expectation. One way to achieve this might be opening the door to native speakers of Spanish and students with Spanish as a heritage language. Another might be to organize regular access to courses in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

Ironically, there is a population of Spanish speakers who were born in Latin America that is rarely represented in Spanish bilingual program. Compared with other bilingual programs like German and Mandarin programs, Spanish has a low population of Spanish speakers or heritage language students. For example, Dressler (2011) points out that in a German bilingual program, emerging bilinguals' population, fluctuates from 10% to 53%. Then, the presence of German speakers tends to be higher. Sun (2011) states, that in the research she conducted in a Chinese bilingual school in a Western Canadian city, two-thirds of the student population consists of children of immigrant Chinese families and East Asian countries such as Vietnam and Malaysia. The other one-third includes Caucasian children and children of mixed marriages. There is no specification to the number of speakers of Mandarin or students with Mandarin as a heritage language; however, because of the origins it can be inferred that they are a significant number.

The contrast among bilingual programs regarding the presence of students with knowledge of German and Mandarin gives rise to the question of why speakers of Spanish or with knowledge of Spanish as a heritage language do not have an important presence in Spanish bilingual programs. If in a Western city of Canada the Latin American population is considered the fifth group among the visible minorities groups (Statistics Canada, 2016) why are the majority of these children absent from these programs? This suggests that most of Spanish speaking children or with heritage knowledge of Spanish attend programs in which their mother tongue is absent and through the years they may become monolinguals competent only in English (Cummins, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010)

As a result, Spanish bilingual programs offer an opportunity to students who speak English to become bilingual or multilingual. In contrast, there are students who are already bilingual, speaking both Spanish and English, but who are not given special considerations in the program and may be at risk to lose Spanish. Simply stated, there are students studying to become bilingual or multilingual while some

bilingual students are in the potential process of becoming monolingual or at least at risk to lose one language that it is linked to their cultural roots. In the first case, the educational system promotes and encourages bilingualism or multilingualism while in the second case the same system seems to neglect existing bilingualism. This situation is a clear example of social differentiation. That is, there is a differentiation between those who are learning a second language and belong to a dominant linguistic group and those who belong to the minority groups and who have to adapt to a system that does not attend to their bilingualism. In this power relationship that establishes dominant groups versus minority groups, Spanish is placed in a minority language position in the sense that it has not the same power and presence as English or apparently Ukrainian, German, Japanese or Mandarin. (See Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008 for a definition of minority language).

1.4 Statement of purpose

In this study, I focus on the people who have been aside in the discourse of Spanish bilingual education in a Western province and also on the actors who have participated in a system that excludes some and centers on others. This system is represented through the institution of school. My purpose has been to explore two elements involved in bilingual education as part of a continuum: Spanish bilingual schools and the related Latino community. I have done the first by examining what administrators and teachers say about the Spanish program and how this affects their practice. Secondly, I bring the voice of Latino community into the discussion about Spanish bilingual programs. This is important because they have been marginalized from the design of the program and this situation can imply a risk in the community since some younger members may be at risk to lose their mother tongue or their heritage language. This circumstance would disrupt the cultural self-reproduction of the community (García et al., 2012) since language and culture are closely connected (Sapir, 2012). Moreover, to be in contact with Spanish benefits Latino students since it has been proved that the more contact with the language

one learnt since childhood and/or is culturally bonded, the better a second language can be learnt especially if it is a dominant language (Cummins, 2001; Skutnabb - Kangas, 2009; Unesco, 1953).

1.5 Research Questions

In a Western Canadian city, there is an important growth of Spanish bilingual schools in the educational system (Davies & Edwards, 2018; Edwards & Parker, 2016; Smith & Edwards, 2017). At the same time, the number of Spanish speaking immigrants is rising. However, most of these immigrant students are not attending Spanish bilingual programs that could help them maintain their language. This situation led me to pose two research questions:

1. What are the dominant discourses and practices regarding the participation of speakers of Spanish and with heritage language knowledge in Spanish bilingual programs?
2. What are the consequences of these discourses and practices?

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This research is framed on sociolinguistic theory. According to Blommaert (2005), “sociolinguistics arose out of a concern with differential distribution patterns of language varieties and forms of language use in societies -- with difference and inequality in other words” (p. 9). One main concern of social inequality involves power relations where some exercise power while others are affected by it. In this sense, focussing on groups who are marginalized, minoritized, or silenced is essential because from the exteriority of the dominant realm, the social mechanism of exclusion can be revealed. To better understand this, a brief explanation is necessary to show the relationship of power, inequality, social structure or mechanism and language from a sociolinguistic point of view.

In Sociolinguistic theory, language is conceived as a social phenomenon. Then, researchers are interested to study language in society, how language is used in society. In this theory, researchers are aware of the importance of the oral production. What people say is not uttered in a vacuum. Speakers

use language in a specific context and both speakers and contexts are defined and determined by a social structure (Blommaert, 2005). For example, the word “sir” implies a social construction of status. “Sir” establishes a social difference between those who can be entitled with this term and those who cannot. Another factor to consider is that this word would be used in specific contexts where social norms would determine the performance of the participants. Therefore, in this theory, language has a function in society. On the one hand, the way language is used leads us to understand how society is structured. On the other hand, social structure has effects on language by giving it a certain order. Then, there is a recursive relationship between language and society.

Now, “The shape in which language-in-society comes to us is discourse” (Blommaert, 2005) or as Foucault (1981) points out that language socially structured or ordered is defined as discourse. (This concept will be fully developed in the next chapter.) In this sense, discourse is beyond the speaker. That is, it is an abstract entity that is part of the social structure. Therefore, what we verbalize is only one part of discourse, the speaker actualizes discourse. According to Foucault (1981), what people say is not by chance or accidental, it has an intention based on certain norms that a society establishes. For example, the use of homophobic language in certain countries is perceived as natural; there are jokes that people use as part of a conversation, as part of having fun. Contrary to this reality, in other countries this kind of language is sanctioned because is considered offensive and a violation of human rights. In this sense, one could say that these situations are embedded in the discourse of human rights and through this discourse there is an implicit recognition of a social differentiation or exclusion.

Following Foucault (1981), “in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures [of exclusion]” (p. 52). These procedures of exclusion are prohibition, division and rejection, and will to truth. As in the example embedded on the discourse of human rights, there is a rejection of homophobic language and is therefore an implicit prohibition to use it. The will to truth is interpreted as an agreement by which the

actors understand the same for truth; hence, there is an implied agreement in which homophobic language is accepted as true, as real. Combining the rejection, prohibition, and agreement to accept homophobic language as real, one can have a basic understanding of how procedure of exclusion works to produce discourse.

According to Foucault (1980) the element that allows these processes of exclusion to occur is power. The “relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse” (Foucault, 1980, p. 93). Through the production of discourse, which in the end results in the production of truth, we exercise power. Because there is a socially negotiated agreement that states what is true and what is not, a selection can be made between what is accepted or not in the particular discourse. At the same time, only with the production of truth, within a certain discourse, we can exercise power. Going back to the previous example, on one hand, the discourse of human rights establishes the accepted norms regarding the use of homophobic language. On the other hand, because there is an implicit agreement, those inside this discourse are invested with the capacity to exercise power.

What gives support to power and the production of discourse are institutions (Foucault, 1981) and what Bourdieu (1977, 1982) and Bourdieu & Passeron (1990) called habitus. On one hand, institutions are the elements that invest certain individuals with the authority to exercise power. Institutions work through disciplines that are supported by knowledge apparatus. The disciplines define codes that respond to the social norm and those who use the code are legitimized and instituted inside the prevalent discourse. On the other hand, habitus subordinates individuals to the social system and is defined as “systems of durable, transposable *disposition*” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). At the moment in which the dispositions are internationalized the social structure can be perpetuated, thus suggesting a relation of interdependence. In other words, the exteriority, the norms of the social structure, is internalized while at the same time, by putting into practice these norms, there is an externalization of

internality. The habitus is an internalized product of the structure which produces certain practices (see next chapter) through which the structure is reproduced. Since this system of disposition is internalized and inculcated, the individuals do not reflect on it, they are unconscious of the system and they perceive it as “natural” or “normal” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). To Roy & Galiev (2011), ideologies can also be conceived similar to habitus in the sense that they can be so immersed in the life of people that at one point individuals lose awareness as to where these ideologies come from.

Bourdieu (1982) distinguishes a specific habitus that is central to this research: linguistic habitus. For the author, this habitus is related to the notion of language as a system that is inculcated in children since they are born and later at school. Speakers internalize this language and learn not only the linguistic codes but also the social codes, which determine their social competence to use the language in certain circumstances, creating linguistic practices. “All linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant.” (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 53). Here differentiation emerges since only those with the capacity to speak the legitimate language have the competency to speak. In other words, “Speakers lacking the legitimate competence are de facto excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence” (Bourdieu, 1982, p. 55). One example of linguistic habitus could be the idea that monolingualism is normal, natural, common, whereas bilingualism or multilingualism are rare, unusual, extraordinary (Heller & Pavlenko, 2010; Roy, 2010; Roy & Galiev, 2011). However, according to Grosjean (2010), monolingualism is the exception, the rare case, whereas bilingualism and multilingualism are more commonly found in society.

All these elements (differentiation, exclusion, and prohibition) are part of the order of discourse; all these practices take us to conceive discourse as language in action (Blommaert, 2005). Through the analysis of discourse, we can perceive how language in connection with power has effects on social relations. According to Blommaert (2005), the most profound effect of power is inequality – a main

concern in this area of sociolinguistics. This inequality puts emphasis on marginalized groups in society, which typically are silenced from the dominant language.

It is in this context that the concept of bilingualism becomes significant. According to Heller (2007), “‘bilingualism’... can be understood as a wide variety of sets of sociolinguistic practices connected to the construction of social difference and of social inequality under specific historical conditions” (p.3). In this sense, Freire (1993) notes that bilingualism or multilingualism could exist only if there were multicultural context in which each culture has the freedom of being different, in which all cultures grow together without implying tensions between the majority of minorities and the only minority that is dominant. Bilingualism would imply the presence of two languages, but it seems that in many cases one is at a disadvantage to the other and projects social inequality and social exclusion.

Based on the previous definition, I conceive bilingualism as a social phenomenon in which social tensions are projected. As Hélot & de Mejía (2008) state, bilingualism has set out a dichotomy between bilingualism at schools and bilingualism at home. This situation suggests a division, as if these bilingual realities were dissociated from one another. These authors contend that these two contexts have to be understood as a continuum, two interrelated elements that are part of the same social phenomenon.

In summation, my theoretical framework assumes the concept of bilingualism as a social practice derived from a sociolinguistics approach. Therefore, the lenses that help to analyse this bilingualism are those of sociolinguistics that considers power relations reflected in discourse and in social practice. Additionally, in this research, the concept of bilingualism helps to analyse the social phenomenon in which two elements are involved: bilingualism at school and bilingualism at home. My intention is to conceive these two elements as part of a continuum as most of the time they are dissociated. Diagram 1 shows how this theoretical framework is conceived:

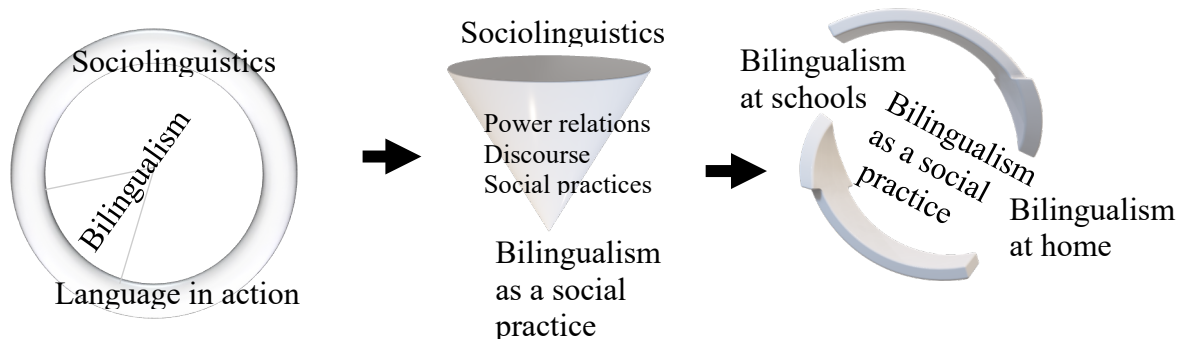


Diagram 1 Theoretical Framework

1.7 Methodology

In order to answer my research questions, I conceive this research as a qualitative critical case study. First of all, based on the qualitative paradigm in this research, reality is conceived as socially constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Merriam, 1998). There is no single objective reality or truth but rather conditions that give sense to what is understood as truth (Foucault, 1981). This construction has effects on people, which produces certain practices. Also, as qualitative research, the researcher is located as an observer (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) and the one who gathers and interprets that data (Merriam, 1998). The study of the phenomenon is done in natural settings and therefore fieldwork is essential when collecting data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Merriam, 1998). In the present study, the collection of data is through interviews and analysis of documents. As is going to be explained in the limitation section, observation was reduced only to what was available during the interviews due to the restrictions of gathering during the Covid pandemia.

This emphasis in natural settings where I interviewed people, takes me to the notion of case study. According to Merriam (1998), in the case study there is an interest in first obtaining an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, followed by the researchers focusing on process, context, and discovery. Because of the nature of this research context is the essential element, and in this sense has to be richly described. It is important to note that context does not only refer to the scenario but also to the participants and their interaction within the scene. Therefore, what the participants say and do in the context is primary to understanding and analyzing the cases. The cases, units, or bounded systems that I

have delineated are the Spanish bilingual program where the analysis of school as institutions is included, and the Latino community. As a result, I will undertake two case studies, thereby defining my research as a multiple case study (Merriam, 1998).

My research is also defined as critical in the sense that it is dealing with power relationships that lead to consequences such as social differentiation and inequity (Heller et al., 2018). Here, school is perceived as the space where power relations are reproduced; for example, how a dominant language confronts minority languages in this educative setting. This means that there are minority groups, like the Latino community, who do not have the same access to resources and, as a result, are most often marginalized or silenced.

The method for gathering and analyzing data is discourse analysis. In this method the unit of analysis is a statement, that is often uttered, and its essence is a repeatable materiality (Foucault, 1972). That is, through finding the regularities in the statement and the relation with other statements (i.e. as a response to previous statements) we can define the statement's position in a particular context of communication (Bakhtin, 1987). As a result, discursive formations (Foucault, 1972) or speech genres (Bakhtin, 1987) can be defined. Once this is accomplished, the next step would be to find the "convergence with institutions and practices" (Foucault, 1972, p. 118). In this sense, discourse analysis not only focuses on what is said but also on what is done. This takes us to the social practice – a practice that is determined by social rules mentioned in the theoretical framework.

Considering the three main elements of analysis, that is, what is said, what is done and where it is done; (uttered statements, practice and context) I have interviewed principals, assistant principals, and teachers at schools and parents born abroad with children between 5 to 17 years. These ages correspond to the educational levels offered in the Spanish bilingual program: elementary, junior high, and high school. I have also observed the actions of these participants during interviews with staff, parents and their children, although this observation was very limited. By comparing what people say, do and where

the situation occurred, I can create a triangulation of information which can help establish credibility and validity in the study.

1.8 Rationale and Significance

The reason for this research is the absence of studies regarding Spanish bilingual education in Canada from a sociolinguistic perspective. Therefore, this work contributes to the body of knowledge by highlighting the potential benefits that could emerge if more members of the Latino community participated in the bilingual programs.

Another significant aspect of this study is bringing the voice of a linguistic minority into the conversation of dominant discourse. Creating opportunities in conjunction with the Spanish speaking community, could help to initiate a dialogue with institutions that would better express community needs and diversity, without a sense of exclusion. As well, this research could open the path to an equal bilingualism, or at least help reduce the gap between bilingualism at schools and bilingualism at home.

Finally, this study could also help conscientize the Latino community regarding the importance of receiving education in their mother tongue (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2010) and aid them in discovering why it is important to maintain their language. The participation of this community in Spanish bilingual schools would allow students speakers of Spanish or with knowledge of Spanish as a heritage language to learn English without experiencing the loss of their mother tongue or the tongue that identifies them. Emergent bilinguals could engage better in learning the majority language through learning their mother tongue or heritage language at the same time (Cummins, 2001). In support of this, it is suggested by some authors that the more a student from a minority group develops their mother tongue the more the student learns the second language (Skutnabb - Kangas, 2009; Unesco, 1953).

1.9 Researcher Assumptions and Expertise

My research has been conducted under the assumption that the mother tongue or heritage language of the Latino community could be at a potential risk to be lost, or better said: “As soon as he or she is deemed in some way competent in the dominant language, the mother tongue can be left behind, and the child has no right to maintain it and develop it further in the educational system” (Skutnabb - Kangas, 2008, p. 108). In this sense, students participating in bilingual programs could have the opportunity to maintain their language. Here it is important to mention that I am also assuming that the Latino community has an interest in maintaining Spanish and a concern about not being able of “cultural self-reproduction” (See community rights in García, 2009).

My field of expertise is in Sociolinguistics / Linguistic Anthropology, and discourse analysis. I have done field work in a bilingual context in a Maya community where the use of Spanish was mainly in official public contexts (e.g., school) and the use of Maya was for private contexts (e.g., family dinners) or during special events such as rituals. Through observation and interviews, I analysed the attitudes towards Maya and Spanish. Utilizing my background in field work and the tools of ethnography, will give me the elements to accomplish this research. They will allow me to work with the speakers of Spanish to explore and understand why they do not have a more important participation in the bilingual programs. Moreover, I am part of the Latino community and I am in close contact with the Spanish bilingual program because I am parent of a student attending a bilingual school. These factors will allow me to more deeply explore the program and at the same time better understand the reasons why the community chooses other programs offered in the Western Canadian city.

1.10 Summary

In this chapter we look at the history of the development of bilingual schools in Alberta. We also pointed out that there is low attendance in the Spanish/English bilingual schools on behalf of the large

Albertan Latino community at the present time and the intention of this thesis to find out from the parents, both those who send their children to the bilingual Spanish/ English schools as well as those who chose not to, why they acted as they did. We also pointed out that teachers and administrators in these Spanish/English bilingual schools will also be asked to offer their own commentary on why the Latino community is underrepresented in the children who attend these schools. It was also pointed out that the methodological approach to studying the research questions that arise in the context of this study will be a case study based on discourse analysis.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

The literature review looks at the foundational notion of bilingualism as it appears in the international and Canadian literature. The basic assumption of this literature is that bilingualism is founded on particular social practices in a wider community and that in such communities commonly one language has the advantage over the other language under consideration. For example in China Mandarin is the dominant language and Cantonese, while an important secondary language with many speakers, nonetheless is not the “common language” necessary spoken by all. In Alberta the only official language provincially is English, though as Alberta is part of Canada, French is available for all Federal institutional services. This means that English has priority in Alberta as the necessary common language taught in all provincial educational institutions. In this chapter the literature surrounding these facts and their consequences for language learning and cultural understanding will be studied and commented upon. In this literature two main topics are studied and commented upon: the exercise of dominance or power of one language over another; and the effects of power relations in bilingualism. One might also have expected that one might have found writing about why this or that group is interested in a particular form of bilingualism or why native speakers of the less dominant language do or do not send their children to such bilingual schools. But nothing was found in the literature. So these topics will have to wait until the research conducted in the schools is reported on later in this thesis.

According to Bloomberg & Volpe (2016), a literature review is a form to contextualize the research problem and has its foundations in a theoretical framework. According to the theoretical framework, bilingualism involves social practices in which power relations are performed and produce social differentiation and inequality (Blommaert, 2005; Heller, 2007). As well, bilingualism as a social phenomenon is perceived as a continuum whereby two elements have a reciprocal relationship (Hélot & de Mejía, 2008). That is, one element corresponds to the other; for example, having a dominant language

or linguistic majority establishes a social inequality since this conception forges the idea of minority languages. By considering bilingualism as a social phenomenon capable of creating social differentiation, I will organize this review based on two topics: the exercise of power and the effects of power relations in bilingualism. Each topic will include two sections, society and education to contextualize power and bilingualism related to this study. Finally, in each section, the themes taken from the introduction will be added. Therefore, in the topic exercise of power in the section of society the themes dominant language and process of exclusion appear. For exercise of power and education we have monolingual habitus, elite programs and internationalization/globalization. For effects of power and society we have language rights and legitimate speaker; and for effects of power and education we have heritage language programs and community. Diagram 2 shows an outline of the literature review.

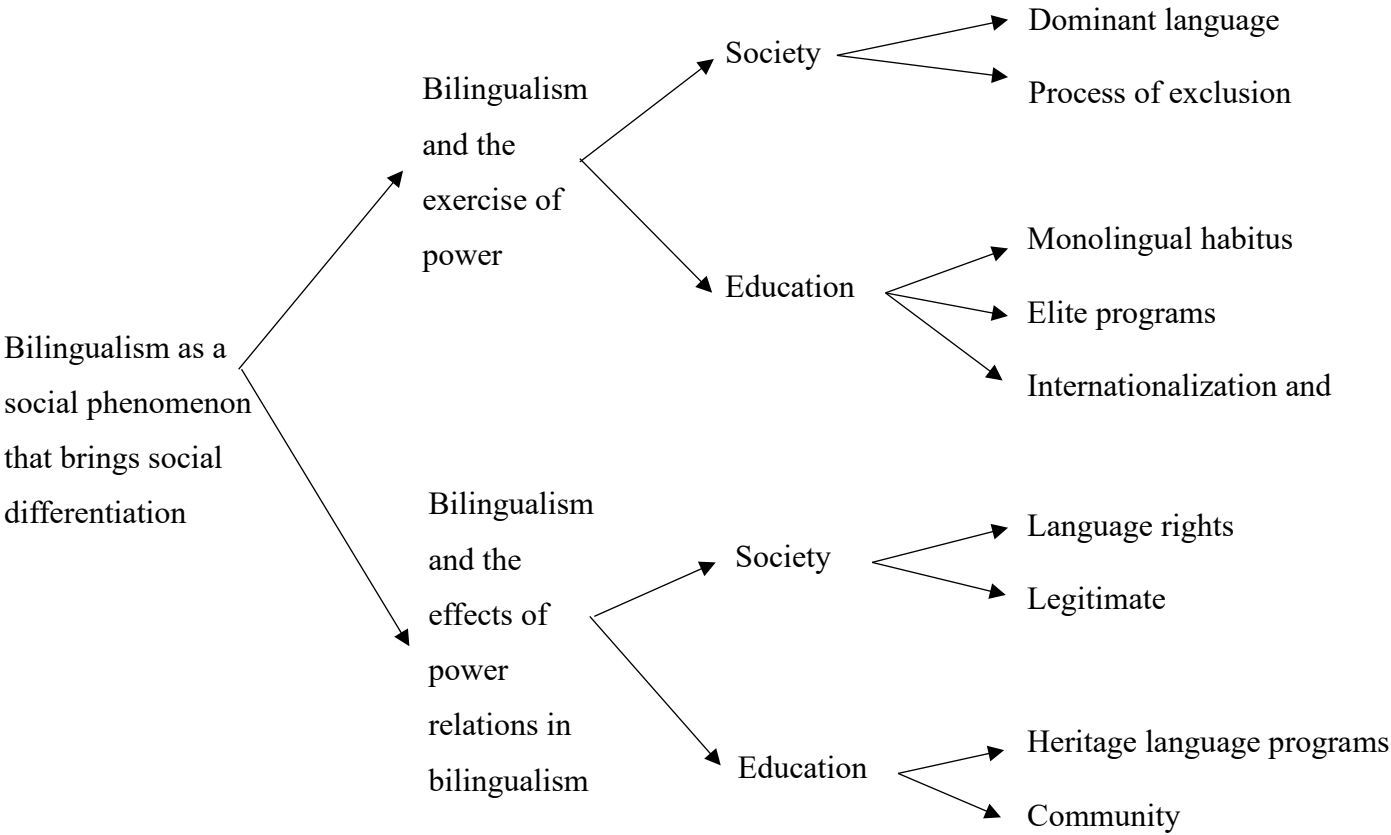


Diagram 2 Literature review outline

2.2 Bilingualism and the Exercise of Power

2.2.1 Society.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, bilingualism is perceived as a social practice in which two languages coexist but “which circulate in unequal ways in social networks and discursive spaces, and whose meaning and value are socially constructed within the constraints of social organizational processes, under specific historical conditions” (Heller, 2007, p. 2). Therefore, bilingualism portrays imbalanced situations in which there are tensions between languages where one language can be perceived as having more value than the other and then a dominant language appears.

2.2.1.1 Dominant language.

According to Patrick (2010), language dominance is determined by the social position of certain groups with status and prestige, and is independent of the number of speakers. Linguistic or demographic criteria are not necessarily at the basis of language dominance. This is interesting because the word dominant can be associated to words like main, primary, influential, etc. Let's consider the term “dominant genes” that refers to the genes which are stronger or influential and determine the characteristics that an individual has. In this case, the dominance is perceived as natural, innate, as part of life. However, the word dominant is also related to words like superior, controlling, powerful, predominant, etc. Those words put in a social context refer to situations where social differentiation are established and in this sense, they are assumed rather than occurring naturally. Considering the context of dominant language, this idea responds to social beliefs thereby inferring that certain language or linguistic variations are more important than others. In this sense, there is a social differentiation between groups with power and those groups that are less powerful – for example between groups that control politics and economy and those that are underrepresented in politics or are less wealthy. The outcome here is uneven distribution of resources and social participation and the establishment of boundaries related to language dominance. For Heller (2007) this unbalance is the product of social

action that represents power relations, and speakers play an important role since they can reinforce these relations.

One example of this social action is given by Patrick (2010) who analyzes the naturalization of dominant languages through the process of language standardization. Due to the emergence of schools, dominant languages had a leading role in education causing the other languages to be marginalized. This process of naturalization was also observed in the creation of nations that tended to favour one language as being representative of the national identity. The result was that this language was perceived as part of the people's identity, as if it were intrinsic to their essence as inhabitants of certain country.

2.2.1.2 Process of exclusion.

Dominant languages, therefore, bring a social differentiation; for this to occur, certain processes of exclusion need to be carried out. Coupland (2010) examines the representation of the 'other' through discourse processes that establish a social difference, a social distance. For the author "'Othering' is the process of representing an individual or a social group to *render them* distant, alien or deviant" (p. 244). The author mentions several discourse processes but the focus will be on three: homogenisation, pejoration, suppression and silencing. Homogenisation refers to the tendency to make uniform what is foreign in a society. It is based on social stereotypes used as cultural referents of the other. Pejoration also homogenizes by adding negative adjectives to a social group which is disqualified. The group is perceived for example as incompetent or barbaric. Suppression and silencing refer to the lack of, or restricted representation of, a group in the discourse.

In her article, Jaffe (2007) provides a good example of these processes of exclusions mentioned above. Through an analysis of Corsican history, the author explores the construction of the idea of bilingualism in a minority language context. In a first stage, the use of Corsican at school was viewed as a problem and as a result was devalued or sometimes prohibited. This circumstance shows how a language was disqualified and suppressed at school, following policies created by the State, which

responded to the national discourse of one nation, one language. Later, due to a concern in language shift in which Corsican was being displaced by French, there was a change in discourse to conceive Corsican as a source of cultural identity and at the same level of French. Additionally, this discourse emphasised that Corsican was not only used at home but also in the political domain. Following this, the minority language bilingualism was recognized in the dominant discourse and was even considered in schools. Nevertheless, a phenomenon of homogenization occurred. Corsican started to be taught in schools, but the internal variations of this language were not considered. The idea of Corsican that elders (who experienced the imposition of French and rejection of their mother tongue) had, was not the same as the Corsican youth use and in which appropriation of words from French was acceptable. This phenomenon opens the discussion of legitimate speakers that will be discussed later. For elders, the Corsican spoken by youth is a hybrid language and marks a difference between these two groups.

Finally, all these processes of exclusion previously mentioned merge in what Patrick (2010) name minorization. For this author, minorization is a process “of marginalization or undervaluing of non-dominant languages” (p. 183). This is a way by which nation-states control minority languages through the implementation of assimilation policies. For example, through the declaration of official languages, a language policy emerges that aims to standardize. When this policy is carried out by schools, not only are other languages marginalized or excluded but also other linguistic variations such as popular or colloquial languages.

2.2.2 Education.

As previously noted, schools are a contributing factor for several phenomena of social inequality and differentiation. Schools are institutions that can perpetuate and implant the ideology of dominant languages and at the same time devalue and silence other languages (Bourdieu, 1985; Heller, 2007; Jaffe, 2007; Martin-Jones, 2007; Moyer & Martín Rojo, 2007; Muehlmann & Duchêne, 2007; Patrick, 2010). Some authors have even conceptualized schools as genocide because they put minority languages

at risk (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010). However, other authors also mentioned the role of schools as a space where a minority language can function as a counterbalance to dominant languages as in the case of immersion schools in Canada, New Zealand, and Ireland (Jaffe, 2007). In the following section I will discuss several phenomena in which schools are perceived as institutions that perpetuate the dominant languages, and specifically how teachers' practice can work in favour of this perpetuation.

2.2.2.1 Monolingual habitus.

Gogolin (2002) records the attitudes of teachers when dealing with different languages in the classroom. She determined that the "orientation of teachers is an intrinsic element of their professional habitus as members of a nation state school system" (p. 133). She coins the term monolingual habitus and defines it as "the deep-seated habit of assuming monolingualism as the norm in a nation." (Gogolin, 1997, p. 41). This investigation is important because it can help us perceive how teachers become social actors. There is an officialised monolingualism that the teachers internalized; it is then conceived as a natural situation or as a reality that has always been there. At the end of her discussion, the author mentions the importance of consciousness because "The monolingual habitus was built and secured by the traditions of the educational system itself; the less conscious the individual teacher is about its existence, the more effectively it operates" (Gogolin, 2002, p. 133). Therefore, through monolingual habitus comes a perpetuation of a sole dominant language ideology that is adopted and performed by teachers. However, there is active resistance to play this role. A good example is the developing of translanguaging pedagogy (García, 2017). Having considered this, we should next look at another element involved in bilingual education.

2.2.2.2 Elite programs.

The previous discussion dealt with the role that the teachers play in education from the context of dominant languages, and exercise of power. Consider what occurs with programs that are also immersed

in this context of power exercise. There are bilingual programs, known as elite bilingual programs, designed for dominant linguistic groups. One approach suggests that elite bilingual programs are designed to address mainly upper middle classes students (de Mejía, 2002; Heller & Pavlenko, 2010). Another approach alludes to the type of language taught, rather than social classes. Therefore, these programs relate to learning second or foreign languages considered as prestigious because they are seen as an asset in the globalized market (de Mejía, 2002). For example, International Baccalaureate programmes offer bilingual education to elite groups and are administrated by International Baccalaureate Organization that established English, French, and Spanish as its official languages (Rydenvald, 2015). This suggests that these three languages are more valued than others in globalized contexts. This is interesting since, as previously mentioned, bilingual programs follow the path of international education based on the needs created by globalization. That is, learning languages is considered useful to compete in the global market. Let's analyse this idea in the next section.

2.2.2.3 Internationalization and globalization.

The words internationalization and globalization often appear together in the context of education. Following Gacel-Ávila (2005), internationalization and globalization are different because they have opposite and contradictory goals. For this author, internationalization respects and promotes the understanding of differences within a nation-state, while globalization fosters homogeneity and does not respect nation-state borders. In this sense, internationalization would be the element that compensates and resists globalization trends. However, for other authors (Brandenburg & de Wit, 2015; de Wit, 2011), the idea of internationalization and globalization that leads to perceiving them as good or bad is no longer relevant. For Brandenburg & de Wit (2015), the “activities more related to the concept of globalization (higher education as a tradeable commodity) are increasingly executed under the flag of internationalization” (p. 17). According to the authors, there is a need to have people capable of

understanding and practicing concepts like equity of rights and access, among others, in order to be prepared for the future of education in a global world.

Equity of rights brings into the discussion of internalization and globalization the phenomenon of power relations. In an article written by Tanenbaum & Miller (2013), the authors describe their experience as teachers in a college in New York. By considering their students multilingual and multicultural background, the authors tried to foster in students an awareness of unequal power relations in their community, country, and abroad as well as how these relations affected their lives. There was an emphasis in problematizing the idea of an exceptional US that could be seen as an exemplary free country exempt of class conflicts, authoritarian regimes, and so on. The authors begin by recognising the multilingual and multicultural reality of the students and move on to an analysis of what is happening first locally and later globally. Students are critical actors who are affected by power relations and who can also play a role in changing their reality.

The previous study illustrates a critique of internalization and globalization. To expand this topic, Swanson (2013), states that by not considering local knowledge in globalization, and only looking abroad, minority populations can be placed in a vulnerable position since there can be a reinforcement in a social marginalization. In this sense, the author introduces the concept of glocalization, which could be understood as an education that not only considers global movements, but also local knowledge. That is, in order to have global, international awareness, it is also necessary to turn and look within your own country.

Regarding language education and globalization and internationalization, the main critique is that language has moved from perceiving it as a talent, something that the speaker possesses, to considering it a commodity. The result is that there is a separation between the language and the speaker. The former becomes central in this globalized vision while the latter is left aside (da Silva et al., 2007; Heller, 2010, 2011; Martin-Jones, 2007; Pujolar, 2007). Immersed in this idea of language as commodity, (da Silva et

al., 2007) mention the language industry which sustains and fosters the conception of language as a marketable object and the language workers who may not claim identity attached to certain language. Hébert & Abdi (2013) contextualize languages learning and teaching in the vision of knowledge-as-economic capital as opposed to knowledge-as shared socio-cultural capital. Here, the authors say that “learning additional languages, for example, is no longer motivated by self-development and understanding of other cultures but is undertaken to equip oneself to better fit into the market economy” (Hébert & Abdi, 2013, p. 10).

In this global market and language industry, not all languages are prestigious enough to be part of the industry. (Heller, 2011) mentions English as the most prestigious language but also Spanish and French, which were colonial languages, and Mandarin. In this sense, Spanish bilingual programs in Western Canada can be placed in this context of globalization. First, the program is defined as an international language program (Alberta Learning, 2001). Therefore, learning Spanish is in this realm of internationalization not only because of the name but also because of the students’ and teachers’ exchanges and international agreements with the Spanish government (Alberta Education, 2010). Second, the idea, perceived through comments such as “effective participation in the global marketplace and workplace” (Alberta Learning, 2001) or “given the important economic role the Spanish-speaking countries are playing in the international market” (Alberta Education, 2005), is that of language as commodity where speakers are not considered. This is the reason why I will focus on the speakers of Spanish belonging to the broad Latino community, who have roots in Latin American countries.

However, Latino Spanish speakers not considered in the globalized discourse, in the elite programs, representative of non-dominant languages, are not passive. They also play a role in the social phenomenon of bilingualism. In the next section, I will discuss the effects of power relations embedded in bilingualism. I will begin by highlighting some aspects of the effects at the level of society in general, and later will focus the discussion on education.

2.3 Bilingualism and the Effects of Power Relations

2.3.1 Society.

In the previous section, the topics of dominant languages and linguistic majorities were at the core of the discussion. However, dominance of certain languages and speakers is only one side of the equation in the conception of bilingualism as a social phenomenon. Minorities emerge as an effect of delineating dominant majorities. That is, defining dominant languages and majorities draws an imaginary line which delimitates how to conceive other groups that in this case is defined as minority. In this section I will explore how minorities are conceived and their struggles and strategies for being visualized and part of the discourse about bilingualism.

2.3.1.1 Language rights.

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2010), language rights can be also known as linguistic rights and involve the rights that individuals or collectivity have regarding the languages they use and/or identify with. Language rights emerge in the context of assimilation and integration of what the author calls minorities groups in which indigenous, tribal, and immigrant people are included (Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010). Language rights are created as a need to maintain languages spoken by minorities struggling in a dominant linguistic context. Now, May (2011) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2010) situate language rights as part of human rights in the sense that languages are essential to permit human development. To legally recognize the value of minority speakers dignifies their lives since they are recognized as worthy enough to be protected.

In spite of efforts to support minority languages through language rights, there are still many gaps that have to be filled. First, granting these rights still depends on government will and, in the majority of cases, they are reluctant to act in favor of minorities (May, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2010). Secondly, there is a problem determining to whom these rights will be granted. That is, the term minority is problematic because, by definition, it can refer to linguistic minorities who have lived in a country for

long time and share some past with dominant groups. This would be the case of Catalans in Spain and Francophones in Canada. However, this criterion of minorities would not consider minorities, such as immigrants or indigenous groups, who have a colonial past (Patrick, 2007, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2010). As a response to this problem, Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar (2010) create the term ITM (Indigenous, Tribal, and Migrant people) to clarify what is understood by the term minority groups. Finally, there is a debate in considering language rights as part of human rights, as the former refers to collective rights whereas the latter constitute individual rights (May, 2011).

The main critique of language rights is that there is a tendency to focus more on the language than the speakers. When talking about the need to maintain languages that are under threat of loss, language rights seem to consider languages as biological species, which have to be protected. However, this vision neglects the importance of speakers and forgets they are the ones keeping the languages alive (Patrick, 2007, 2010). Also, this vision does not consider the complexity of speakers. For example, there may be an issue of mobility; that is, an indigenous group can become immigrants. This results in their adscription to one, two, or more cultural identities since they can speak more than two languages. Following Blommaert (2004) and Patrick (2010), language threat has to be treated as an integral problem in which economic, political, and social issues have to be analyzed simultaneously. This helps avoid a simplistic perception of the phenomenon that ignores elements essential to understanding power relations and the ability to change them. Finally, in spite of this critique, Patrick (2007) recognizes that some indigenous group have used the discourses of language endangerment and language rights to be recognized, to enter into the discussion, and to make their voices heard.

2.3.1.2 Legitimate speakers.

In this struggle of who is heard and who is not, of who is included or excluded in the dominant discourse, legitimacy is implied. Jaffe (2007) explains how in one moment of Corsican history, through the dominant language ideology, the notion of an unbalanced bilingualism was inserted into the

discourse. Unbalanced bilingualism refers to speakers of two languages who are perceived as deficient when using one of the languages. This perception is based on the comparison with the language' proficiency that a monolingual has. Then, "true" bilinguals were those who could master French and Corsican as if they were "native speakers" of each language. Realistically, this "native speaker" proficiency in two languages is almost impossible and is acquired in only a few cases, such as translators (Grosjean, 2010). Therefore, most of bilingual Corsicans were considered unbalanced bilinguals since they did not fit the perception of "true" or balanced bilinguals. This situation is the same with bilinguals in Canada who, for the most part, are not considered 'true' bilinguals (Roy, 2015).

What is behind this idea of unbalanced bilingualism is the issue of legitimacy; that is, which language is legitimate and which is illegitimate. Pujolar (2007) suggests that nation-states set "agendas that legitimize the cultural capital (including the linguistic capital) of some groups over others in society" (p. 73). For Moyer & Martín Rojo (2007) and Martin-Jones (2007), schools play a preponderant role for nation states in legitimizing languages through, for example, fostering monolingual values, teaching standardized language, and cultivating cultural homogeneity. Therefore, schools may be conceived as social institutions that regulate languages. They are attached to official or nation-state discourses that construct identities as to who is recognized as legitimate speakers (Heller, 2007, 2010).

A good example is given by Roy (2010). She demonstrates how students in a French immersion school conceive themselves as non-legitimate speakers of French. Here, the author evidences the construction of social difference through discourses that delegitimize the bilingualism of young students. Roy & Galiev (2011) describe these discourses of bilingualism that exclude those that are not like the supposed native speakers of French or English. They recognize that the concept of bilingualism is socially and ideologically constructed; by recognizing this phenomenon, bilinguals can be better understood and open a space to display their voice ((Roy & Galiev, 2011) . As a consequence, French immersion students are invisible bilinguals in mainstream Canadian society.

2.3.2 Education

As expected in a dominant language context, minority languages and speakers have been absent from the main discourse. However, minority language movements have emerged to defend a position in this discursive arena especially in the topic of language rights. Regarding the educational realm, movements have also been created to fight back dominant language ideologies. Below, I will explore some examples in education that have played an important role in bilingual education.

2.3.2.1 Heritage language programs.

Because heritage language programs constitute part of the original bilingual language programs, I would like to further develop the topic. According to Duff & Li (2009), the term heritage language education came into use for the first time, in Canadian programs, due to the interest in protecting heritage languages. The United States also shares the same term; however, other continents have other words to designate these kinds of bilingual programs such as community, immigrant, or minority language programs. From my research, it is apparent that there is no consensus regarding a single term or definition. This situation also occurs when trying to determine what is understood by heritage languages. In Canada the task seems simple as heritage languages are all the languages that are not official or indigenous (Duff & Li, 2009). However, Bale (2010) states that a wide variety of words are used in the sense of heritage languages. This includes aboriginal, local, mother tongue, and languages other than English. The problem with this vast list of names is that it poses certain risks: “Either a term misconstrues the specific local dynamics at play, or it is so broad that it loses any meaning” (p. 43). Another problem mentioned by both Bale (2010) and Cummins (2014) is that the term heritage may imply connotations of old, antique languages, leaving aside present and future linguistic realities. It is also important to note that the problem of definition also affects the speakers. Heritage language speakers are mainly defined by language proficiency. Some expect a high proficiency while others give more weight to ethnolinguistic identity over proficiency. However, this perception, based on proficiency,

could exclude other people who do not speak the language but are attached to, and identify with, the community (Bale, 2010).

Another problem that heritage language programs face is in the arena of institutionalization. Bale (2010) highlights a conflict regarding the best place to teach heritage languages (i.e., home or school). In the educative institutions there are several issues when trying to integrate heritage language programs into accredited systems. Additionally, being integrated into an accredited program would imply entering the discussion of language legitimacy. For example, in trying to teach one language could pose the question of which language variety is the “best” to be taught. For Carreira & Kagan (2018 and Hitchins Chik, Carreira, & Kagan (2017), the way to strengthen heritage language programs is to firmly institutionalize them as currently, at least in US, they depend on the goodwill of volunteers and are at the expense of institutions that typically provide weak support.

Another situation, in the US, discussed by Carreira & Kagan (2018), is that in some cases there is a gap between the community and the heritage language program. For example, only certain heritage languages are taught in communities where other heritage languages are also spoken. As a result, the needs of the excluded groups are not fulfilled. In other cases, heritage languages schools are few and distant from the communities with dense populations of heritage languages. As well, there may not be heritage languages schools because priority is given to the speaker of the dominant language who want to learn a second language (Leeman et al., 2011).

However, despite all of these issues and obstacles, heritage language programs give emphasis to the relation of language and identity (Leeman et al., 2011). This suggests great importance is given to the speaker. One example of this link between heritage language and identity is the design of the Ukrainian language and culture program of study in the international languages programs in Alberta (Alberta Education, 2007). Here the goal is to “[develop] awareness of, and sensitivity to, cultural and linguistic diversity” “cultural enrichment” “fostering understanding and solidarity among peoples and

countries” “opportunity to renew contact with their language, culture and heritage”,(Alberta Education, 2007, p. 1).

Compared to the Spanish language program of study, where the focus is on the language as a resource for competency in the global market, the Ukrainian language program highlights the relationship between language, culture, and speaker. Perhaps the reason why this program values these elements is because Ukrainian was one of the first languages to be taught in heritage language programs in Alberta (Tavares, 2000). Based on this antecedent, I plan to explore how the teaching of Spanish at bilingual schools has been disassociated from Latino community and how they have been left aside or have not been available to organize themselves compared for example with small communities like Swedish that have organized their own weekend schools and teach their culture.

2.3.2.2 Community.

Bilingual community education is the term that García et al. (2012) use to describe programs that go beyond heritage language education. For these authors, heritage language education is centered on language maintenance and revitalization. This focus is rooted on a historic vision in which the present multilingual reality of students is excluded. Moreover, the authors also state that heritage languages programs fail to address bilingual or multilingual students’ needs to be prepared for a global world. The authors describe bilingual community education as projects in which there is real community involvement, especially parents’ participation, which is key in the creation and development of the community-based programs. Additionally, in community education, the natural bilingualism of students is welcomed and encouraged because the use of two or more languages are part of their everyday linguistic practices. As a result, the idea expressed by the authors is that bilingual community education is more realistic than heritage language education where the use of a language different from the heritage language may be prohibited.

Although these community-based programs are more flexible and consider the community needs, instead of responding to language politics implanted from the State, there is a silence regarding power relations. An example in which these power relations are addressed is the work of Leeman et al. (2011). These authors describe their experiences in teaching Spanish to students with a heritage language background. Their work focuses mainly on students who are conceived of as being social actors. That is, by questioning their social reality, students became more critical and as a result took a more active role in searching for social change. Therefore, when students were providing service-learning as part of the heritage language program, they were more involved with the community and other students' needs. This experience is in contrast with bilingual community education in which the recognition is to parents and community work, while students have a more passive role.

In summation, this literature review covers topics related to power relations and bilingualism, which emerge in both contexts social and educational. The themes in each section emerged directly from the research problem discussed in the introduction. The first theme, dominant language, is connected to the creation and thus the existence of minority languages. The second theme, process of exclusion, also relates to how the communities and minority groups that speak these languages can be marginalized. The third topic, monolingual habitus, comes from the ideas of habitus in the theoretical framework and how monolingualism can be present in bilingual education. For example, the Spanish bilingual program was conceived as a second language program which suggests that it was designed without considering the special needs of students who speak Spanish or who have Spanish as a heritage language. The fourth theme, elite programs, is also related to the creation of Spanish bilingual program that is conceived for dominant linguistic groups that want to have more tools to compete in global market. The fifth theme, internationalization and globalization, responds to the history of how international bilingual programs emerged leaving behind the term heritage language programs and how in Spanish bilingual programs language is perceived as a commodity in this global world. The sixth theme, language rights has to do

with the struggle of minority language groups to maintain their language in dominant linguistic contexts and to promote their cultural self-reproduction. The seventh theme, legitimate speakers, comes from the notion that bilingualism present at homes of Spanish speakers belonging to the broad Latino community is delegitimized by not recognizing it not only at bilingual schools but also especially and universally in regular programs. The eighth theme, heritage language programs also has to do with the history of bilingual programs in a Western Canadian city but specifically how these programs put emphasis in maintenance of language and culture as a vital process of self-recognition of minority groups. Finally, the ninth theme, community, deals with the idea of how a relationship between schools and community is important in response to the dissociation between bilingual schools and Latino community.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

Discourse is central to the analysis of power relations especially those that are contextualized in sociolinguistic scenarios. It is important to identify dominant discourses that give voice to some and silence others, legitimize ideologies and delegitimize others, and ultimately define the otherness. It is also important to realize the struggle of some groups in trying to create opportunities to engage in the dominant discourse. In order to do this, this study aims to define key concepts that can help analyse bilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective. To aid in accomplishing this, this section will define the concepts of discourse, social practice, context, community, and speaker. It is important to recall that the concept of discourse has already been mentioned before in the introduction. At this time, however, I want to further develop the notion of discourse in relation to the other components in the conceptual framework.

2.4.1 Discourse

It may be thought that what we say, our speech, is the discourse and that it is ephemeral; once we say something it is lost, it cannot be repeated or reconstructed. However, what we say is not by chance or spontaneous; it has limits defined by discourse. Therefore, discourse is what delimits and structures

what we say. Discourse is what organizes our conceptions about the world and defines who can speak and when (Foucault, 1972, 1981). For example, individuals such as priests are invested with certain authority in societies and as a result become legitimate representants of a group, ideology, etc. and certain social codes have to be used in order to address this religious authority. Then, ritualized discourse emerges and they portray conceptions of a society in a specific historical moment. Another example can be the discourse that emerges in the construction of nation states and delineates monolingualism as the aspirational norm to be reached in the name of national unity and therefore, bilingualism or multilingualism is marginalized.

2.4.2 Social practice

Discourse has not only to do with what we say but also with what we do. For Foucault (1972), there is discursive practice that is defined as the action of enunciation. This enunciation is determined by certain social conditions in a given historical moment. Bourdieu (1990) expands this concept by saying that practice is “the site of the dialectic of the *opus operatum* and the *modus operandi*; of the objectified products and the incorporated products of historical practice; of structures and *habitus*” (p. 52). It can also be explained through three words: reproduction, regulation, and principle. Our words and deeds, which would be in the level of *habitus*, are reproductions of certain conventions, which would be in the level of practice, and regulated by society. Additionally, the convention responds to a principle (i.e., the structure) that systematizes it. Also, the words internationalization, exteriority, and organism can help us to better understand practice “the internal dispositions- the internationalization of externality- enable the external forces to exert themselves, but in accordance with specific logic of the organism in which they are incorporated” (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55). The organism would be the structure with its own rules that frame practice. This is external to the individual who at the same time internalizes practice becoming *habitus*. Therefore, practice could be defined as an external conventional body that regulates *habitus* and is, at the same time, systematized and framed, by a social structure. Practice can be representation of a

collectivity whereas habitus represents individuals. The practice can be known by identifying individuals' habitus thereby giving account of certain regularities that would define practices. This will be explained further in the next section.

2.4.3 Context

What we say and do are performed in a setting called context. For Blommaert (2015) and Blommaert & Dong (2010), time and place are what define context. Both, time and space, are sociocultural constructions and therefore go beyond conventional ideas which conceive time as the passing of minutes, hours, years, and space as a physical place. Time and space are unified in a specific event where one can observe how people, through what they say and do, give a sociocultural meaning to the event. For example, in a conference, the place in which the event takes place and the moment in which this happens have meaning only to those involved in the academic world. People participating in the event follow the sociocultural conventions required in this situation. Doing so allows the conference to proceed. Also, the event transcends the here and now, through such things as memoirs and reports or through the retelling of the event in classrooms, departments, or any academic meeting. The event transcends the local level to other level that Blommaert (2015) names translocal and which is a historic level. It gives account of what has been said and done before, even before the conference itself. Therefore, context gives account of social practices done in a specific community.

2.4.4 Community and Speaker

Community is a social construction that is “mobile and flexible [...] and [where] representations of group emerge, move and circulate.” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 4). This definition based on the idea of a stable idealized community is no longer applicable, given the reality of intense human mobility, in a globalized world. Rampton (2010) mentions several characteristics that now shape the community. First is the awareness of boundaries of exclusion within and outside communities. Second, communities “are affected by larger social and historical processes” (p. 285) Finally, there are several memberships

and identities attached to multiple communities. For example, one person can identify with the community of English speakers because of the country where she lives. At the same time, she can also identify with the community of Spanish speakers because her parents speak Spanish and she was raised with this language. This example gives the opportunity to discuss the term Latino which, as it was mentioned before, is “mobile and flexible”. According to Colón-Zayas (2009): “This system of social relations links the members of the Latino communities within a complex network of identities where each member builds and rebuilds their sense of what is Latino” (p.21) (The translation is mine). The concept of Latino is a social construction that reflects complex social relations inside and outside the Latino groups. Then, for example the term Latino used by immigrants in the US is a symbol of resistance to the dominant discourse that tried to impose an identity with the word Hispanic. Another example is how diverse groups inside the Latino community question the term Latino since it represents a patriarchal heterosexual vision and then the term Latinx is created. Another example comes from diverse ethnic groups who do not feel identified as Latinos like for example Afro descendants who disclose topics of homogenization but especially of racism. As it can be seen, Latino is not a fixed term and is in constant movement. However, the term commonly refers to people from Latin America in which Brazilians are included.

This previous example brings me to the concept of speaker. In my research, I will use the term Spanish speaker as meaning an “Individual whose competence in a language almost always derives from the language being the mother tongue and first language learnt” (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008, p. 11). However, it is important to note that as is the case with the concept of community, a speaker’s concept is adaptable in the sense that it adjusts to the new reality of, multi and bilingualism, and hybrid languages (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). For example, children who were raised in a family in which two languages were used, such as Spanish and English, could develop a different competence in both languages that contrast with the competence of children who grew up in a monolingual family. It can

happen that children in bilingual families do not identify themselves as “native” speakers of any language and yet they can also be considered native speakers of both languages because they can communicate in bilingual contexts. Therefore, this concept of Spanish speaker is not attached to criteria of language proficiency. Rather, it responds more to individual adscription to a community. In this sense, speakers identify with a group of people and use the language in contexts where they feel most comfortable.

As we can see, discourse, social practice, context, community and speaker are the central concepts in my research. since I want to explore the practices and discourses that emanate from the Spanish bilingual schools and Latino community. At a first level, speakers interact in a setting that is defined by time and space. This interaction includes the saying and doing of speakers, which respond to certain social order that is inculcated on individuals. As a result, they show a disposition to act in the expected way depending on the context. This is known as habitus. In a second level, because the speakers are social actors, and time and space are socially signified, the elements start to become more complex turning space and time in context and speakers as part of a community. In a third and final level all elements are compounded in an abstract structure given by discourse and social practices. Diagram 3 shows how all these concepts interact.

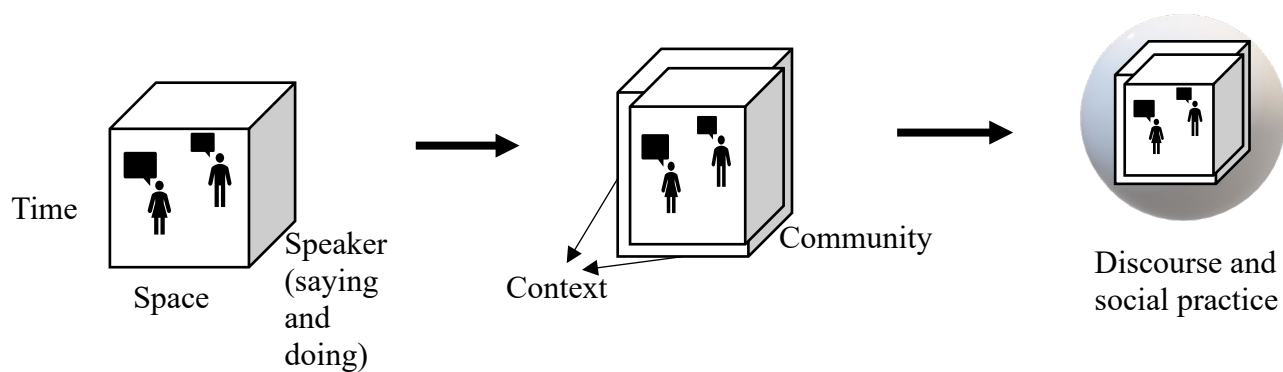


Diagram 3 Conceptual framework

These concepts are related to the theoretical framework in the sense that speakers, time and space are defined and determined by a social structure materialized in the community and the context. That is, when these three elements are socially signified, we become social actors – the result of living in a community with social norms and interacting in a space and time that is constructed based on social patterns. As well, the saying and doing of speakers are also socially structured and are embodied in discourse and social practice through which we exercise power.

2.5 Summary

This literature review looked at a cross section of the related literature available on bilingualism. Most of this literature was written with assumptions that in a bilingual context one or other of the two languages involves is the dominant one as they are rarely co-equal. The implications of this for the less dominant language is that there is an uneven distribution of resources and social participation in favour of the dominant language. The main implication of this for Spanish/English bilingual schools in the Alberta context is that the Spanish language will be likely found to be subordinate to English in a number of ways as English is established in law as the only official language of the province of Alberta and nearly the entire population uses it on a daily basis for work and communication. So when engaging in the research portion of this thesis the researcher will look for these ways in which the dominance of English affects the ways in which Spanish is taught and used and how participation by the Latino community is consequently affected in the hope that this concentration of effort will help to explain the weak Latino community participation in the large urban centre where the research was carried out.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This research into why the Latino community does not participate as much as might have been expected in the Spanish/English bilingual schools in Alberta is conducted as an example of a qualitative case study approach applying discourse analysis to the commentaries of the individuals who participated in the study. The participants were first the Latino parents of children who attended Spanish/English bilingual schools in a large Alberta urban centre, as well as Latino parents who chose to send their children to ordinary English language schools in the public sector. Secondly the participants were teachers and administrators in such Spanish/English bilingual schools. Each of these parents, teachers or administrators were asked to comment on the circumstances in their schools in which Latino children were enrolled, especially surrounding why some Latino parents chose to place their children in these schools and others did not. It is possible to consider this as a single case study with two main aspects of concern, namely the Spanish bilingual program itself and the approach of the Latino community to it. It is commonplace in this sort of study if power relations are obviously involved to consider the work of analysis to be critical analysis of the discourses uncovered. The research was confined to the three Spanish/English bilingual schools in the large urban centre chosen and the initial plan was to have five participants from each school, namely, three teachers, the principal and the vice principal. The other group of participants were parents from the Latino community whose children either were enrolled in the programs in the schools chosen above or were Latino community members who had chosen to place their children in the English language publicly funded schools. For this three Latino families connected with the Spanish/English bilingual program were chosen and similarly three Latino families whose children went to other schools in the Alberta educational system. The interviews with each participant were conducted on Zoom, recorded and transcribed. The questions were open ended and the interviews were conversational, probing the experience and understanding of each person interviewed with respect

to the questions surrounding the participation or not of Latino children in the Spanish/English bilingual schools.

As noted in the introduction, this research is a qualitative critical case study. In this chapter I will describe the paradigm of qualitative research while focusing on critical research. Also, I will expose the method and methodology which is case study and delimit the cases involved in the research. Following this, I will describe the research sample and data collection and analysis. At the conclusion of this chapter I will discuss ethics and the limitations and delimitations that need to be considered when carrying out this study.

3.2 Research Approach

3.2.1 Qualitative research.

According to Denzin & Lincoln (2011), in North America qualitative research has had several meanings during different historical moments from 1900 to the present. However, there are common points that concur on the following definition: “*Qualitative research* is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that make the world visible” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3). Therefore, through the observer’s eyes, there is an interpretation of the world rooted in the circumstances that surround the observer. The world, or reality outside the observer, is shaped through personal perception. In qualitative research there is an assumption that reality is constructed (Heller et al., 2018; Merriam, 1998) rather than given as an independent, external object that is waiting to be discovered. Also, the observer uses the surrounding as referent to locate him in the world. This surrounding is what Merriam (1998) names context and is one of the key elements that define qualitative research. In this sense, natural settings are preponderant when gathering data, and fieldwork becomes essential in qualitative research (Merriam, 1998).

As a result, the observer and how she is located in the world is what in general defines qualitative research. Therefore, a deeper analysis is necessary. The observer can be conceived of as the

researcher who carries out the complete process of researching. Nevertheless, her perception is not the only one involved in this procedure. Participants' ideas also influence research as they provide the "raw material", through interviews and observation, that the researcher will analyse later. Therefore, there is not only one observer but rather observers who interact in certain contexts. That is, the researcher and the participants coincide in the here and now. Each of them plays the role expected, for the moment and the place, and brings into the encounter a history, culture, and so on. Through communication emerges interaction among the participants and the researcher (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016) and as a result, the process of interpretation of the world is mediated through several voices. Each voice condenses information that gives account of history, culture, and society in general. This is the reason why Heller et al. (2018) characterize the construction of reality as socially constructed.

Accordingly, if reality in qualitative research is socially produced then the observers (i.e., the researcher and participants) are social actors. Because the researcher is the one who constructs and analyses the phenomenon in the research, a process of reflexivity (Heller et al., 2018) is needed. In other words, "The principle of reflexivity requires that we [researchers] be the first to examine and explain the position from which we speak both as social scientists and as persons of our times and places and histories." (Heller et al., 2018, p. 10). I will then go through the process of reflexivity in the next paragraph and position myself based on the purpose of this research which intends to study why Spanish bilingual schools do not consider Spanish speakers and heritage language people of the Latino community and why the Latino community has been almost absent from these educative spaces.

I am a Mexican PhD student enrolled in a Canadian university. This situation positions me as a foreigner, an immigrant, an "outsider", which has some advantages. I can perceive different aspects of Canadian culture and society that an "insider" could not easily distinguish. Also, this position of "outsider" has its disadvantages since I have limitations in knowing the historical contexts in which certain circumstances developed. I am also bilingual and because of this I am sensitive to the issue of

legitimacy – who is considered a legitimate speaker and why. Also, in Mexico, I was raised and educated in the ideology of “one language, one country” (See Heller, 2007) and as a consequence, I was a monolingual speaker of a dominant language. There was encouragement to learn another language but only if it was a language of prestige such as English. All the languages spoken in Mexico before, during and after the colony were left aside and silenced. Currently, my reality in Canada categorizes me as a minority language speaker. This situates me not only as an observer with a history of colonialism but also as an observer that moved from a privileged context to a peripheral reality. This new reality makes me more sensitive about the relationship between language and power – relations that lead me to the next characterization of my research.

3.2.2 Critical research.

As previously discussed, in qualitative research reality is socially constructed. However, when this reality is conceived as not only socially constructed but also traversed by power relations then the research becomes also critical (Heller et al., 2018). Here, the focus is on how social differentiations and inequalities emerge and how socioeconomic, political and cultural elements are attached to power relations (Merriam, 1998). With regards to language and power, Heller et al. (2018) write that critical research analyses “how language processes participate in the organization of social life and, hence, how people may have unequal access to resources” (p.74). Therefore, this research considers power relations and in particular those that are revealed through the use of language.

3.3 Methodology.

Case study is a methodology that explores, in depth, a bounded system or social unit (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2015; Merriam, 1998). There is an extensive description of the phenomenon because the aim is to provide a holistic panorama. In this sense, the context is an essential element in both description and future analysis (Merriam, 1998). There is also important interaction with the participants as part of the context description (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). For (Merriam, 1998) what

specifically defines case study is the delimitation of the case; that is, the case itself. The following section defines the cases in this study.

3.3.1 The cases.

My research is considered a multi-case or multiple case study since I am exploring two cases (Merriam, 1998). They are the Spanish bilingual program and the Latino community in a Western Canadian city. According to Merriam (1998), there are two aspects that delineate a case: integration into a system and boundaries. With regards to integration into a system, the Spanish bilingual program belongs to the international bilingual programs and constitute part of the education system. The Latino community is one of the groups of immigrants and are included in the visible minority groups. With regards to boundaries, Merriam (1998) provides a one question technique for assessing the boundaries of the cases: “whether there is a limit to the number of people involved who could be interviewed or a finite amount of time for observations” (p. 27-28). In the Spanish bilingual program, the number of people is limited to teachers, principals, and or assistant principals. In the Latino community, numbers are limited to families that speak Spanish.

Finally, I consider that case study is the most suitable for my research because of the emphasis in the context and the interaction with the participants. This helps me to understand what happens at schools and within the Latino community that creates a gap between the two. That is, how the saying and doing of the participants influence the dislocation between Spanish bilingual schools and the Latino community. Also, the boundaries that delimit the cases help me trace how the groups being analysed are attached to bigger systems. This gives an account of a social structure that is beyond participants and that can lead to sociocultural aspects that are at stake in the phenomenon that I want to explore. This phenomenon is bilingualism as social practice in which two elements are included as part of a continuum: bilingualism at school (Spanish bilingual schools) and at home (families in Latino community) which most of the time are dissociated.

3.4 Method.

The method used in this research is discourse analysis. According to Foucault (1972), discourse analysis “shows how the different texts with which one is dealing refer to one another, organize themselves into a single figure, converge with institutions and practices, and carry meanings that may be common to a whole period” (p. 118). In other words, the analysis of discourse starts by taking what is said, expressed through a large number of statements, to later find the regularities that describe a unity attached to certain institutions and practices. To accomplish this, the first step is to capture what is said. This task is extensive but will be narrowed in the second step. Here, we find what is repeated, regular, and gives account of a pattern. Finally, in step three, this pattern is contextualized by defining the institutions and practices in which it appeared. The goal is to find a number of signifieds that belong to a single signifier produced by social practice and in social organizations.

The unit of analysis for this method is the statement (Foucault, 1972). It is conceived as “contextualised forms in which language occurs in society.” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 15). That is, the statement is not produced in vacuum, it is produced by an individual who has a social role and who is interacting with more social actors in a space that is socially constructed and symbolized. Therefore, the statement, in a first level, gives account of what is said (i.e., produced by people). In a second level, it informs how language is used in society. In other words, the first level provides a raw material, what is produced whereas in the second level what was produced needs to be contextualized: who said what? why was it said? where were the statements produced? who else was present? and so on. In the third level, statements disclose the effects they have on the participants – how what is said causes a certain reaction and why. In this sense, statements not only give account of what is said but also of what is done. The statement then, is a unit that projects what is said, a simple utterance, towards the complex realm of society.

3.5 Research sample and data sources.

I explore two cases; therefore, I describe my sample based on two contexts: Spanish bilingual schools and the Latino community.

3.5.1 Spanish bilingual schools.

These schools offer the Spanish bilingual program and belong to the educational system in a city in Western Canada. I work only with elementary schools (from Kindergarten to Grade 6) for two reasons. First, this is the educational level where the use of Spanish as a medium of instruction is higher. That is, 50% of the subjects are taught in Spanish and 50% in English. In junior high school the number of subjects taught in Spanish decreases to 35% and in high schools to 25%. Second, there is a greater number of elementary schools compared to junior high and high schools. There are 12 schools offering Spanish bilingual programs and six of them are elementary schools. Only one of the elementary schools offers additional programs such as regular programs. This is the same situation that occurs with most of junior high and high schools. Therefore, the highest number of students are enrolled in elementary schools.

I concentrate on three schools that have the highest population of students. The participants considered are principals, assistant principals, and three teachers. That is five participants per schools giving a total of 15 participants. My interest in these participants is because they implement the program. That is, they put into action the official or institutionalized discourse that surrounds the Spanish bilingual program. As an aside, I would like to note that some of the teachers, vice principals, and principals are part of the Latino community.

3.5.2 Latino community.

First of all, since the concept of Latino is very flexible and mobile I want to describe what I understand by Latino. I chose the term Latino because is the most commonly used: there are Latino Studies, Latino Literature, Latino Films, Latino music, Latino identity, etc. (Colón-Zayas, 2009). In this

study, Latino refers to people and specially to parents who speak Spanish and come from Mexico, Central America, and South America. The parents are immigrants and have children who speak or understand Spanish. That is, children who have Spanish as their mother tongue or heritage language.

I focus only on the Latino community and not Spanish community because the former has no official or institutionalized representation in the Spanish bilingual program. That is, the Latino community is not considered in the design or implementation of the program. The Spanish community is different. From my perspective, the Spaniards have a certain official or recognized presence in the program. This is the result of an agreement between the Spanish government, in specific the Spanish Ministry of Education, with the government of the province in Western Canada. As part of this agreement, there is Spanish advisor who helps bilingual schools with topics related to the language and culture. Also, teachers from Spain are invited to teach in bilingual schools thanks to a program known as visiting teachers. Moreover, the test to assess Spanish level is DELE which is administered by the Spanish Government through Instituto Cervantes, a Spanish institution. Finally, the Latino population is higher than the Spanish population (Statistics Canada, 2016). This implies that within the Latino community there should be a high number of students who attend the Spanish bilingual program.

Considering these factors, the participants involved in this research are parents who both speak Spanish and were born in a Latino country. The reasons for choosing Latino parents are as follows. It was expected that the use of Spanish at home is stronger than in a family where one of the parents does not speak Spanish. Also, it was expected that because Spanish would be used to communicate between the parents, the children would be in constant contact with the language. Additionally, it was expected that the parents had similar cultural codes that would be attached to the use of the language. In this sense, in these types of families, the use of Spanish was expected to be part of their identity. I assumed that this could generate an interest in maintaining the language by keeping their children speaking Spanish.

In this study children are indirect participants since they are mentioned in the interviews with the parents. Their age ranges are between five and 17. This range corresponds to the educational levels of elementary, junior high and high school offered by the Spanish bilingual program. I consider both children who were born abroad and who spoke Spanish before arriving in Canada and children born here. The reason for this was that Spanish could be still a vigorous language in their lives and could be more meaningful to them.

Therefore, I work with both families with children attending schools where the Spanish bilingual program is offered and families with children going to schools with different programs. The sample number of families is six: three families immersed in the Spanish bilingual program and three families with experience in other programs outside the bilingual programs. I contacted the participants using the snowball technique (Merriam, 1998). It consists of asking people if they could refer me to families that might be interested in participating in the research. I also contacted participants through Facebook.

3.6 Data collection.

I collected data through interviews and documents. It is important to mention that during this process, in order to gradually manage high amounts of information, I worked every day on the data that I gather (Merriam, 1998). That is, if in the morning I interviewed someone, in the afternoon I reviewed the information and took notes. This helped me not only to have less work but also to start with a pre-analysis of the raw material (this will be explained in the next section). This exercise of revisiting and revisiting, going back to what I had collected, is called recursivity (Heller et al., 2018). Recursivity helps to understand that this research is an ongoing process and that is not fixed.

3.6.1 Interviews.

Upon obtaining consent of the participants, I recorded the interviews. Interviews were online via Zoom with open-ended questions. Appendix 1 provides a sample of base questions that I used. These questions can, however, change depending on circumstances. The interviews were conversational

thereby allowing them to freely evolve. The expected time frame for each interview was around 30 minutes but it varied depending on the interviewee. After each interview I transcribed it. This helped me to detect problems that could have arisen in order to learn from them for the next interview. This early transcription also helped to identify if I needed extra information and if there was a need to contact the interviewee again.

It is also important to note that because I conceive the interview as a social activity I was cognizant of the interaction with me, or other participants that may be in close proximity, or of the participants' silence about one question, or of the discursive framing devices (Heller et al., 2018) like "hedges, hesitations, pauses, reformulation, pronominal choice" (p. 89). I observed the context in which the interviews took place; who was there, what was happening while interviewing, and so on.

3.6.2 Observation

Unfortunately, the Covid pandemic, had a severe impact in my study regarding observation. I could not observe any events since the schools were closed and I could not have a direct contact with the participants. I could only observe what was happening in the interview through the web cam. However, I tried to solve this problem by adding my experience in Spanish bilingual programs, namely what I had observed as a parent of a student attending a bilingual school.

3.6.3 Documents

Merriam (1998) uses the word document as an umbrella term to refer to written, visual, and physical material. In this research, I analysed documents that belong to these three categories. Some examples of written material are public records such as census and government documents. These provide relevant information not only about the population but mainly about the official discourse regarding Spanish bilingual schools and Latino community. Examples of visual material were videos and photos. I planned to ask some of the participants, especially from the Latino community, if they would be interested in writing an autobiography to use it as a physical material. The purpose was that

they described their experiences; for example, since they arrived in Canada or since their children were enrolled in the Spanish bilingual program. These autobiographies could have helped participants to express in a more intimate environment how Spanish has been part of their lives and if there has been a struggle in maintaining it. However, because all the stressful situation the families were experiencing because of the pandemic, they had not enough time for an extra work and then they were not interested in writing an autobiography.

3.7 Data analysis

As previously mentioned, recursivity was habitual while I was collecting data. This helped me to analyse the information in order to find categories that respond to my research questions. Data collection and analysis is an ongoing process that cannot follow a fixed step by step method. To overcome this complication, I introduced three stages to guide me in the process. In the first stage, I noted themes that described clusters of information derived from transcriptions and documents. In the second stage, I revisited the themes and by observing their recurrences I determined patterns. I paid special attention to actions that are related to such things as silences, reformulations, apologies, and reactions that show discomfort as they could reveal social violations or disruptions. These violations or disruptions could expose social limits between what is accepted and what is not, like taboos, stereotypes, and so on. In other words, these expressions can show what is considered legitimate and what is silenced or marginalized and therefore give account of power relations (Heller et al., 2018). Finally, in the third stage, I categorized the patterns. At this point I was in a more interpretative and abstract level compared with the other stages that tended to be more descriptive. I went back to my research questions to find categories that answered them. Once I had the categories, in this level, I began a “cross-case” analysis (Merriam, 1998). That is, since I am studying two cases, I went first from an internal analysis of each of the two case to a comparative analysis to try to best answer my research questions. It is important to mention that when analyzing data, I identified the best excerpts from the interviews that demonstrated the

idea discussed and quoted them. Since some of the interviews were in Spanish I myself made the translations.

3.8 Ethics.

This proposal is vetted by Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board (CFREB), which is responsible for reviewing ethics processes in the University of Calgary. This ethics board ensures that the research is suitable of trustworthiness. Some important elements to ensure reliability are the informed consents that participants had to read and sign. Appendix 4 provides the sample. This format of informed consent was used with teachers, principals and vice principals as well as the rest of participants.

Also, as part of the participants' right to privacy, I did not mention any name or information to protect their identity. For example, when there was a reference in the interviews to the gender of the people mentioned, I used both pronouns he/she to protect the identity specially of the children who appeared several times in the interviews with the parents. I was also careful to avoid divulging any information that could identify or affect them personally or in their relationship with the social groups to which they belong. Moreover, I saved all the information in password-protected files that only my supervisor and I had access to.

Regarding the internal validity of this research, I ensured reliability through data triangulation. All information derived from interviews and documents was correlated to obtain an overall picture of the phenomenon. In this sense, what people say and official discourse was contrasted with what participants did. Moreover, I was constantly comparing two contexts with different perspectives: that of the school and that of the Latino community. This exercise brought multiple voices into the research and enhanced the study. In this sense, my bias as a researcher was clearly stated, as much as possible, to characterize the voice that was interpreting the information.

3.9 Limitations and delimitations.

One limitation is that the research cannot be used to generalize. What happens in the contexts with the people involved is only situational. It cannot be transferred to similar cases such as other bilingual programs or other schools offering Spanish bilingual programs. Also, this research cannot represent the other multiple voices that are part of the Latino community. Because there is a time limitation, I had to choose a small sample in a large universe of opportunities. However, a main limitation that emerged was the Covid pandemic. All the schools were closed and students had to take classes online which created a great stress on the families. For this reason it was very hard to recruit and contact parents because they were trying to help their children with their virtual classes. In spite of this situation, I was able to interview the number of parents needed for my research. Another factor that influenced the problem to recruit parents was that in some families while the moms wanted to participate, dads did not because they had long working hours and had no time or interest to be interviewed. This situation had also to be with cultural patterns since in Latino cultures moms are in charge of children's education and dads sometimes have no idea what is happening with their children in the schools. After schools were re-opened, the life inside the schools deeply changed. There were lots of restrictions to avoid contact as much as possible and this new situation required extra work from the teachers and in general from the schools' staff. The consequence was that only 4 people in total from schools were willing to participate in my research. Besides, I could not have direct contact with the staff to explain in detail my research to try to convince them to participate. Moreover, the time for the interviews was short so I had to do the interview in a hurry.

As previously mentioned, my study is delimited to working only within the Latino community and not the whole of the Spanish community. This is a response to the former being left aside from the design of the Spanish bilingual program. Another delimitation is the choice to focus only on bilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective and to not include sociocultural studies that also contain

power relations. I made this choice because sociocultural studies concentrate on the learning process and give emphasis to the relationship between students and teacher. I needed to go beyond this, to social structures, to explain why bilingual schools and the Latino community are dissociated. Finally, this study might have also included a comparative approach with Chinese and German schools to better understand why they have appropriated bilingual schools even though they were also conceived from a monolingual perspective. However, because of time constraints, I chose to narrow my study to the sole analysis of Spanish bilingual schools and the Latino community.

3.10 Summary

In this methodology chapter the methodological approach to the research was presented. The research involves a critical case study of the narratives or commentary of two main groups in three of the Spanish/English schools in a large urban centre in Alberta: Latino parents and the teachers and administrators in these schools. The Latino parents who responded were either parents who had children in these school or were Latino parents who had chosen not to send their children to them. The questions asked can be found in Appendix 1. These commentaries were recorded on Zoom and transcribed in English. This work was somewhat affected by the stringencies that the Covid pandemic required. But the necessary interviews were conducted, the transcriptions completed and the necessarily recursive analysis identifying themes completed. The next chapter will discuss the results of these efforts.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 Overview

From the vantage point of the teachers and administrators nearly all commented on the low percentage of Latinos among the students body. The teachers and administrators had a vague understanding of the Latino community and culture. It was generally agreed that if a student arrived later than the very beginning of the programs and did not come with adequate Spanish already that they would find the study difficult. Another clear results from the teacher/administrator point of view is that the Spanish/English schools were designed for children of Canadian families, for the whole population of Alberta, not only for families whose mother tongue is Spanish. The parents on the other hand had quite a different picture. From the vantage point of the teachers and administrators parents had an insignificant role in the life of these schools. From the vantage point of the parents of the Latino parents it is the Canadian parents who are the ones who participate and the Latino parents are apparently not particularly active in the events of the school. The other Latino parents who send their children to English schools are clearly more concerned about their children being able to thrive in the English context of Alberta and Canada and not particularly about maintaining the Spanish language, though of course they can get that at home as a number remarked. The reasons for why there is not as much Latino participation in the Spanish/English bilingual schools as might have been expected were three in number: First there were some systemic barriers to Latino participation, including poverty and the lack of free school bussing, and a lack of information about the schools (whereas information about Catholic or Montessori schools was readily available); Second, many Latino parents seem to have chosen the English schools for their children because of the obvious role English plays in Alberta and they always have Spanish at home; and Third, the Latino community was not as well organized or as willing to participate as a number of other groups. At the same time the schools teachers and administrators did not seem to think of Latino parents as a natural addendum to the educational possibilities in the schools.

4.2 Discourses and practice in an official context regarding the Latino community's participation in Spanish bilingual programs

In this section, I am going to discuss my findings, in the official context, regarding discourses and practices of Latino community's participation in the Spanish bilingual program. Four main groups of people belonging to the Latino community were recognized through the interviews and the official documents: staff, students, parents, and artists who visit the schools. They were identified as Latinos based on the place they were born or the family roots: Mexico, Central and South America, and Brazil excluding Belize and Guyanas.

4.2.1 Staff

4.2.1.1 Active participation

Through the interviews, I found that teachers and visitor artists of the Latino community are considered to have relevant and lively participation in the schools. They play a main role in the schools not only because of the work they do but also because they are highly valued. So, for example, a teacher describes the staff as a "strong community" and adds "we're engaged in each other's lives and [...] we're worried [...] I don't think you get that closeness at all schools, and we dance, we sing, you know, we play music...". Here the participation of Latinos, who were considered to be half of the staff, is perceived as deeply engaged. Also, they are very energetic since they dance, sing, etc. Moreover, they are sensitive, empathetic, joyful, playful, etc. It is interesting to notice that this description of staff coincides with the stereotypical description of Latinos as very social people who engage and have strong relations with their friends and family, who love to sing, dance and play music, etc.

4.2.1.2 Legitimate bilingual speakers

Continuing with the positive description of the staff, in another moment, the same interviewee mentions that "everyone is bilingual, completely bilingual, every staff and so we got from Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Colombia, Mexico and then several from Spain...". It is interesting to notice that

there is an awareness about their bilingualism, how the staff is bilingual and not any bilingual but “completely bilingual”. This emphasis could imply a differentiation from other speakers who are “partial” bilinguals or not “fully” bilinguals. In any case, the staff has important participation since they master two languages and support each other. Then, their participation is also valued based on the languages they know and speak which I found are not only English and Spanish but also French and other languages. They are people who have studied second languages, who have experienced learning another language and speaking another language apart from their mother tongues.

In the practice, staff, especially teachers, play an important role because they have been recognized by the institution as legitimate bearers of Latino culture and Spanish speakers. Yet, this same institution recognizes the Spanish of Spain as the legitimate language since the educational board has agreements with the Ministry of Education of Spain. There is a language advisor from Spain and the language test accepted to assess Spanish proficiency is DELE which is a test designed in Spain using the dominant linguistic variation from this country.

4.2.2 Artists

4.2.2.1 Legitimate cultural assets

Regarding the group of Latino artists, I found these mentions: “we work with a Cuban dancer, we work with an artist who speak Spanish, we work with a Cuban man who is specialist in percussions, we have many guests who speak Spanish, whether from Spain or...” “...other things that happen are bringing in experts so when we have an artist Spanish, I think he was from Colombia, an artist coming, he was talking about this process and just the fluency of the Spanish just made it more ah, for students to see that, yes you can be a Spanish speaker and be successful, and so to see those experts to have real life experiences”. As it can be seen, those Latino visitors are related to art; again music, dancing. They are given the status of artist and besides they speak Spanish which turn them in a source of “real life experiences”. They are admirable and could become models for children. Now, there is one expression

on which I would like to concentrate: “just the fluency of the Spanish just made it more, for students to see that yes you can be a Spanish speaker and be successful.” With the emphasis on “yes, you can be a Spanish speaker and be successful” seems that the link between Spanish speaker and success is rare and that is good for children to see that there are some exceptions. The image of Spanish speakers suggested by the participant is deficient, seldom attached to success except for these artists who come from outside the school and they are legitimate to share their culture, knowledge, etc. Finally, this group of artists are recognized, as well as the staff, as legitimate speakers of Spanish and bearer of Latino culture which is related to the stereotypical idea of Latinos attached to music, dancing, friendly, bond, joy, etc.

4.2.3 Students

4.2.3.1 Minor presence

Now, compared with the previous descriptions, I found discourses related to the presence of Latino students in Spanish bilingual programs which was perceived as limited, hardly found. There is a general perception that the Latino students are few in contrast to English speakers that sometimes are defined as Canadians or Caucasians, for example: “...the percentage is very low, it is very low the percentage, the percentage of ELL, students of English, language learners, [...] most of our students are eh, Caucasians”. Another example is the following: “then, the families that we have in our school, the 18 percent are ELL”. It is interesting to observe how the presence of certain students is defined by the term ELL (English Language Learner) which is going to be explored in more detail in the next part.

Now, another idea that I found in relation to this rare presence of Latinos is one that I called ethereal or tenuous. Considering the idea of ethereal like something that is faint or so small that almost disappears or that it is floating in the air almost imperceptibly, I would like to analyze the following quotes: “I am not sure that we even have 10% of our school is Latino” “So when you say Latino community you mean like an actual like physical like geographical community [here]?” “Well there’s been Latino like there’s Latino restaurants or shops in the general area, I wouldn’t say to my knowledge

there is no [????] specific like a Latino community set in our area”. Latino community is perceived like something nebulous, vague, undefined, like in the ether, like something that is there but in the far distance. In this context, what would be the possibility for participation? It is not a reduced participation, simply does not exist.

4.2.3.2 Problematic presence

In this section, I want to continue with the analysis of Latino students’ perception. In this case, official discourses refer not to their presence but rather to their identity. In this sense, the interviewees introduce an idea of Latino students perceived as out of place. Latino students are never identified as bilinguals nor as Latinos. Rather than bringing in these characteristics that would inform of the languages they speak or are in contact with, and the places where they are from or are culturally attached, their identity is based on their rarity, on how they are out of the norm, of what is expected.

For example, to my question about the fluency in Spanish of Latino students or with Latino background, a teacher answered the following: “not all of them, it depends on the child context some parents do speak Spanish at home, some don’t, some only speak English, some speak a little both and so the child has not quite a strong foundation in either”. There is an idea that language can be separated at home “only Spanish” or “only English” which in a bilingual context would be almost impossible to happen. However, when both languages are spoken, then there is not “a strong foundation in either”. That is, the bases are weak, deficient, students are deficient either in Spanish or in English. There is no recognition of the bilingual world in which the students live and therefore, their identity as bilinguals is not acknowledged. This perception of Latino students is opposed to that of teachers who are defined as “completely bilingual” even though, in practice, both belong to the same Latino community.

Another example brings the idea of a problem:

...a principal can tell; in this school I have already thirty or more students in each classroom, if your child is coming as ELL or is coming as he does not know anything about

Spanish and is going to enter third grade not to first and second or you think that this would be the best thing for your child, I can not guarantee that you will have one teacher only for your child, there is one teacher for your child and for 29 more, in case the classroom has 30, then the father at that moment I am not saying you can not bring your child here because I have limited resources, the message that I am giving is a question, what will be your commitment? How are you going to help your child? How are we going to work together in partnership, if you would decide to bring your child here, so that your child makes progress, and you don't see that she/he is falling behind according to the syllabus?

Here there are two cases perceived as problematic: ELL students and students without previous knowledge of Spanish who does not enter in the beginning, that is, kindergarten or grade 1. Both cases would need extra support, they are not part of what is expected, since those students would require extra resources and there are only "limited resources". This quote implies extra effort for parents who would need to work harder, like doing the job of a teacher. Besides there would be a constant fear that their child could fall behind. Then, this discourse could discourage parents to enroll their children in the Spanish bilingual programs. But let's concentrate on ELL students. It is true that in this group could be students who speak neither English nor Spanish if they entered in kindergarten or grade 1. How often those cases happen, it is not clear but given the fact that this is a Spanish bilingual program there is a high possibility that there are students who speak no English or are learning English and speak Spanish. Here the speaker suggests that because of the "limited resources" those kids who do not speak English or are in the process of learning it, become a problem. Their knowledge of Spanish is not perceived as an asset for the school. Those students are perceived before anything as ELL and not as Spanish speaker or with knowledge of Spanish as a heritage language.

If we dig deeper into the image of these "other" students I would say that there is not even a clear distinction between the students who have Spanish as a mother tongue and those who have it as a

heritage language. As a matter of fact, to the question if Spanish bilingual schools could function as heritage language schools it seems there was no clear idea of what heritage languages are. For example, to the question what languages you speak, a person said that at the moment, only two but in the past he/she spoke two more languages. When I asked for clarification, the person mentioned: “I don’t teach them, I don’t practice them, then I can understand but I am not speaking them at the moment [...] but because I am not speaking them that’s why I don’t say [that] I still speak [those languages]”. Following this idea, I asked myself, then what happens with students who have Spanish as heritage language? If they understand Spanish but do not speak it, how are they considered? Only English speakers? And what about the knowledge they have of Spanish?

4.2.3.3 Dissonance at school

One question that I made to participants working in bilingual schools was to imagine if they were children, speakers of Spanish, who have arrived to Canada and they could choose between Spanish bilingual program and regular programs, which one would they choose. Only one of the interviewees was capable to put on the shoes of a child as I described. The rest could only recreate the perception of adults. That is, they mentioned that deciding what school children were going was a parents’ decision, children do not take this decision. Then, from this perspective as a parent of a child they answered the question. This circumstance could imply that they do not recognize the children’s experience living in a foreign country, learning a dominant language at school and trying to give sense to their mother tongue in a new and alien world. It seems they did not have this experience.

Then, the only interviewee who could put on the shoes of a child mentioned the following: “I think I would [choose] the Spanish bilingual program because there’s a sense of comfort there, because I’m going to be a leader [...] in helping teach other Canadians how to speak Spanish, I’d be able to connect with other families in my community that are the same heritage, I think I had a sense of pride and a sense of comfort that comes with that so that cultural shock won’t be as intense for a child”. Words

like pride, comfort or leader can be associated with positive connotations and I would like to concentrate on the word leader. Here the word leader could imply an active participation of the student like guiding other students, leading them, maybe even influencing them. However, this idea of leadership embedded in a context of proudness and comfort may be different in the practice. Let's analyze the following quotes: "it does provide a new window a new glance to our world outside of Canada as a young child [is] supposed to and I didn't know and so you're you're treating these children as global citizens and part of a bigger world and just opening up those opportunities.". This is awareness of the bigger world the students live in and this has a profound meaning to them. Let's compare the previous situation with the following quote that describes an activity in the school where there were stands representing different Spanish speaking countries and children made a passport to play that they travel to these countries: "every class [visited] different Spanish speaking countries and the kids had a passport and they travel [...] and they learn how to tango and then they play dominos in Cuba so we really [...] had fun and just really push the kids to understand that these cultures are so rich and there's so much to learn from them". One question that arose while I was analysing this quote was if this activity could be meaningful for students with cultural roots attached to those countries. Do teachers have to teach about Tango or domino to children culturally and linguistically engaged with Cuba and Argentina? This is probably meaningless to the students. They travel but not to learn to tango as if they were tourists. Yet they belong to these cultures. That is why they go to these Spanish bilingual schools, to maintain too a cultural identity. What idea is projected? rich cultures but you are not recognized, your cultural identity is not recognized. Where is the leadership that the Latino students could portray in this educative contexts as suggested by one respondent.

4.2.3.4 No linguistic identity, no notable participation

Another discourse that appeared, which at first glance seems to be positive when describing Latino students, is one that recognizes the particularity of Latino students. However, this particularity

disappears when contrasted with what in practice happens in the schools: the recognition to their language that is one of the main elements that identifies them, is no longer considered. Let's analyze the following quote: "it depends on the social and academic development that the child had had [...] it depends if the child, for example, needs more his mother tongue, [...] it depends on each person [...] this situation has to be analyzed case by case, I don't know, it is not black and white". This was the answer to the imagined situation to choose between programs if the person were one of the parents with a child new in Canada. It is interesting to observe that not only the linguistic background is considered important but also the singularity of each student which could imply different needs. Another example is the following: "well I would say that there're many factors there, generally it's not the children who would choose the school, it would be the parents, there are many factors to consider there, their level [??] of English, [...] where they're coming from what education background [??] their age, there are many factors to consider." As in the previous quote, there is an emphasis in the several different situations that could be found on each case in the hypothetical situation of choosing a school as a newcomer. Here, apart from the linguistic background determined by the knowledge of English, it is considered also the home country, the age and even the education they could have. However, in practice, all students are put in the same box. There is only one reality fully accepted in schools; second language learners since this is a program targeting English speaking students: "[The program] is designed for children of Canadian families, it's a program designed for the whole population of Alberta, [...] it is not a program designed for families where the mother tongue is Spanish, it is a program designed to attend children who do not know Spanish, who know nothing of Spanish and their parents don't speak Spanish and who wants to learn it.". Ultimately, the linguistic identity of students recognized in the imaginary situation that I suggested in the interviews was overshadowed in real life. This diverse students become ELL students who are perceived more as a problem as I have mentioned. I could not find any reference to heritage languages or first languages teaching and learning in the interviews to the staff or the

documents related to Spanish bilingual program. As a result, I think that the participation of Latino students as protagonists is diluted by the lack of cultural and linguistic recognition.

4.2.4 Parents

4.2.4.1 Secondary role

In this section, I am going to explore the discourses that appeared related to the Latino parents. It is interesting that in contrast to the role played by the principals, assistant principals and teachers, parents are described as having an insignificant role. For example, I asked one interviewee what the participation of Latino families in the school was and gave an example of an event when maybe they could have an active role. The answer was this: “no, no, we have, the thing is that with Covid everything was stopped but every year we do a residency with a Cuban dancer [...] all the classes learn different Latino dances and after there is a show with the parents and the parents are crazy about it”. When I asked if this was the moment when Latino families participate sharing their culture, the person said: “here we don’t differentiate, here we all are a community because in our school we have students who speak Russian, who speak Japanese, who speak Chinese, who speak ta... talago (sic), we have everything in our school”. Then, it seems that parents do not play leading role in this particular situation. They seem to be secondary characters, they are put in the same place as the rest of families who speak another language apart from English. Latino families have not a leading character as I would expect since these events are directly related to their culture. After this analysis I asked myself a question: Does the reference to the parents who are crazy about the show with the Cuban dancer include Latino parents? If we consider the following commentary, then apparently this is not the case. The same interviewee mentions that “el latinaje¹ comes from the parents, English speakers, who love it, love it, there are many

¹ In Spanish, the suffix -aje is used to create nouns that denotes several things. In this particular case, I think -aje is used to denote a group. For example, the word pluma (feather) becomes plumaje to express all the feathers in a bird, as a totality. Here the speaker may have used the word latinaje to first differentiate from the word Latino related to people and second to include in latinaje the culture and everything else that could be attached to the word Latino, like Latino store.

proud Latino families in our school”. It is interesting to see how latinaje is put in the parents, English speakers, and not in Latino parents who would be the bearers of whatever is defined as Latino then they are dispossessed of part of their identity. However, they are at least proud, but if we contrast the emphasis in “love it” and being “proud” we can perceive that Latino families are rather passive while parents, English speakers, are more active loving it, being crazy about latinaje almost like fans. This idea of passive vs active is reinforced in the following quote which is a comment the interviewee made about some changes in the Spanish bilingual program proposed by educational authorities that were not very popular. I commented that it was just the right moment for the Latino community to participate and the answer was: “those who are doing that are Canadians, those who meet in Facebook groups, those who go to the news, they are all Canadians”. Here it is introduced the term Canadians which I think refers to the parents, English speakers mentioned before by the same participant. It seems that these parents are the ones who speak up and participate in the conversation about the changes that are in dispute. On the contrary, Latino families seems to be completely absent in a situation that I expected they should be very active since this is a program they chose for their children. In this discourse, parents are perceived as passive playing a secondary role, at the back of the stage.

4.2.4.2 Only English matters when choosing the Spanish bilingual program

The previous discourse describes the participation of parents who have enrolled their children in the Spanish bilingual program. Now, I would like to analyze the discourse about another Latino families, those who choose not to send their children to the bilingual program. According to one interviewee, the main reason for not sending their children is based on the “domain” of Spanish or English. So, for example, the interviewee mentions that “if the child speaks Spanish [the parents] want them to maintain their Spanish, some parents feel that their child speaks Spanish enough already and want them to develop their English skills”. In another moment, to the question why does (he/she) consider that there is not an important presence of Latino community the answer also included this idea of “they want their

children to develop English language skills” and again in another moment mentions the level of English as a reason for deciding to put their children in Spanish bilingual programs or not. Then, it seems that English language skills become determinant when choosing the program. However, none of the families that I interviewed mention the development of English as a reason for not choosing the Spanish bilingual program though it may be implicit as we will see. Another interesting part is that there is no mention to the profound relation that language and culture have. For all the parents that I interviewed and who have children in Spanish bilingual schools, cultural identity was the main reason to maintain and develop Spanish and therefore to keep their children in this program as is going to be shown in the section of parents where I analyze their perceptions.

4.2.4.3 Education as synonym of culture

As I mentioned before, culture is a key element for Latino families when choosing the Spanish bilingual program because is joined to their language. For them, language and culture are inseparable and is their cultural identity. However, in the official discourse, language and culture, when related to Latino parents and students, have a negative connotation. For example, “the majority of Latinos immigrants, they aren’t, with... with lots of studies, or they come from cultures of oppression, where always oppressed, then they don’t know how...” “yes, well, I think, what happens when one is a child and arrives to Canada it is not the child who chooses, the parents are who choose, then, it depends on what the parents understand and choose for their child, depends on the level of instruction that parents have, to take into consideration which would be the best option for their child in this moment”. I would like to highlight how the idea of Latino parents is attached to education and culture. But this is a specific culture, that of oppression. This characteristic put in culture may suggest constraining, certain limitations in parents who do not know how to do something. At this point, I started to ask myself if culture is used as synonym of education which is a common misunderstanding. If that would be the case, it would imply that uneducated or poorly educated parents do not have culture or at least the “version”

of culture that they possess is limited. However, there are mentions of educated parents: "...there are many proud Latino families in our school, that's why they send them [their children] here [...] but many of them are professionals (related to people who studied in Universities)". Nevertheless, those parents are not related to themes of culture either, only to the fact of choosing the Spanish bilingual program or not. It is important to mention that the families that I interviewed and had children enrolled in the Spanish bilingual program, only one of three families had parents who went to university. On the contrary, the families who had enrolled their children in other programs, two of three had parents who went to university.

4.2.4.4 Undervalued participation

Through the discourses that I found, I noticed that there is no recognition of what Latino parents do to send their children to the Spanish bilingual programs. There is a discourse that put all families in the same place, there is no differentiation which seems to be good but the consequence is that this discourse fails to appreciate what Latino parents actually do in order to maintain their language and cultural identity. For example, in one interview I was asking about an event where some Latino artists were invited, then I posed the following question: "and there is where the Latino families are sharing?" and the answer was this: "here we don't differentiate, here we all are a community because in our school we have kids who speak Russian who speak Japanese who speak Chinese...". However, as we have seen, there is a differentiation among the Latino community: ELL students, Latino artists, staff, parents. This distinction determines the role, the participation they have in the school; for some the participation is recognized and valued and for others is undervalued and even unnoticed. The important role that parents have in taking their children to school and being interested in keeping the language is not acknowledged. The families that I interviewed had to make an extra effort to go to these schools. Some lived far away and they have to pay extra for the bus which is very expensive or create options to transport their children to the schools. Others have to pay an extra cost in renting a house in order to be

in the assigned area of the schools. Or simply they have to make an extra effort to bring in their family context the use of Spanish facing the reality that their children are using more and more English. Also, the extra effort Latino students do to learn two languages, to be bilingual is not even recognized since all of these efforts were never mentioned in any discourse that I analyzed.

4.3 Discourses and practice among families with children enrolled in Spanish bilingual program regarding Latino community's participation in Spanish bilingual programs.

This section is based on the analysis of the interviews I did to the parents of three families with children enrolled in Spanish bilingual programs. Two of the families have children enrolled in elementary, junior high and high school then they have vast experience in this bilingual program.

4.3.1 How is the participation of Latino community in the schools

4.3.1.1 Lots of Latinos, considerable participation

The perception of most of the interviewees is that there are several Latino families in the schools and that they have important participation. For example to the question why there was not more participation of Latino community in the school, one interviewee mentioned the following: "I do have seen several Latino parents, the truth is that in the school where we are there are several Hispanics working, there are lots of Hispanics, there are lots of Hispanics and eh they [schools staff] do make us part of all activities of volunteering...". It is interesting to mention how this parent emphasizes several times that there are many "Hispanics" (another way to refer to Latinos) and that they are included in the volunteering activities. In this sense, what I found is that in practice the participation of Latino parents was mainly found in this context of volunteering, as helpers. Another kind of participation mentioned was as spectators, as part of the audience for example "sometimes they make movie nights and things like that, we have to go to watch in the school at night and eh we go to watch a movie with the children and things like that". Another way to participate is through the actual participation of their children in the events "yes, we have always gone to the parties that are organized or the events that are organized

and we see [...] our children to participate either singing, dancing, ah, performing, we have always tried to be there”. Here parents are part of the audience while their children are actively participating in the events.

However, although Latino children participate in the events, it seems they are not active participants using Spanish to speak with their classmate. Instead they use more English to communicate which suggests that there are less moments when they can use Spanish: “I have seen my kids, they speak completely in English among them, with their friends in English, I mean, in reality they only practice Spanish with us, with the parents but in reality as they grow, the child speak less with you, I mean, the teenagers already block you completely, where are they going to practice their Spanish? At least at school there is a stimulation”. In this sense, school becomes an important space for Latino families since they can develop and practice their Spanish creating more spaces to use it beyond home context.

4.3.1.2 School as source of cultural knowledge and pride

As mentioned above, the school becomes an important space for families who want their children to maintain their language and therefore their cultural identity as this parent says: “this is the part that worries me, that they can’t, that they are Latinos and that they don’t speak Spanish for real”. There is a profound understanding that language is closely attached to culture, and both are the essence of a Latino identity. However, let’s analyze this following quote: “Well I like the program because I have realized that they [the sons and daughters] have a lot of Latino culture, they know what’s done in our countries, eh, [...] in previous school years there were programs of dancing, where they participated, music, then, there are certain details that are taught that I...though I could tell them there is nothing like they live it”. Here, it is interesting to notice that the parent expresses an awareness that culture has to be lived, felt, experienced. However, this cultural experience could not be taught by the parent because “though I could tell them there is nothing like they live it”. It seems that the parent could only project the culture by telling even though his/her sole existence is a projection of the Latino culture. Why is the

parent not perceived as an important source of cultural knowledge if her/his cultural identity is Latino? Most importantly, the parent is not considered as a cultural knowledge holder and/or keeper? Here the risk would be to substitute the school for the role of parents as source of culture too.

Another parent comments about how his/her child became a helper in the school suggesting a more active role: “when my [child], the youngest, [...] started school she/he had classes in Spanish and he/she said “I do understand everything and other children don’t, then I help them, I help the teacher to do this and that” because, because [my child] knew a few things that the other blond kids [güeritos] don’t...”. In this example, a sense of empowerment is perceived, knowing Spanish gives them a status that might be not easily recognized outside the school.

Another interesting example showing pride is the following: “well many children that normally don’t speak, cannot speak Spanish are speaking Spanish and no Spanish at home, then I’ve been very surprised because, well, I like very much my language to be honest and, well, that other people of other, how to say, other ethnicities want to learn, well, I like it very much”. Then school is not only a source of pride for children but also for parents who could appreciate their language through the experiences at schools and reinforce their idea to encourage their children to maintain Spanish.

4.3.1.3 Equal participation

In this section I want to explore the perception of equal participation. For example, there is no distinction when requiring help (volunteering): “they [school staff] ask for a lot a lot of help from the parents, then there is no gap like the Latinos or the white, no, they, if you are a parent and, they are sending you email also to give your opinion about projects...”. However, this perception contrasts with the following idea: “I see all Latino parents involved in anything but [...] I don’t know what percentage of Latinos are in the leadership, I don’t know, but what I also see is that there are many Canadians like more deeply involved in the projects and everything for the experiences they have, for the resources they have for what they can contribute to the school”. Here it seems that there is a distinction when

describing certain situations like leadership. This differentiation suggests that Latino parents do not often have a leading role even though Latino culture has an important role at schools.

4.3.1.4 Latino teachers' participation

However, Latino teachers do have an important role at schools: “and yes there are many people, teachers from Mexico and other Latino countries then [...] I do see the Latino community very active”. Teachers have an important role to validate the knowledge of Spanish of Latino students, for example: “[My children] have a good Spanish, then the teachers always take them as helpers [...] if someone is not pronouncing something correctly at school [my children] say “the pronunciation is like that”, then the teachers always like them a lot because they help them to correct other friends”. In this sense, the teachers are recognizing the knowledge that the students have and give them certain authority, a linguistic authority to distinguish between “good Spanish” and “incorrect Spanish”. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to observe classes to corroborate or contrast this perception due to covid restrictions.

Also, there is a belief that teachers are the authority to teach “correct Spanish” as maybe opposed to the Spanish spoken at home by parents, more colloquial maybe: “also I believe that they [the children] speak more correctly [Spanish]”. In this sense, it is suggested that the teachers possess the “appropriate knowledge” of Spanish, an educated Spanish maybe. This idea implies too that parents are aware of linguistic variations and they want that their children know them in an academic level, they want that their children develop their Spanish and teachers can help them to achieve this goal. For other parents, there is an awareness of other linguistic variations based on the place where the teacher grew up and this distinctions gives them the opportunity to speak with their children about their own linguistic variation: “I said no, this is not the way we say it and [my child]said but the teacher says that this is the pronunciation and I said no, no like that, tell [her/him] that we are Mexicans and we don't say it like [he

/she] says it" Therefore, teachers have a high value among some parents whose children attend bilingual schools and a very meaningful participation.

4.3.1.5 Extra work, extra effort

Following with the analysis of ideas expressed by interviewees, I would like to explore one remark by a parent that recognizes the effort made by families for being part of the Spanish bilingual program. One parent said: "having your children in this kind of schools requires a little bit of extra work, then, because even though our children have some notions of Spanish, they don't know everything right? [...] it requires hard work for a child to learn to read in both languages". This quote is interesting because it suggests that, contrary to what may be thought, for Latino children who are in more contact with Spanish, learning two languages is a challenge. They are also developing Spanish, and they have to do it while learning English. However, it is important to mention that the extra work is not only in the children's side but also in the parents'. On one hand, parents have to deal with situations that have an emotional impact on them. For some, enrolling their children is not so easy since they have to go through a lottery processes for levels (K-G1) which opens up the possibility that they children are not accepted. So it becomes a matter of good luck. As well, if the children want to attend Spanish bilingual programs after entry levels, they have to do a placement test to know if they have enough knowledge of Spanish to study in the chosen school. Such situations could send the message that being Latino has no relevance for these programs and speaking the language is not enough, the knowledge has to be proven. On the other hand, there is also a financial cost that parents have to pay. Sometimes the schools are not near, and this situation impacts on families' pockets. Some families opted to move near the schools but the rent is also more expensive in those zones. Definitely, going to Spanish bilingual schools requires an extra effort from the families I interviewed, but they considered it worthwhile.

4.3.2 Ideas about the Latinos who do not send their children to the Spanish bilingual program

In this section I shall explore the parents' perceptions about the Latino parents who do not send their children to the Spanish bilingual program. This Latino parents gave several reasons why the latter did not choose bilingual schools as will be seen in the following sections.

4.3.2.1 Spanish or English

To the question why there were not more Latinos participating in the schools, a parent answered the following: "if your child speaks Spanish then you are afraid that your child doesn't adapt or feel accepted by the people who speak English, then these people [Latinos who do not send their children to Spanish bilingual programs] think "well we're in Canada where only English is spoken"". Another example is the following: "most of the people here are afraid that their child doesn't speak English [...] they are afraid, like they feel that then their child is not going to learn English well [...] most of the people are afraid that their child doesn't speak English [...] I would be afraid, I am afraid of the contrary, ah, that Spanish doesn't endure in their lives". These quotes are interesting because they exemplify the dilemma some parents have when choosing a program. It seems that in order for one language to survive or develop the other has to be diminished or forgotten, it is either English or Spanish. For parents with children enrolled in Spanish bilingual program, Spanish become vital "I am afraid [...] that Spanish doesn't endure in their lives" and even for some being Latino and not speaking Spanish is a shame: "we have met a lot of people who travel to [our country] it is evident that you are [Latino] and you arrive and you say that you cannot speak Spanish, what a shame!".

4.3.2.2 Assimilation

Let's explore the following quote: "I feel that most Latinos come due to economic stability, so I think that it is left aside whether their generations retain Spanish or not, also the facility in getting more involved in the government system [it is like saying] "I am in Canada and well I just work and the

children have to go to school” and they do not think in this cultural part”. According to this parent’s perception, there are families more concerned in assimilating to the new community than maintaining their language and culture. There is an idea that these families choose not to struggle, or they perceive that it is easier this way; to assimilate and avoid the conflict of language maintenance, cultural identity, etc. Here again there is a reminder that having your child in Spanish bilingual programs implies an extra effort. It is important to mention that, as it will be analyzed later, parents with children enrolled in other programs feel also proud of their culture and language and that they face struggles too and choosing a different program from the school system was also difficult.

4.3.2.3 Lack of information about the Spanish bilingual program

Several interviewees mentioned the lack of information about Spanish bilingual programs. Most of the families with children enrolled in the Spanish bilingual programs obtained the information through friends or family who already knew the program because their children were already enrolled in these schools: “it is needed to show a little bit of more advertisement in Spanish because if my sister-in-law hadn’t told me there is no way no way that I knew [about the Spanish bilingual program], as I told you there is not much advertising for these programs”. This mention is important since, as it is going to be analyzed later in the section of parents with children enrolled in other programs, this lack of information may have influenced the decision of some parents when choosing a program. In this sense, the lack of accessible information about bilingual schools contributes to the absence of the Latino community and therefore a limited participation.

4.4 Contrast between the perception of Latino participation in the official context and among families involved in the Spanish bilingual programs

4.4.1 Conception of Latino culture

What the staff in schools perceive as Latino culture tends to be related to events of music, dancing, Latino food, etc. However, let’s contrast one idea about Latino culture suggested in the

following quote: “What I would improve [in the Spanish bilingual program] would be to be more focused more... because the Latino community is big and I wouldn’t miss the opportunities for our children to learn about our culture and that makes them better citizens ... our culture is beautiful, it has several values and yes I would implement more values to the program ... the value of the respect to the solid family ... solidity in the the family, what is kindness, yes those are the values that I would emphasise” For this parent, Latino culture has to do with values, family and kindness. It is interesting to observe that culture is attached to the family, similar to what was mentioned before about the relationship between cultural identity and language. In this sense, I would like to suggest that there is an interconnection between culture, identity, language and family that is very important in the Latino community. This perception suggests that for these families, Latino culture is part of their identity in which language plays a fundamental role. Their perception of Latino culture is more complex and profound than mere proficiency in speaking and writing Spanish.

However, I could not find any references by my participants in which the parents were conceived as vehicles for transmitting the Latino culture to their children. On the contrary, I found this example: “they [the children] feel proud to speak Spanish and they try to speak it and they tell me tell me a lot that “this day we celebrated the day of the death” [...] there are many cultural activities [...] they tell me, they like it”. The same parent says when answering the question what would be your ideal bilingual program: “well to make that the children speak Spanish and the children knew the root of Spanish [...] an equality among all students [to] learn about the culture”. In this quote, it is interesting to see that all the ideas regarding knowing culture portrays a passive image of the parent: “they tell me” about cultural activities, “they learn about the culture” as if children were learning about culture outside home, not with the parents. There is no reference to the parent as an active participant in the transmission of culture as one might have expected since he/she is Latino. Some parents with children attending Spanish

bilingual programs and school staff apparently accept the discourse that puts the parents in the backstage and not as main characters who possess Latino culture

4.4.2 Critique to the educational system

Compared to the discourses produced by administrators and teachers, I found a different perception among the parents with children enrolled in Spanish bilingual program. Opposed to the discourse in which parents are described as not being involved in schools' concerns, as if Latino parents were not interested in the school's problems, I found that they have a profound understanding of the system, they differentiate between the academic context, teachers, syllabus and the educational system and there is even a critique of the educational system and how certain government policies have affected them. For example one parent remarked: "I think that until two months ago [...] regarding the academic part I have no problem, we love it, [we] were discussing how difficult they were making access to programs that are outside of your community" Some families live in the attendance area of the school but not the walking zone, so the children need to take the school bus and the parent is referring to an increase in the bus fees which complicated their lives. In spite of everything, they managed the emotional and economic impact. "That makes us think that if we didn't like the school so much we could consider putting our children in the near by school". There is a real interest, and I would say need on the part of such parents, to enroll the children in these Spanish bilingual programs. There is a profound emotional component and it has nothing to do with prestige or fanciness.

Another example of this critique of the present arrangement is the following respond to the question; suppose that you could design a program for your child, how would it be?: "I would do it in a way that the children interacted more, to open it for them to participate more, not only listening". The context in which the answer is framed refers to the online classes that children were having as a consequence of Covid restrictions to gather. But even though the parent is referring to an extraordinary event that could not reflect what happened in the classroom in a ordinary day, I think that there is a

consciousness about the passive role that children may play at school. It would have been interesting to contrast this perception with an observation in class to see how the participation of Latino students was. Would it be more passive or active? Were their linguistic and cultural background recognized and therefore integrated into the teaching and learning activities?

Another example is the following:

...the programs are very beautiful, I am talking about the past because in the present, honestly, the fact that the Spanish programs in high school are going to be closed has a negative impact, very negative for the culture of the children, also because for my child it is generating anxiety like “what am I going to do?” and “if I want to continue with Spanish I am going to lose my friends” then eh why to close it when the youth need it more, why close this program when they are in the best [part of their lives]? They are teens and they need to do something that they like. Then there are going to be several children with anxiety and depression...

The context referred in this quote is that a governmental decision was taken related to the closure of the Spanish bilingual program in several high schools and as a result only one school was left to offer this program. As it is mentioned in the quote, this decision had a negative impact because, even though it was said that the only one school offering the Spanish bilingual program could look after the demand of the whole city, in reality one school was not going to have enough capacity to support the students of the other schools which used to offer the same program. In this sense, the opinion given about this change in the Spanish bilingual program shows how parents can perfectly analyze what is happening in the educational system, can criticize knowing what are the consequences of certain decision, not only in their families but also in the whole community. Here there is a severe emotional impact in which the teenager faces a dilemma; to continue learning Spanish which is related to the family, the cultural roots or to lose his/her friends.

4.4.3 Education equals culture

There is a shared idea among some parents with children in Spanish bilingual program and school staff regarding the level of education which has an influence when choosing an educational program. That is, people with a low level of education tend to choose a non-Spanish bilingual program because they do not care about questions relating to culture, language maintenance, etc. However, as I mentioned before, from families that I interviewed, two families out of three with children enrolled in Spanish bilingual schools have no postsecondary education. In contrast, among families with children enrolled in other programs only one family out of three had no postsecondary education. For example one parent commented, “I think that the level of education that ones have also, eh, you realize that it is vey important to maintain your culture” and in another moment the same parent says “it depends a lot on the educational level that one has, because you have a wide perspective of what you want [...] it is like that part of the culture moves into the background”. That is, people with poor education do not care about culture and therefore about the maintenance of Spanish. Here there is a coincidence between the discourse of some parents and the discourse produced by the administrators and teachers.

4.5 Discourses and practice among families with children enrolled in other programs regarding Latino community’s nonparticipation in Spanish bilingual programs

This section refers to the findings based on the interviews of three families who have their children enrolled in other programs than Spanish bilingual programs. Some have only recent experience in the educational system while others have longer experience since their children have attended elementary school, junior high and high school. The nonparticipation that I shall refer to in this section is determined by their absence from Spanish bilingual programs. Then I shall analyse the reasons why they did not choose to enroll their children in the Spanish bilingual program, how they chose a program, and their perception of the bilingual programs.

4.5.1 Spanish as an option

The first thing that appeared was an idea that was repeated several times: that of perceiving education in Spanish as one option among others offered by the educational system. For example, a parent mentioned the following referring to the moment when they were choosing a school for their children: “And then we said yes Montessori and so it was and then we abandoned the other option that was bilingual or Catholic”. In contrast to parents with children enrolled in the Spanish bilingual program, Spanish was not an option they considered. For those enrolled in the Spanish bilingual program, it was almost like a necessity that their children receive education in Spanish to such an extent that some looked for places to rent near the school and others managed to send their children even though the school bus was very expensive, etc.

I would like to mention a situation that one family shared in an interview which is very emblematic of the idea of option. According to the parents, their children were not interested on learning languages and Spanish was described as being “difficult” for them. However, in a part of the interview the parent said: “If there had been a little more content in Spanish, surely we would have tried that [my children] enter [the school] and at the end they entered by their own”. That is, when they were choosing a program, they considered the Spanish bilingual program but at the end they did not enroll their children. However, now that their children were in high school, they decided to take classes in Spanish. This made me think that for these teenagers Spanish was not perceived as a mere option as it was for their parent. Probably for the teenagers, learning Spanish was a need that was perhaps attached to the need to define their cultural identities.

4.5.2 Spanish and speech issues

Another situation that I found referring to the process of choosing schools for children was one that relates to speech delays or impairments. Let’s analyse the following quote:

“Participant: [...] it was a little bit difficult for my child I noticed it, he/she could no speak neither one language nor the other [...] we took her/him with the speech therapist and she told us that [our child] had a speech delay...

I: sorry, did she give you the option to have the therapy also in Spanish?

Participant: no”

A speech problem was detected but Spanish was not considered as part of the solution. The whole process was in English, from the paperwork to the therapy: “Maybe they asked some questions in Spanish and we say that they were in English but this was the standard procedure, specially the paperwork was in English however maybe in the details maybe there was something that was in Spanish”. But even though Spanish might be integrated in the therapy the other parent mentioned the following: “no, they didn’t give me the option, that I remember that they are going to give them therapy so that they speak Spanish [...] I think they said you take care of it, we are going to teach her/him our language because he/she is in a... in an English language, I think in this country where English is spoken and they gave her/him this service right? The therapy...”

Because of this situation, the family was in a way led towards an educational option which was not bilingual. Probably the assumption was that what works for one language works for all. Nevertheless, even though it may be true, it is also true that the whole education of this children was in English and he/she could not develop proficiency in Spanish at the point that she/he does not feel comfortable speaking Spanish. It is true that parents mentioned that they were not interested in this program, however, it is interesting to observe how certain situations can determine or influence the decision when choosing a program.

4.5.3 How families learnt about bilingual programs and reasons for not choosing it

I was surprised to discover that two families out of the three, were aware of the Spanish bilingual programs. They knew of these schools because some friends commented about the program or because

they did research to know about this kind of education. One family even lived pretty near a bilingual school but were not interested in sending their kids there. Now, some of the reasons given for not enrolling their children were that the schools were far away or they were part of the catholic educational system. Even one parent mentioned the following: “I think that if I had put my children in a school in Spanish, I feel that I would have made them lazy to learn another language”. It is interesting how for this parent learning Spanish was perceived as something negative, that could limit his/her children. However, learning “another language”, that is English, is positive. Maybe this perception reflects the assumption that participant’s children already knew Spanish and was not necessary to go to a school to learn it. This topic is going to be further developed in the following section.

Another reason for not enrolling the children in the Spanish bilingual program was that parents did not receive enough information:

“I: And then did they [people in charge of enrollment for newcomers] tell you about the bilingual schools? They never gave you the option?”

Participant: No, they didn’t comment to us that there were bilingual schools for them [their children] I don’t know if there are bilingual schools in these levels [Junior high and high school]”

This family was new in Canada and their children did not speak English. However, considering that Spanish bilingual schools could have helped them to learn English and transit through the educational system more softly, friendly, the family never had the information and they did not explore the options.

Another parent of the same family says the following: “we did have a translator who explained them [their children] everything, how the placement process was going to be and how they [people in charge of enrollment for newcomers] were going to look for schools, I think that they chose the school based on where they [students] live” “They told them directly where they had to go, at what school they

had to attend, because of the address where we were going to live” It is interesting to observe how the only criteria to choose the school was based on where they lived and not the language they spoke. It seems that mother tongues are not at the center when placing students in schools.

Finally, if we consider what parents with children enrolled in Spanish bilingual programs mentioned about the reasons why other Latinos did not send their children to these schools, we can see that the phenomenon is more complex. In other words, the lack of interest and comfort mentioned as reasons for not sending Latino students to bilingual schools is not confirmed through what has been described above. These reasons suggest a multifaceted situation in which sometimes the decision is not entirely in the hands of parents who are inadequately informed, not leaving them able to choose since they do not have enough information.

4.5.4 Spanish at home, enough?

I found that several families had the idea that Spanish spoken at home was good enough for their children and the they did not attend a bilingual school for this reason, for example: “we thought that Spanish immersion is going to be good for a Canadian who wants to learn Spanish but this is not the case of our child, I mean, our child does not have to learn Spanish from zero, we are already going to teach him/her a little bit at home”. Parents perceived themselves as a kind of model or teachers who could teach their children’s mother tongue. For them if the children speak some Spanish with them was enough: “we thought about it [about sending their children to the Spanish bilingual program] but we said well we can teach them Spanish” “I don’t want my children to lose French because I have been learning French for two years, then I am interested that they keep the language and I said well if they know French and also learn English that would be great because at home we’re going to keep speaking Spanish”. It is important to learn English, to maintain French but for Spanish it is enough with what is spoken at home. For these parents their children already learnt Spanish and for this reason they are going to maintain it. Their children have already mastered Spanish and this is why they do not need to go to a

bilingual school. This idea is expressed in the following quote: “that would have been great that they could reinforce their Spanish and they could study in Montessori”. For parents their children reinforce Spanish which they already know. This perception is interesting because learning a language is a continuum no matter if it is a mother tongue or a second or third language. That is why people go to school, to know more about their language. That is, if a child is born in Canada and their parents teach him/her English and speak that language at home, they are not going to consider that it is enough and that the child does not need to develop her/his mother tongue. The thing here is that these parents who participated in my research perceive Spanish as something stuck at home, it does not need to be developed at higher levels of writing and reading or to know how Spanish is used in art like poetry. I had no the opportunity to ask but I would love to know why is it enough for these parents that their children only speak Spanish at home?

4.5.5 Spanish as an heirloom, something to store, linguistic rules

Following this perception of Spanish as something stuck, that does not move, does not evolve, I would like to explore another idea that I found in the interviews. Let’s start with these two quotes: “we are always telling [our child] you have to conserve your Spanish it is very important the culture also the traditions, the family, the way we, Latinos, grow up, we tried to guard it” and “fortunately [our children] have guarded their Spanish and now [...] they can take courses of Spanish and they have [taken classes]and the classes have helped them a lot because they learn to write they learn the rules of Spanish”. Here Spanish is perceived as something to put in a storage. Spanish is conceived as an object in which several things are collected like culture, traditions, family. It is as if the parents were trying to create consciousness in their children of a valuable object that they want to inherit them, like jewellery that has been in the family for long time and now the children have to inherit. Here Spanish is perceived more like something inanimate, inactive and this idea is reinforced when the parent mentions that his/her children go to school to learn how to write Spanish or the linguistic rule of Spanish, grammar. Spanish

again is perceived as something rigid with rules, letters, writing, but not as something alive in constant movement and diversity, it is not perceived as part of their children who could appropriate this language as part of their identity.

4.5.6 Language lost

Among the parents participants there is a kind of resignation to language lost. In other words, for some parents losing Spanish or that their children do not develop a high proficiency level in Spanish is perceived as something “natural”: “Then, this is one of the effects that are seen very often right? With children who are educated in North America right? From Latin American countries, Spanish, they are not completely proficient”. Therefore, because their children live far away from their homeland and their new reality is in English or French, it is expected that Spanish starts to stunt its development. Therefore, it can be implied that for some of the families it is not so important to consider Spanish bilingual programs since their children are living in a country where English or French are spoken and as a consequence there is a “natural” process of leaving their mother tongue aside, leaving Spanish to the small context of home. As suggested above, this seclusion of Spanish at home starts to petrify the language to the point that it becomes a sort of object to be kept in a box, an object that can be inherited in the family and which represents something that once existed or that once was used to communicate with that family living in a Latino country.

4.5.7 No problem at all vs It was not easy for me/ parents’ vs children’s perception

From the parents’ perceptions through the interviews, I also had a glimpse of what was happening with the children who were not enrolled in the Spanish bilingual programs. One could hear their voice through their parents’ voice when there was a conflict between different perceptions. That is, sometimes one part was what parents thought about their children’s process of going to school and another part was what the children were experiencing. Most of the time parents tended to say that for their children everything was great, that they did not have a problem at all and the process of going to

school was very smooth. For example these two quotes: “they are happy” “all of them are relaxed” is what a parent said in contrast to his/her partner who described a very stressful situation for the children. The partner mentioned that going to school for one of the kids was challenging and that he/she arrived home with “a scared face” asking “now what do I do?” These expressions were understood by the parent to show how lost and frightened the child was. Another parent said: “the truth is that my child adapted very fast, he/she never complained never said I don’t want to go to school. She/he was very happy to go [to school]”. In contrast, the partner mentioned the following: “it was pretty easy, there was not a big problem for him/her [but] now he/she tells us well yes, it was somehow difficult, she/he has told us”. Here one of the parents recognizes that it was not as easy and happy experience for their child to go to an only English school as they had thought.

This constant idea that I found in my interviews that children did not have any problem at all when going to school and dealing with other language may be due to the belief that children can learn languages very fast and easily: “I feel that children learn languages very fast because they feel no shame, neither they care how other children speak it, I mean, they don’t use grammar [...] they don’t use verbs, I mean they say it as it is and that’s all, no no like us, how do I say that in past tense? [...] like we construct more the sentence and then I love how children learn languages”. This may be true that children do not think much in grammatic rules, however, learning a language also has an emotional component related to social interaction and this part is not easy even though they are children. For example when I asked a couple if they remember an event when their child had difficult moment when learning English they mentioned the following:

A: I just remember one time my child told me that “when I got on the bus”, because he/she took the school bus, “I could barely, I told a girl as I could if she could move so that I could sit next to her and the girl said yes”. But that is what she/he once [told us]...

B: Yes, I think it was certain interaction during the first weeks. I can think that yes, she, well obviously she was not going to speak English with the other kids. Then probably he/she struggled a bit but after the first months I think she/he was really good

4.5.8 Spanish under pressure or Spanish speakers under pressure

I would like to explore in this section some of the emotional components involved when families were deciding what program would be the best for their children and what were children's experience at schools. A parent mentions the following: "...maybe we are going to put a lot of pressure, right? They are trying to keep their Spanish and learning English [...] and we said we don't want to put more pressure on them". This was another reason given by parents for not choosing a bilingual program since they considered that it was already difficult for their children to deal with two languages to add a third one like French. What is interesting in this quote is how for the family there is a sense of pressure that is related to the children but it can also be referred to parents since they have gone through several significant experiences like speech therapies which probably caused tension in their lives. For example the parent mentioned regarding the idea they explored to enroll their children in French immersion: "...yes I would have loved if [my children] had spoken three languages but it was also a concern for me. [...] we asked, wouldn't it be a lot of pressure that [our children] had to learn the three languages. Yes, I did feel the pressure, [...] for me languages, I like them but I'm not good at them, that is, it's not, it's not easy for me".

The following quotes come from a family of newcomers: "when my son started school he was completely lost because he didn't know what they were talking about [the teachers and the classmates] [...] fortunately there was a classmate who spoke Spanish but if that little guy hadn't been there in the school [helping him to understand what people were saying] the truth is that it would have been more complicated for me because at the beginning [my child] arrived home with a scared face "and now what do I do?" Here it is evident the anguish the child was feeling and that he needed a support that came

from her/his classmate who spoke Spanish. This suffering was also felt by the parent who may have felt incapable of helping the child. In another moment the same parent says: “I went [to an interview with the teacher] in the month of January, when I went obviously I also had to bring a translator because I was not going to be able to dialogue with the teacher and he said that for him [my child] was like an absent child because she/he didn’t participate because even though he/she was there [my child] didn’t understand”. In this quote, it is interesting how the child is described by the teacher, like an “absent child”, the child “didn’t participate” “didn’t understand”. This made me ask myself how was this child interacting with other students but specially how the teacher did not mention any strategy to help the student communicate with the classmates. It is striking to observe, comparing the quotes, how the support came from a classmate and not from the teacher regarding the process of learning another language and how choking for the child it was to live in two languages as yet unable to speak.

4.5.9 Lots of support but in English and French

In spite of the experiences described above, the families did mention that their children received a lot of support at school. For example one parent mentions: “[The Francophone School Board] provides [in the province where the study was carried out]the buses, why? Because it is paid by the Quebec and Quebec wants that people learn French, then the School Board pays the buses, we, as parents, are happy that well my children always had buses to go to school”. This comment made me think of the different experience described by parents with children enrolled in a Spanish bilingual program who were struggling with the bus because it was very expensive and how they had to figure out alternatives to send their children to school. What a huge difference it is to accompany parents and support them instead of leaving them alone. Another experience described was the following: “They still sent the therapist to this school and said that well [your child] is not going to have his/her therapist there in the other school where [your child] used to go [...] and for one or two years they still helped her/him” Here the family had support with a speech therapist who was even sent to a new school where the child moved and

continued the therapy for “one or two years”. In the following quote, a parent expresses his/her ideas about education and teachers: “They are really good, the teachers, the education they have, the training they have and they worry about the children, I think it is good [...] They worry and they know the child [...] and I like that it is like more personalized”. When contrasting this quote with the one in the previous section about the lack of support to a child who was learning English, made me ask myself why are there these two different visions. Analyzing all the quotes in this section I think that, in deed, the children received support but only in what has to do with English or French, beyond that is a barren ground.

4.5.10 Spanish and ELL/ESL classification

I found that even though families did not have any support regarding the language they were speaking at home, or the process of learning a second language or something related to their bilingual reality in which they were immersed, I detected that Spanish was important for classifying students. For example a parent shares the following: “When she/he started school they knew he/she came from a home where Spanish was spoken and at the beginning my child was a student of second language English as a second language I think they call it, then she/he had this distinction [...] after one or two years they said he/she is perfect”. The student was not perceived as bilingual or emergent bilingual but rather as an ESL student. This is exactly the same situation that happens with the children enrolled in the Spanish bilingual program; before being consider bilinguals, speakers of two languages, or emergent bilinguals, they are learners of English.

4.5.11 Spanish, English, French, lots of languages taught at schools

When I asked the parents what their ideal educational program would be, most of them agreed that not having to choose between their mother tongue and the official languages would have been the perfect program. Parents agreed that having a school where French, English, and Spanish were included would have been the best option. One of the parents expressed a wish in the following manner: “not to

lose their mother tongue right? [and also] to share with other students our language”. This parent brings in the idea of a program in which the students do not lose their mother tongue and at the same time other students could learn from them. Then, all students could benefit in this ideal school. Another parents mentions: “If they had told me in the first interview [...] “we have schools, bilingual schools for the children to start to adapt, to be part of the language”. Here the parent perceives bilingual schools as places where students can find means to integrate and learn the dominant language in a more friendly, supportive, pleasant and positive environment.

4.5.12 Spanish and cultural identity

Finally, I just would like to mention that for the interviewed parents, there is also an awareness of the relationship between language and cultural identity: “[My child] is white, white, white then people never believed her/him that he/she was Latino, never, [my child] said I am from [a Latino country] where Spanish [is spoken], [and the other kids said] “then you learnt it in another place [...] you are no Latino””. However, I found that this awareness is not as strong as with families of children enrolled in the Spanish bilingual program. There is more an idea that the children should maintain Spanish to be able to communicate with their family in Latin America but not as an extension of who they are, to feel Spanish as part of them, to appropriate their language.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter we looked at the discourses of teachers, administrators in the schools and Latino parents who either had children in the schools or who had chosen to put their children into other schools. From the vantage point of our main question the findings were clearly three: First there were some systemic barriers to Latino participation in the schools. For example the Latino community as new immigrants suffered from a larger share of poverty. School buses were not provided free so Latino parents had to pay for them. Secondly the Latino community did not receive an adequate amount of information about the Spanish/English schools compared to say the Catholic schools or the Montessori

schools. Thirdly the Latino community was not as well organized or as willing to participate as some of the other parents groups in the schools.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Overview of conclusions and recommendations

In the organization of the Spanish/English programs English is nonetheless the dominant language and the most important one in terms of the organization of the programs. Spanish is involved in the direct translation of English language programs in say mathematics, natural science, social studies and so on. The Spanish language and culture programs are not autonomous. So the cultural content was essentially lacking even if the vocabulary and grammatical content was adequate. To some degree, perhaps unconsciously, a negative picture of Spanish was conveyed in relation to English. The perception of Latino parents as being relatively uneducated, for example. Latino parental involvement in the daily life of the schools was minimal. This was partly because participation was considered a voluntary activity and partly because no systematic opportunity for the involvement of the native speakers of Spanish who were Latinos was built into the programs.

The recommendations suggested are as follows:

1. perhaps a Canadian constitutional amendment might include Spanish as a language equivalent to English and French in the future based on the North American Free Trade Agreement and the fact that all Mexicans have no need for a visa to enter Canada and can work here easily.
2. Spanish/English bilingual schools should encourage and foster the participation of cultural groups speaking and living in Spanish, especially the large Latino community.
3. The Latino community should organize itself better so that it can actively participate in the Spanish/English bilingual schools that already exist, since many researchers have shown that participation of parents is key to defending the rights of children to maintain their mother tongue, in this case Spanish.

In this concluding chapter, I will discuss the ideas that emerged through the writing of the findings chapters and how they are related to the topics that were explored in the Literature review. In a sense, the aim of this chapter is to show what are the consequences of the discourses and practices that I described in the previous chapter.

5.2 Dominant Language and monolingual habitus

I would like to start by reviewing what a dominant language is as I mentioned in the Literature Review. Dominant languages refer to languages that have a higher value determined by groups with status and prestige. Those groups have social power, for example they control politics, economy, etc. and in this sense the dominance of a language responds to social beliefs. Based on the vision of the preponderance of a language over others, dominant languages establish differences which are arbitrary. At the moment in which some languages are considered more important than others, then social differentiation occurs and then the language or languages of the powerful groups is valued more than the languages of groups underrepresented in politics for example or the less wealthy. The consequence is that linguistic politics are created to protect the language or languages more socially valued and the rest of languages are left aside provoking an uneven distribution of resources.

To observe this phenomenon of dominant language, it is important to analyze how the bilingual program was designed. It is stated that the aim of this programs is to help students, to learn a second language therefore to become bilinguals by learning Spanish (Calgary Board of Education, 2020). It is important to point out that this design is focusing on bilingualism and in second languages acquisition and there is no mention to multilingualism or third, fourth languages learning. This narrow vision neglects the reality of many people living in Canada who speak more than one language. In specific, there is a vast population of Latinos living in the Western Canadian city where I carried out my research and who speak or have a cultural contact with Spanish. However, as suggested strongly in the Findings this population was misrepresented in Spanish bilingual schools. Latino students, given their linguistic

reality, are bilinguals or emergent bilinguals and yet they were always described as ELL students and were perceived as an anomaly that the staff had to deal with.

In the bilingual program, English is established as the dominant language and this dominance is perceived in what is said and done in the schools. Let's consider what a participant, who was part of one school's staff, told me: "well by law [...] we have to teach at least fifty percent of English" and the rest of the time, as it is established in the description of the program, teachers should use Spanish. However, the same participant comments in another moment the following: "we do the same Mathematics programs of study [...] that every other student does in the province just in our case it happens to be taught in Spanish not different than in French immersion that it happens to be taught in French". The perception here is that bilingual programs are only like a translation of the other programs taught in English. That is, it is only a matter of changing one word for another of a different language. Instead of saying Mathematics we say matemáticas and that is it. Another example that I could observe is the way students call their teachers. They are asked to say señor, señora or señorita (Mr, Mrs or Ms). As a Latina speaker of Spanish, this way to refer to teachers is odd since in my cultural context we call them maestro or maestra or we simply say the name of the teacher. Later I understood that this way to call teachers was only a translation of a cultural referent of some English language countries like UK, US or Canada where this way to call teachers or professors is very important. Then, it was a cultural referent used with words in Spanish. I found more examples related to the use of words in Spanish but referring to the cultural contexts of English speakers; for example, the use of the word mitones instead of guantes which is the most common word in Spanish, however, mitones is closer to mittens. This example is similar to the way Spanish is also taught. In Spanish there is no need to use pronouns to determine the subject in a sentence. In Spanish is more common to say corro in stead of yo corro. The use of the word "yo", (I in English) is not necessary because the conjugation of the verb gives this information. Then in Spanish most of the times the subject of the verb is implicit and not explicit as in English that requires the use of

the pronoun to know who or what is the subject of the sentence: I run. However, there is an encouragement to use this pronouns when teaching Spanish. Then, the pre-eminence of English is established. The Spanish bilingual programs are designed based on the dominant language which is English.

The previous examples were related to vocabulary which necessarily relates to cultural references but there were other examples that can give us a glance at how schools function. There is a placement test that students have to do in order to be accepted after Grade 1, at the elementary level. This test is designed to determine the level of Spanish that the student has. From the perception of a speaker of Spanish this situation could be perceived as odd, out of place, since the test is meant for students who are learning Spanish as a second language. However, all students have to do the test even if it does not relate to their linguistic reality of Spanish as a mother tongue or heritage language. Let's consider the following quote: "so our entry point are kindergarten and grade 1 and the reason that we do the Spanish language assessment after grade 1 is we want to make sure they have the necessary skills to be set up for success to be successful in the program". The test is conceived for students who are learning Spanish and speak at least English since officially this is the other language that is used on the bilingual program. There is no a questioning as to whether this test should be applied all students. They are not considering either the speakers of Spanish or heritage language students who are expected to be found in this program. When I asked the staff if there were something that they would change in the program none of them mentioned this test. Now, let's remember that for a dominant language, the dominance of a linguistic group responds to social beliefs rather than linguistic or demographic criteria. The dominance of a language also implies an habitus, a monolingual habitus "the deep-seated habit of assuming monolingualism as the norm" (Gogolin, 2013, p.41). This suggests that there is an institutionalized monolingualism that the staff working in the institution internalize and it is conceived as a natural situation.

Finally, the situations discussed above have some impact in the Latino community. There is a lack of resources that could meet some of the Latino community's needs. For example, as one participant commented, there are limited resources for ELL students including teachers who could teach Spanish as a heritage language: "if your child is coming as ELL or is coming as if he/she doesn't know anything in Spanish and is going to enter in Grade 3 [...] I can't guarantee that is going to be a teacher only for your child [...] in this moment I am not saying you [the parent] can't bring your child because I have limited resources,...". Considering that there is a placement test after grade 1, the scenario in which a grade 3 child needs support to learn Spanish from zero is very unlikely to happen. However, the scenario in which a child needs support in learning English is more likely to happen considering the reality of Canada as an immigrant country and that the Latino community is one of the main groups described as visible minorities. Therefore, this lack of resources has a great impact on the Latino community. The students and the parents are left on their own. In the case a student speaker of English and the parents decide that the Spanish bilingual program is not for them because of the lack of resources, they have the option to go to a regular program and continue with their education and there is no big problem or dilemma. However, for students of the Latino community who have Spanish as a mother tongue or heritage language, the decision to leave the program has other implications. The families that I interviewed decided to put their children in this bilingual program because they wanted them to maintain Spanish since it is attached to their culture, they have a deep awareness of the profound relationship between language and culture. The families are making a great effort to maintain their language and hence culture and the lack of resources is putting a heavier burden on their shoulders.

5.3 Process of exclusion

As it was previously seen, a monolingual habitus, an idea that English is the norm, is put into practice in Spanish bilingual programs. In this section, I would like to explore how certain processes of exclusion function to create this phenomenon. Coupland (2010) mentions several discourse processes of

exclusion but I am going to consider three: homogenisation, pejoration and suppression and silencing. One example of homogenisation is that of a language test done after grade 1 mentioned before. It is addressing students learners of Spanish as a second language as if there were a homogenous society in which only people speakers of English and second language learners existed. The implications are that the rest of diverse groups are not visualised, especially the group of students who are speakers of Spanish or with Spanish as a heritage language. Here there is not even a distinction between “they” and “us”, the process of othering that Coupland (2010) mentions. Here there is only one voice heard. From that perspective, the rest of the linguistic and cultural groups do not exist, they have no voice, they are simply erased. But obviously in practice, those diverse groups appear in the scene and maybe this is why, as I analyzed in the Findings, they are perceived as disruptive, problematic, as an anomaly, and their needs are ignored or seen as a problem because they cannot be satisfied like the lack of ELL teachers, or speech therapist specialized in bilingual children, etc. The discourse is more like a complaint, as if parents and students were asking too much.

An example of pejoration could be the following also analyzed in the Findings chapter: “...other things that happen are bringing in experts so when we have an artist Spanish, I think he was from Colombia, an artist coming, he was talking about this process and just the fluency of the Spanish just made it more ah, for students to see that, yes you can be a Spanish speaker and be successful, and so to see those experts to have real life experiences”. At first glance the expression of “yes you can be a Spanish speaker and be successful” could be perceived as positive since it implies a recognition of a quality of success and functions as an encouragement for students. However, this expression is based on a negative perception of Latinos. That is, as the participant suggests, to associate the two ideas of Latino, speaker of Spanish, with success being rare, unusual so much so that the participant emphasizes the idea with a “yes”. But what is to be successful? Maybe speaking fluent Spanish or knowing about art, the artistic process, being an expert, that is, being educated. If we bring in this analysis the perception of

Latino parents as being like uneducated people developed in the previous chapter, the idea is reinforced. In other words, some Latino parents are perceived as uneducated, ignorant and then they are not seen as a good model of Latino Spanish speakers. The consequence is that some Latino parents and students with Spanish as the heritage language and speakers of Spanish are delegitimized. They are not legitimate speakers of Spanish and also they are not valued as knowledge holders of Latino culture.

Now, let's analyze an example representing the process of exclusion of suppression and silencing. One parent told me that when they emigrated to Canada they arrived first to Quebec where the children learned French and later they moved to Western Canada. The family wanted to maintain French so they looked for schools and found a Francophone school where they could continue learning French. It is important to say that Francophone schools are different from French immersion in the sense that in the former students have a strong knowledge of French like or almost like first language while in the latter students learn French as a second language. In the case of this family, the children arrived very young to Canada and their first contact with school was in French. After some years living in Western Canada, the family decided to register the children in an English only program but the oldest child, who was already a teenager, was asked to do a test. The parent of the child said about this event the following: "but yes, they asked [my child] to do a test as if she/he were a new immigrant". For the parent this situation was strange since in the previous schools the child identified as a French speaker with a strong knowledge in that language and probably this happened because the child started school at a very young age in French. At the moment the child, or better said the teenager, switched to a different school where only English was used, the image of a competent speaker of an official language of Canada with which the teenager was identified was suppressed. In the new educational context, this student was perceived as if the previous experiences never existed, as a newcomer, that is, as an immigrant who just arrived in Canada and then there is need to do a test to measure his/her knowledge. Then, it is interesting to observe how the linguistic identity of the student is suppressed: from being a

fluent competent speaker of French to a novice student of English even though he was also fluent in this language since she/he was raised in the Western Canadian city where the study was carried out and took English lessons in the Francophone school. It is true that a native French Canadian coming to Alberta would take the same English test if he/she wanted to enroll in an only-English program. However, there would be a different impact in the participant's child. When he/she mentions that the child was treated "as a newcomer", it is implied that the child already felt as part of a community. Suddenly, the kid is put outside this community and becomes an outsider, a newcomer, as if the child were unfamiliar with the society where he was raised.

Considering the previous example, one can infer that educational institutions create linguistic identities and hence in the discourses that I analyzed people of the Latino community are sometimes identified as novice students, ELL students and uneducated parents. The consequence to this discourse is that these actors, parents and students, are delegitimated. They are not always perceived as Latinos, Spanish speakers or bilingual students. On the contrary, the knowledge they have may be judged as deficient, insufficient.

5.4 Participation

Now I would like to explore how the participation of the Latino community was perceived and put into practice. I would like to start by mentioning that through the interviews, I realized that participation could have several meanings or connotations. For some participants, their participation was related to their presence in the school, that is, they participated based on the fact that their children attended a Spanish bilingual school. Their presence was a synonym of their participation. For some others, participation meant to participate in events or volunteering opportunities. Now, I would like to focus on this last perception of participation in the context of being volunteers: "...they [the administrative staff in the school] used to send us emails [to ask us] if we wanted to volunteer in field trips, fun lunch, in classroom, then they ask a lot a lot of help from parents, then there's no gap like

Latinos or whites, no they [the administrative staff] if you are parent they send you emails also for [giving] your opinion about projects...”. In this sense, participation is equated with volunteering and giving your opinion about certain projects managed by the institution. But the most interesting part that I observed was the idea that there was no differentiation between Latinos and “whites”. The perception of the participant was that they all were treated equally which at first glance seems to be positive. However, this homogenization has profound implications. According to Coupland (2010), “denying individuals their individuality is illiberal, but also a productive means of outgrouping and minoritisation” (p. 248). In the context of my research, the idea of individuals introduced by Coupland refers to social groups like Latino community. In this sense, at the moment in which their individuality, what distinguishes or differentiates them from other groups is neglected, then Latinos are excluded in a way from participating in Spanish bilingual programs where they ought to have a special role. That is, their participation is limited to field trips, lunch and class helpers, etc. Through this homogenization in the schools’ activities, the participation and presence of the Latino community is diluted, their particularity is lost in the whole.

At the beginning, when I started this research I had in mind a different idea of participation from the one that was described by the participants. I conceived a participation that considered the cultural and linguistic identity of the Latino community. I was thinking more in situations in which they could project and share their culture and language. I was thinking more in a social participation. According to Henrard (2013), participation has been mainly analyzed in the context of politics, of how minority groups can be better represented and vote or simply vote for their representatives. However, socio-economic participation is also important since it is related to the access of services. For this participation to exist, it has to be linked to the right of identity, that is, the right that is conferred to groups or individuals to have an identity separated or differentiated from the dominant group or groups. Consequently, “reasonably addressing the minority dimension and the specific needs of minorities is also important in relation to the socio-economic participation of persons belonging to minorities.”

(Henrard, 2013, p. 27). The importance of acknowledging the identity of the minoritized group is that on one hand, through this recognition certain needs are recognized and opens the discussion to know how to satisfy them. On the other hand, the fulfillment of these needs creates the circumstances which are favorable for the group to have an equitable social participation “substantive equality is indeed crucial to minorities as that would cater for minorities’ need for special measures, adapted to their situation” (Henrard, 2013, p. 28).

Let’s analyze some examples. Henrard (2013) mentions that socio-economic participation is related to the access to certain services like education, employment, health care, housing, etc. I am going to focus not only on the services of education since I am dealing with bilingual programs but also on the health care services because there were some participants who mentioned this topic.

A minority specific problem of genuine equal access to education concerns problems with or lack or reduction of mother tongue education since this can have negative repercussions for educational achievements and thus for equal opportunities of access to higher education. The AC’s [Advisory Committee] supervisory practice reveals that it is crucially aware of the importance of mother tongue education in order to realize genuinely equal access to education, and recognizes that the lack of an inclusive curriculum can similarly entail de facto unequal access to education. (Henrard, 2013, p. 56)

In my research, one need that I detected was that Latino community required access not only to teachers of English as a second language but also to teachers who could teach Spanish as a mother tongue and as a heritage language. It is necessary to recognize that in bilingual schools there is not a homogenous population of students. Bringing in the cultural and linguistic reality of the students would necessarily inform of their needs and open an opportunity to fulfill them. The Latino community would be the most to gain in these schools since they could maintain their language and therefore develop their cultural identity. Moreover, this approach could prevent the “negative repercussion for

educational achievements” since for example assessments would be based on the different learning process that students have like the reading process which could take more time in bilingual students. In the end, recognizing the cultural and linguistic identity of the parents and student can level the ground for the members of the Latino community. Latino parents could fully participate not only in the school but also to better accompanying their children at home since they would be recognized as legitimate Spanish speakers and cultural knowledge holders.

Now, regarding the social participation through the access to health care services, Henrard (2013) mentions the following: “The Committee on the Rights of the Child exhibits a good understanding the possible link between the language in which health services are provided and effective access to health care” (p. 62). This is particularly important since some parents mentioned that their children had no access to a speech therapist who knew how to treat bilingual children and there were no schools offering bilingual treatments. This could open the possibility of children losing their mother tongue since the treatments were only in English. The result is that such children do not have the opportunity to participate in society as bilingual individuals.

Finally, to neglect the cultural and linguistic identity of Latino community in bilingual programs can lead to no participation at all. Some parents who did not speak English or were learning English could not look for information on the internet to know the options they had. However, they could have received this information when they were enrolling their children in the educational system, but nothing was mentioned even though they even had access to a translator. The consequence was not only that these parents did not have the opportunity to make a well informed decision regarding the education of their children but also that they could not participate since they had no access to the Spanish bilingual program. In the end, all the parents that I interviewed who had no children enrolled in the bilingual program mentioned that the ideal school would be the one in which their children could also learn French or could learn English and Spanish through a Montessori method, etc. The ideal school would be

the one in which parents would not have to choose between their language and the type of education they wanted for their children, a school where Spanish is also included and recognized.

5.5 Language Rights

As I mentioned in the Literature review, language rights were created as a to maintain languages spoken by minoritized groups. As part of the discussion about these rights, some authors have pointed out some gaps related to the way minorities were defined and how there might be an emphasis in languages more than in speakers suggesting that certain political, economical, and social contexts were taken for granted. In my research I could identify these two issues highlighted by the critics of Language rights. For example, in Canada, in the official discourse, the term minority language exists but it is referring to the cases in which French or English are in context where the speakers of these languages are not dominant. For instance, in the province of Quebec English is considered a minority language and in Western Canada the minority language is French. In this sense, the right to have access to education in those languages in minority contexts is guaranteed. As one of the participants mentioned about the francophone system that provided school bus for free to help families to transport their children even though the school was far from their homes: "...it is paid by Quebec, then Quebec wants that people learn French then the school council pays the buses, we, as parents, are happy" Though maybe the participant is confusing the funding from the federal government and the province of Quebec, it is interesting to observe how this situation contrasts with the experience of some families who have enrolled their children in the Spanish bilingual program and had to pay for the school bus. They emphasised how hard was for them to pay for this service: "that makes us think that if the school didn't like me as much, we could consider enrolling our children near here [...] but the facilities we have, mmm, they are making it more complicated that your child goes to a school with a special program [that is Spanish bilingual program]". Therefore, once the identity of linguistic minoritized groups is embraced, recognized, delineated, etc. then the resources can be provided. However, if the minority

group is not recognized there are none or few resources available. Consequently, it is important to consider as part of the minority linguistic groups in Canada others than just French and English to guaranty equitable language rights.

Regarding the issue of focusing only on language instead of speakers, this research suggests that there is a dissociation between the Spanish language and the Latino speakers of this language. In discourse, Spanish is a language highly valued by the people attending the bilingual schools. As a matter of fact, Spanish bilingual programs are the most popular of all bilingual programs in the city where I carried out my research. However, the reality for some speakers of Spanish is different. As I mentioned before, Latino parents and students are not perceived as legitimate speakers of Spanish. If we consider that one of the aims of language rights is to protect languages under threat, then in practice these rights would not be acknowledge in this context since Spanish is not a language in worldwide danger. But it is in danger for these members of the Latino community. For them, Spanish is under threat to be lost in their families. Then, the consequence of separating the language from the speakers is that the latter are not recognized as a linguistic group worthy to be protected.

5.6 Community

The participation of the Latino community is important and especially the participation of the parents if there is an aspiration to keep Spanish and Latino culture. There is a strong need to maintain the language that is only in the parents, neither in the teachers, nor in the administrative staff, nor in the guests at the school. This is why parents are so important. They are the ones who have a vital role in bilingual schools to maintain the mother tongue, to really maintain bilingualism and prevent their children from becoming monolingual and later look for bilingual schools so that they can learn another language. Latino students have also an important role since they are making a great effort to learn two languages. The consequence of having discourses and practices that do not acknowledge the efforts and importance of parents and students of the Latino community is not only that they are not fully

participating but also it is not permitting the community to appropriate this space of bilingual schools. The entire community involved in the bilingual program would benefit. First of all, there would be a direct contact with Latino culture and real spoken Spanish, the leaving language used in real communications and not in books or in controlled contexts. Secondly the bilingualism of students would be better developed so they might become strong bilinguals.

5.7 Recommendations

In Canada English and French are the official languages and therefore the concept of bilingualism is not unfamiliar. There is a culture to protect English or French in context where the speakers of those languages are minority. However, in the linguistic reality of Canada other languages have an important presence. Among those languages is Spanish which is relevant for Canadian society not only because global agreements like NAFTA, but also because the Latino community has an important number of speakers of this language. Therefore, it would be important that in Canadian constitution other languages could be considered in order to attend the specific needs of, for example, the Latino community. In this sense, perhaps bilingual or multilingual schools should be the norm and not the exception. That is, maybe only English schools should transform into bilingual or even better multilingual schools to address the needs of a very diverse society, perhaps as in the Netherlands or Scandinavia.

Now, the previous idea might be considered and ideal, a utopia. However, it is feasible since in Canada there is a long history of bilingual education or immersion schools. The situation is that the existing bilingual schools, at least the schools that I studied, need to be adequate to include the participation of parents as representants of the Latino community. Policy makers need to be cognizant of monolingual habitus or institutionalized monolingualism. That is, bilingual or multilingual programs most consider the profound relationship between language and culture. In this sense, the culture of the taught language has to be an essential part of the programs and not using the “foreign” language just to

name the reality that is already known. For example, bilingual schools should not be using Spanish only to keep explaining the reality of a culture in English. For this to happen it is very important that schools encourage and foster the participation of the cultural groups representing the taught languages. Besides, in the schools should be teachers prepared to teach not only second and first languages but also heritage languages as well as professionals to help diverse bilingual or multilingual learners. Finally, language test should not be a method for allowing or denying entrance to bilingual or multilingual schools, it should be only a tool to help teachers to know the students entering the school.

The final comment is an invitation to the Latino community. It is very important that you appropriate of these spaces, these bilingual schools that already exist. There is need of a more active participation from you since it can open spaces to express our cultural and linguistic identities, our Latino identity. Many researchers have shown how the participation of parents are key when defending the right of their children to maintain their mother tongue and their culture. In the US several experiments with bilingual education have emerged because of the demands of the parents. Also in Canada, the French immersion program was created because a group of parents organized and demanded the government to fulfill their need to learn French. Then, as parents, we have a lot to say and do from identifying our needs to organizing to propose changes in the bilingual programs.

In summary then this dissertation asked two main questions: 1. What are the dominant discourses and practices regarding the participation of native speakers of Spanish and with heritage language knowledge in Spanish bilingual programs? And 2: What are the consequences of these discourses.

With respect to the first question, we have found that the native speakers of Spanish in the city of Calgary, the educational arrangements in question were divided in their loyalties and concerns. Some wished to enroll their children in these bilingual programs as they believed that it would help maintain their heritage language and also help their children learn English. Others did not enroll their children as they thought that the heritage Spanish language could either be best maintained at home and that the

primary concern of the children was the mastery of English. The administrators and teachers had no particular position on the role that native Spanish speakers from Latin America might play in the school. They were not at present concerned to make an effort to recruit native speakers of Spanish as pupils in the school. The second question, namely the consequences of these discourses, is that very few members of the Latino community in the city in question actually enrolled their children in the Spanish bilingual programs that exist. This is to the detriment both of the children who are and who are not native speakers of Spanish.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: BASE QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

Questions to teachers, vice principals and principals of Calgary Board of Education

1. Suppose that you are a child Spanish speaker who recently arrived in Canada and have to choose between regular program and Spanish bilingual program, which one would you choose and why?
2. Some people say that children speakers of Spanish should not attend schools where Spanish bilingual programs are offered because these programs are not meant to maintain language, they are not heritage language schools, what would you say?
3. What do you think the ideal Spanish bilingual program is?
4. Why do you think Latino community have not a more important presence, in terms of number, in the school?

Questions to Latino community members

1. What have been your experience with bilingual schools? What have you been your experience with the educative system in this city?
2. Would you share any occasion in which the use of Spanish became an issue or a virtue at school?
3. Some people say that children speakers of Spanish should not attend schools where Spanish bilingual programs are offered because these programs are not meant to maintain language, they are not heritage language schools, what would you say?
4. Why do you think Latino community have not a more important presence, in terms of number, in the school?
5. Suppose that you could design a program for your child, how would it be?

APPENDIX B: FORMAT OF INFORMED CONSENT FROM CFREB



Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Edna Alvarez Murillo, Werklund School of Education, Department of Language and Literacy

XXX-XXX-XXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Supervisor:

Dr. XXX XXX, Werklund School of Education, Department of Language and Literacy

Title of Project:

Diverging paths: Spanish bilingual schools and Latino community case study in Calgary

Sponsor:

None

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to find out why Latino community is almost absent from Spanish bilingual schools. Latino community is the fifth visible minority group in Calgary and the Spanish bilingual program is the most popular program in bilingual education also in Calgary. However, the participation of Latino community is very low compared with other communities like Chinese community. Then, I want to analyze the factors involved in this dissociation between Latino community and Spanish bilingual schools.

What Will I Be Asked To Do?

You will be interviewed once for about 30 minutes to 1 hour. The interviews will be audiotaped and in case extra information is needed I will contact you in person in case a second interview is required. I will also need to observe one day certain activities in the classroom or during the interviews with the families and in which cases you only need to follow the normal routine in the classroom or the natural sequence of the interview.

Your participation is completely voluntary, you may refuse to participate altogether, may refuse to participate in parts of the study, may decline to answer any and all questions, and may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

No personal identifying information will be collected in this study, and all participants shall remain anonymous.

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to provide your gender, age, position (applies only for schools) and ethnicity

Regarding the recordings only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to them and they are never be shown in public

There are several options for you to consider if you decide to take part in this research. You can choose all, some, or none of them. Please review each of these options and choose Yes or No:"

I grant permission to be audio-taped: Yes: ___ No: ___

I wish to remain anonymous: Yes: ___ No: ___

I wish to remain anonymous, but you may refer to me by a pseudonym: Yes: ___ No: ___

The pseudonym I choose for myself is: _____

You may quote me and use my name: Yes: ___ No: ___

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate?

There are no risks, harms or benefits in this study

The only inconvenience is that I will interfere in your routine.

What Happens to the Information I Provide?

No one except the researcher and her supervisor will be allowed to see or hear any of the answers to the interview tape and the notes taken from observation. There are no names on the interview or observation. Only group information will be summarized for any presentation or publication of results. The interviews and notes from observation are kept in a locked cabinet only accessible by the researcher and her supervisor. The anonymous data will be stored for five years on a computer disk, at which time, it will be permanently erased.”

Participants are free to withdraw until XXXXX and all data the participant contributed to the study will be destroyed

Would you like to receive a summary of the study’s results?

If yes, please provide your contact information (e-mail address, or phone number)

“Are you interested in being contacted about a follow-up interview, with the understanding that you can always decline the request?” Yes: ___ No: ___

Signatures

Your signature on this form indicates that 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate in the research project.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: _____ (please print)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: _____ (please print)

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Edna Alvarez Murillo

Werklund School of Education

Department of Language and Literacy

Telephone: XXX XXX XXXX

Email: XXXXXXXX

Dr. XXXXXXXX

Werklund School of Education

Department of Language and Literacy

Email: XXXXXXXXXXX

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact the Research Ethics Analyst, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at XXXXXXXX or XXXXXXXX; email XXXXXXXX. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The investigator has kept a copy of the consent form.

APPENDIX C: SPANISH BILINGUAL PROGRAM (K-12)



[CBE Home](#) [Programs](#) [Program Options](#) [Language Programs](#) Spanish Bilingual Program (K-12)

Language Programs

Spanish Bilingual Program (K-12)

The Spanish Bilingual Program provides students with the opportunity to acquire the basic skills for speaking, reading, writing, listening and communicating in both English and Spanish at a young age. It is a program in which Spanish and English are used as the languages of instruction, beginning in Kindergarten or Grade 1 and continuing to Grade 12.

Who Can Register

- Children entering kindergarten or Grade 1 can register.
- Previous Spanish experience is not required and parents do not need to know the language.
- Students with previous Spanish language experience may start the Spanish Bilingual program at other grade levels. In the case of alternate entry points, the student, parents and principal of the designated school will meet to determine a personalized plan for successful entry.

ALTERNATIVE PROGRAM REGISTRATION

Register your child today for a language program.

Start Registration

(<http://www.cbe.ab.ca/registration/registration/Pages/alternative-program.s.aspx>)

Benefits of Learning Spanish

- Expands the intellect
- Teaches responsible citizenship
- Develops enhanced feelings of self-esteem and pride in having acquired an additional language
- Strengthens English literacy skills
- Encourages the joy of lifelong learning
- Promotes exploration, understanding and appreciation of the cultures of the Spanish-speaking world and contributes to multilingualism and multiculturalism
- Allows students to compete internationally
- Provides students with more choices for advanced education and career options
- Broadens students' cultural life through access to literature, art, music and theatre in another language

Benefits of Spanish Bilingual Program

- In elementary, a 50/50 split in instructional time between English and Spanish allows students to build fluency in both languages. Children learn to understand and respond appropriately in Spanish in a range of everyday situations.

Languages of Instruction

From K to grade 6:

- Spanish Language Arts and Math are taught in Spanish

<http://cbe.ab.ca/programs/program-options/language-programs/Page#spanish-bilingual-program.aspx>

From 7 to 9:

- Spanish Language Arts and Math are taught in Spanish
- English Language Arts is taught in English
- Other subjects are taught in English or Spanish or bilingually as determined by schools

From 10 to 12:

- Spanish Language Arts is taught in Spanish
- Other subjects are taught in English or Spanish as determined by schools

Find a School

APPENDIX D: IS SPANISH BILINGUAL PROGRAM THE RIGHT CHOICE FOR MY CHILD?

cbe.ab.ca

en Español

Is Spanish Bilingual the right choice for my child?



Benefits of learning Spanish Bilingual:

- Given how Covid-19 has impacted schools, is Spanish Bilingual the right choice for my child?

Yes! The Calgary Board of Education believes that every child is hardwired to learn languages. With highly qualified and committed teachers, your child's learning experience will be the best it can be regardless of how and where learning takes place. Spanish Bilingual teachers have been very successful using technology to connect, engage and continue to learn in both Spanish and English.

What are the benefits of learning an additional language?

- Learning Spanish as an additional language offers students significant linguistic, academic and cognitive benefits. It opens doors to knowledge, communication, culture and travel, and gives students an edge in the global job market. It also:
- increases a student's feelings of self-esteem and pride in knowing another language
- enhances problem solving abilities
- improves literacy and numeracy skills that transfer across English and Spanish

How can I support my child if I don't speak Spanish?

- The Spanish Bilingual Program is designed for students whose first language is not Spanish, so you don't need any special skills. Your child's teacher is highly trained to teach Spanish using research-informed strategies.
- Language skills are integrated and transferable. For that reason, talk, listen, read and write with your child in your home language and these will set a strong foundation for acquiring Spanish in school.
- Help your child broaden their vocabulary in their first language.
- Have your child read to you in the target language and have them tell you what it means.
- To improve listening comprehension skills, have your child record themselves reading something and then listen to it.

learning | as unique | as every student



APPENDIX E: FEES & WAIVERS

5/10/23, 12:23 PM

Central Fee Waiver | Fees & Waivers | Registration | Calgary Board of Education



[CBE Home](#) > [Registration](#) > [Fees & Waivers](#) > Central Fee Waiver

Fees & Waivers

Central Fee Waiver

No child is ever denied access to an education in the CBE because of an inability to pay. If you can't afford the fees, there are several ways to qualify for a central fee waiver.

Approved applications will have the following fees (if applicable) waived for the school year:

- Transportation
- Lunch Supervision
- Student Supplies
- Musical Instrument Rental

How to Qualify

Waiver applications for the current school year are available from August 15 through your **MyCBE** (<https://sis.cbe.ab.ca/public/>) account. The deadline for waiver applications is June 30 of the applicable school year. Waiver applications that are submitted past the deadline may not be approved.

A new fee waiver application form must be completed for each school year.

Waiver Category	Description	Supporting Documents
Low Income with proof of government support	<p>A family is approved for a municipal or provincial support program during the current school year, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ City of Calgary's Fair Entry program (https://www.calgary.ca/csp/cns/neighbourhood-services/programs-and-services-for-low-income-calgarians.html), ▪ Alberta Child Health Benefit (https://www.alberta.ca/alberta-child-health-benefit.aspx), ▪ Assured Income for the Severely Handicapped (AISH) (https://www.alberta.ca/aish.aspx) OR ▪ Provincial Monthly Support (https://www.alberta.ca/income-support.aspx). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ City of Calgary Fair Entry letter, OR ▪ Alberta Child Health Benefit letter and card, OR ▪ Social Services benefit card, or current letter verifying your receipt of benefits <p>Both the applicant and student(s) names must appear on the documents</p>
Low income due to sudden loss of income	<p>A family suddenly falls under the low income threshold (as defined by the Alberta Child Health Benefit (https://www.alberta.ca/alberta-child-health-benefit.aspx) guide). The loss of income may be due to job loss, illness/injury, or enrolment in a full-time post-secondary institution, etc.</p>	<p>Proof of current household income, suggested supporting documents:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Recent Notice of Assessment ▪ Government benefit statements (e.g. Employment Insurance benefits, social services benefits, etc.) ▪ Pay stubs or proof of self-employment income if currently employed ▪ Any other relevant documents to support your application

Government Sponsored Refugee	A family are Convention refugees sponsored by the Government of Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Parent(s) "Confirmation of Residency" papers indicating Convention Refugee and a current Citizenship and Immigration cheque stub, OR ▪ A copy of current dated Interim Federal Health Certificate of Eligibility for applicant and children.
Death of a Parent/Legal Guardian or Student	A family has experienced the death of a parent/legal guardian or student within 12 months of the school year.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Obituary, OR ▪ Funeral program, OR ▪ Death certificate
Family Emergency	A family has experienced a traumatic life event (such as a natural disaster or a life-altering illness/injury) and are unable to pay for school fees as a result.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Proof of current household (see low income due to sudden loss of income category for suggested supporting documents) ▪ Evidence of catastrophic event (e.g. police report, doctor's note insurance claim, court order, eviction notice, etc. ▪ Any other documents to support your application
Shelter/Social Services Protection	A family resides in a shelter or is under social services protection.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Letter from recognized social services or shelter organization

How to Apply

Please note: In addition to the steps below to have fees waived, you will still need to register for all services by filling out and submitting the required online forms.

Step 1:

Review the waiver categories and gather your supporting documents. Photocopies are accepted.

Step 2:

Complete the Central Fee Waiver application online at **MyCBE** (<http://www.cbe.ab.ca/mycbe>) . Refer to the categories above to ensure that you provide all the supporting documents. Applications that do not have all the required documentation cannot be assessed.

Applications can take up to 8-12 weeks to process. To allow sufficient time to process your application, please apply as soon as possible. The final deadline for application is June 30 of the applicable school year.

Instruction Sheet:

- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - English](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-English.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-English.pdf>)
- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - Arabic](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Arabic.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Arabic.pdf>)
- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - Chinese](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Chinese.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Chinese.pdf>)
- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - Hindi](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Hindi.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Hindi.pdf>)
- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - Korean](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Korean.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Korean.pdf>)
- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - Spanish](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Spanish.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Spanish.pdf>)
- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - Tagalog](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Tagalog.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Tagalog.pdf>)
- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - Urdu](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Urdu.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Urdu.pdf>)
- [Apply for a Central Fee Waiver - Vietnamese](https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Vietnamese.pdf) (<https://cbe.ab.ca/registration/fees-and-waivers/Documents/Apply-for-a-Central-Fee-Waiver-Vietnamese.pdf>)

General Information

- Central Fee Waivers are approved on an annual basis. Waivers can only be applied to the current school year's fees.

- Complete **one fee waiver application form per student** by submitting your application and supporting documentation online using your **MyCBE** (<https://sis.cbe.ab.ca/public/home.html>) account.
- Approval is not guaranteed with the submission of the waiver.
- If your waiver application is denied or not processed due to lack of supporting documentation, you are responsible to pay your child's school fees.
- Please allow 8-12 weeks for processing your waiver. If you have not received a reply from the CBE after 8 weeks, please send your inquiries to feewaiver@cbe.ab.ca (<mailto:feewaiver@cbe.ab.ca>).
- If you apply for a waiver, you must still register for school bus transportation and lunch supervision if your child uses these services.
- You will be notified regarding your submission's approval or denial by email and you can find the decision in your **MyCBE** (<https://sis.cbe.ab.ca/public/home.html>) account.
- You may be contacted by email or phone to clarify your application.
- Please review the information regarding criteria and documents required for submission carefully as they have been expanded to clarify the process and to accommodate changes to government support programs.
- Legal guardians must be on file with the school in the student demographic information.

Low Income Cut-Off Guidelines

Size of Family	Total Income
1 person	\$27,514
2 persons	\$34,254
3 persons	\$42,111
4 persons	\$51,128
5 persons	\$57,989
6 persons	\$65,401
7 or more persons	\$72,814

Please note: Please note: CBE follows the Statistics Canada Low Income Cut-Off income guideline to determine waiver eligibility.

Contact Us

Central Fee Waivers
e | feewaiver@cbe.ab.ca (<mailto:feewaiver@cbe.ab.ca>)

Supporting Documents

- **Lunch Supervision Manual for Students and Families**
(<https://cbe.ab.ca/programs/noon-supervision/Documents/Noon-Supervision-For-Families.pdf>)

Online Services



(<https://sis.cbe.ab.ca/public/home.html>)

Click the button to pay fees, apply for a waiver, or register for noon supervision.

APPENDIX F: DEMOGRAPHICS OF LATIN AMERICANS IN CANADA

5/10/23, 12:23 PM

Latin American Canadians - Wikipedia

Latin American Canadians

Latin American Canadians (**French**: *Canadiens d'Amérique latine*; **Portuguese**: *Canadenses da América Latina*; **Spanish**: *Canadienses de América Latina*) are **Canadians** who are descendants of people from countries of **Latin America**. The majority of Latin American Canadians are **multilingual**, primarily speaking **Spanish**, **Portuguese**, **French** and **English**. Most are fluent in one or both of Canada's two official languages, **English** and **French**. Spanish and Portuguese are **Romance languages** and share similarities in **morphology** and **syntax** with French.

Latin American Canadians
Total population
580,235 (all, 2021 Census) ^[1] 1.6% of the total Canadian population (2021)
Regions with significant populations
Toronto, Montreal, Longueuil
Languages
Canadian English, Canadian French, Spanish, Portuguese, Spanglish, Frespañol
Religion
Predominantly Christianity (Roman Catholicism ; minority Protestantism)
Related ethnic groups
Latin Americans , Hispanic and Latino Americans , Spanish Canadians , Portuguese Canadians , Native Americans

Latin American Canadians have made distinguished contributions to Canada in all major fields, including [politics](#), the [military](#), [music](#), [philosophy](#), [sports](#), [business](#) and [economy](#), and [science](#).

The largest Latin American immigrant groups in Canada are Mexican Canadians, Colombian Canadians, and Salvadoran Canadians.

History

The majority of Latin American Canadians are recent immigrants who arrived in the late 20th century from [Mexico](#), [Colombia](#), [El Salvador](#), [Puerto Rico](#), [Peru](#) with smaller communities from [Chile](#), [Venezuela](#), [Brazil](#), [Cuba](#), [Guatemala](#), and elsewhere, with nearly all Latin American countries represented.^[2] Reasons for immigrating include Canada's better economic opportunities and politics or civil war and [political repression](#) in their native countries, as in the case of [Cubans](#) fleeing from the [Fidel Castro](#) revolution, [Chileans](#) escaping from [Augusto Pinochet](#)'s rule, [Salvadorans](#) fleeing from the [Salvadoran Civil War](#), [Peruvians](#) escaping from the [Internal conflict in Peru](#), [Dominicans](#) opposed to the regimes of [Rafael Trujillo](#) and [Joaquin Balaguer](#), [Mexicans](#) escaping from the [Mexican Drug War](#), [Colombians](#) from the violence in their country and [Venezuelans](#) opposed to the rule of the [Socialist Unity Party](#).

Demographics

As of the [2021 Canadian Census](#), the largest Latin American communities are in the [census metropolitan areas](#) of [Toronto](#) (396,459; 3.5%),^[3] [Montreal](#) (287,856; 3.2%),^[4] [Vancouver](#) (151,500; 2.0%),^[5] [Calgary](#) (134,395; 2.3%),^[6] [Edmonton](#) (121,960; 1.6%),^[7] [Ottawa](#) (90,620; 1.4%),^[8] and [Hamilton](#) (30,605; 1.9%).^[8] The fastest growing are in the provinces of [Alberta](#), [Manitoba](#), and [Nova Scotia](#).













Latin American population of Canada by census year

Census	Latin American population	Change from previous census	Total Canadian population	Change from previous census	Latin American population (%)
1996 ^[9]	176,970	N/A	28,528,125	N/A	0.6%
2001 ^[10]	216,980	22.6%	29,639,030	3.9%	0.7%
2006 ^[11]	304,245	40.2%	31,241,030	5.4%	1%
2011 ^[12]	381,280	25.3%	32,852,325	5.2%	1.2%
2016	447,325	17.3%	34,460,065	4.9%	1.3%

Latin American Canadian population in Canada by province or territory according to the Census

Province	Latin Americans 2001	% 2001	Latin Americans 2011	% 2011	Latin Americans 2016	% 2016	Latin Americans 2021
 Ontario	106,835	0.9%	172,560	1.4%	195,950	1.5%	249,190
 Québec	59,520	0.8%	116,380	1.5%	133,920	1.7%	172,925
 Alberta	18,745	0.6%	41,305	1.2%	55,090	1.4%	66,520
 British Columbia	23,885	0.6%	35,465	0.8%	44,115	1.0%	65,970
 Manitoba	4,775	0.4%	9,140	0.8%	9,895	0.8%	12,835
 Saskatchewan	2,010	0.2%	3,255	0.3%	4,195	0.4%	5,680
 Nova Scotia	520	0.0%	1,360	0.2%	1,685	0.2%	2,915
 New Brunswick	425	0.0%	1,160	0.2%	1,285	0.2%	2,450
 Prince Edward Island	75	0.1%	235	0.2%	255	0.2%	585
 Newfoundland and Labrador	80	0.0%	185	0.0%	635	0.1%	755
 Yukon	45	0.1%	105	0.3%	130	0.4%	235
 Northwest Territories	60	0.2%	105	0.3%	135	0.3%	125
 Nunavut	10	0.0%	30	0.1%	40	0.1%	60
 Canada	216,980	0.8%	381,280	1.2%	447,325	1.3%	580,235

Immigration

Latin Americans in Canada by country of origin (2016) ^[13]			
Region	Number of immigrants	% of Latin American immigrants	% of total immigrant population
 Mexico	80,585	18.8%	1.1%
 Colombia	70,035	16.4%	0.9%
 El Salvador	48,075	11.2%	0.6%
 Peru	29,620	6.9%	0.4%
 Brazil	29,116	6.8%	0.4%
 Chile	26,705	6.2%	0.4%
 Venezuela	20,775	4.9%	0.3%
 Argentina	19,425	4.5%	0.3%
 Cuba	17,850	4.2%	0.2%
 Guatemala	17,270	4%	0.2%
 Ecuador	14,970	3.5%	0.2%
 Dominican Republic	10,605	2.5%	0.2%
 Nicaragua	9,865	2.3%	0.1%
 Honduras	7,785	1.8%	0.1%
 Paraguay	7,300	1.7%	0.1%
 Uruguay	6,535	1.5%	0.1%
 Bolivia	4,395	1%	0.1%
 Costa Rica	3,945	0.9%	0.1%
 Panama	2,620	0.6%	0%
 Puerto Rico	505	0.1%	0%
Total Latin American immigrant population	428,180	100%	5.5%
Total immigrant population	7,482,860	N/A	100%

Latin Americans in Canada by country of origin (2016) ^[13]			
Region	Number of immigrants	% of Latin American immigrants	% of total immigrant population

List of Canadian census subdivisions with Latin American populations higher than the national average

Source: [Canada 2016 Census](#)^[14]

National average: 1.3%

Alberta

- [Brooks](#) (4.3%)
- [Calgary](#) (2.1%)
- [Edmonton](#) (1.9%)
- [Red Deer](#) (1.8%)
- [Lethbridge](#) (1.7%)

British Columbia

- [Greater Vancouver A](#) (2.1%)
- [Burnaby](#) (2%)
- [New Westminster](#) (1.8%)
- [Vancouver](#) (1.8%)
- [Port Moody](#) (1.7%)
- [Coquitlam](#) (1.6%)

Manitoba

- [Brandon](#) (5%)

Ontario

- [Bradford](#) (3.4%)
- [Leamington](#) (3%)
- [Toronto](#) (2.9%)

- [Kitchener](#) (2.6%)
- [Brampton](#) (2.4%)
- [London](#) (2.4%)
- [Milton](#) (2.4%)
- [Vaughan](#) (2.4%)
- [Mississauga](#) (2.3%)
- [Oakville](#) (1.9%)
- [St. Catharines](#) (1.7%)
- [Hamilton \(city\)](#) (1.6%)

Quebec

- [Brossard](#) (4.3%)
- [Montreal](#) (4.1%)
- [Dorval](#) (3.6%)
- [Longueuil](#) (3.1%)
- [Laval](#) (3%)
- [Saint-Lambert](#) (2.8%)
- [L'Île-Perrot](#) (2.6%)
- [Châteauguay](#) (2.6%)
- [Candiac](#) (2.3%)
- [Dollard-des-Ormeaux](#) (2.1%)
- [Sherbrooke](#) (1.7%)
- [Terrebonne](#) (1.7%)

List of notable Latin American Canadians

Music

- [Eva Avila](#), pop singer and 2006 *Canadian Idol* winner
- [Boogat](#), rapper

See also



- Latino
- Latin American diaspora
- Hispanic Americans
- Portuguese Canadians
- Spanish Canadians

References

- ↑ Statistics Canada "Census Profile, 2016 Census Canada [Country] and Canada [Country]" (<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/hlt-fst/imm/Table.cfm?Lang=E&T=33&Geo=3520&SO=4D>) . Retrieved 11 April 2019. {{ cite web}} : Check |url= value (help)
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- ↑ "Profile table, Census Profile, 2021 Census of Population - Toronto [Census metropolitan area], Ontario" (<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&SearchText=Toronto&DGUIDlist=2021S0503535&GENDERlist=1,2,3&STATISTIClist=1&HEADERlist=0>) . 9 February 2022.
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APPENDIX G: DEMOGRAPHICS OF ALBERTA

Demographics of Alberta - Wikipedia

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Demographics of Alberta

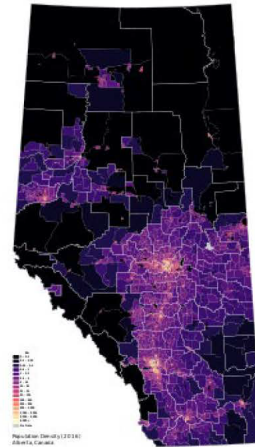
Article Talk

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Alberta has experienced a relatively high rate of growth in recent years, due in large part to its economy. Between 2003 and 2004, the province saw high birthrates (on par with some larger provinces such as British Columbia), relatively high immigration, and a high rate of interprovincial migration when compared to other provinces.^[1] Approximately 81% of the population live in urban areas and only about 19% live in rural areas. The Calgary–Edmonton Corridor is the most urbanized area in Alberta and is one of Canada's four most urban regions.^[2] Many of Alberta's cities and towns have also experienced high rates of growth in recent history. From a population of 73,022 in 1901, Alberta has grown to 3,645,257 in 2011 and in the process has gone from less than 1.5% of Canada's population to 10.9%.^[3] As of July 1, 2018, Alberta's population represented 11.6% of Canada's total population of 37,058,856 making it the fourth most populated province in Canada.^{[4][a]} According to the 2018 third quarter report, Alberta's population increased by 23,096 to 4,330,206, the largest increase since the 2014 economic downturn.^{[5][6]}

Contents

- Population history
- Population geography
 - Census divisions
 - Census metropolitan areas
 - Census agglomerations
 - Census subdivisions
 - Population centres
 - Designated places
- Ethnic origins
 - Other ethnic groups
 - Future projections
- Visible minorities and Aboriginals
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 - Knowledge of languages
 - Mother tongue
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 - Recent immigration



https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Alberta#Ethnic_origins[2023-05-10 2:31:16 PM]

[Interprovincial migration](#)

[See also](#)

[Notes](#)

[References](#)

Population history [Edit](#)

Graphs are temporarily unavailable due to technical issues.
[Learn more](#)

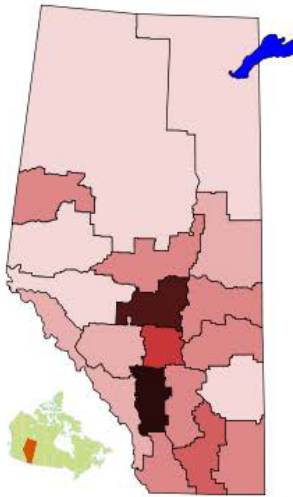
Year	Population ^[7]	Five Year % change	Ten Year % change	Percentage of Canadian Pop.	Rank Among Provinces
1901	73,022†	n/a	n/a	1.4	9
1911	374,295	n/a	412.6	5.2	7
1921	588,454	n/a	57.2	6.7	5
1931	731,605	n/a	24.3	7.0	4
1941	796,169	n/a	8.8	6.9	5
1951	939,501	n/a	18.0	6.7	4
1956	1,123,116	19.5	n/a	n/a	4
1961	1,331,944	18.6	41.8	7.3	4
1969	1,463,203	9.9	30.3	n/a	4
1971	1,627,875	11.3	22.2	7.5	4
1976	1,838,035	12.9	25.6	n/a	4
1981	2,237,724	21.7	37.5	9.2	4
1986	2,365,830	5.7	28.7	9.3	4
1991	2,545,553	7.6	13.8	9.3	4
1996	2,696,826	5.9	14.0	9.3	4
2001	2,974,807	10.3	16.9	9.9	4
2006	3,290,350	10.6	22.0	10.4	4
2011	3,645,257	10.8	22.5	10.9	4
2016	4,067,175	11.6	23.6	11.6	4
2021	4,262,635	4.8	16.9	11.5	4

† 1901 population for [District of Alberta](#), part of the then-named [North-West Territories](#).

Population geography Edit

Census divisions Edit

Main article: List of census divisions of Alberta



Census metropolitan areas Edit

As of the 2011 census, Alberta had two *census metropolitan areas* (CMAs) recognized by Statistics Canada. A third one was added in the 2016 census.

The following is a list of the recent population history of the Calgary and Edmonton CMAs.

Alberta's census divisions by population

CMA name ^[8]	2021 ^[9]	2016 ^[10]	2011 ^[8]	2006 ^[11]	2001 ^[12]	1996 ^[13]	Census division
Calgary	1,481,806	1,374,655	1,214,839	1,079,310	951,395 ^[CMA 1]	821,628	Division No. 6
Edmonton	1,418,118	1,297,280	1,159,869	1,034,945	937,845	862,597	Division No. 11

The third CMA added in 2016 is Lethbridge, and its population history is as follows:

CMA name ^[8]	2021 ^[9]	2016 ^[10]	Census division
Lethbridge	123,847	113,920	Division No. 2

The fourth CMA added in 2021 is Red Deer, and its population history is as follows:

CMA name	2021 ^[9]	Census division
Red Deer	100,844	Division No. 8

CMA notes:

- [^] In the 2006 census, the 2001 population of the Calgary was adjusted to 951,494 due to a boundary expansion.

Census agglomerations

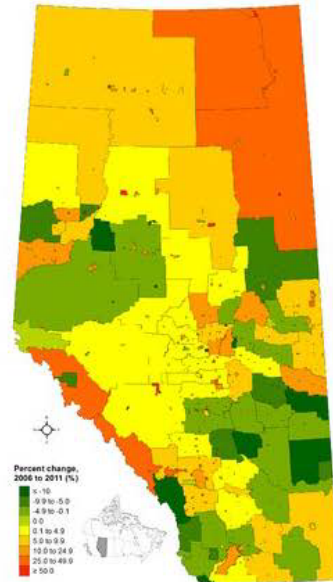
[Edit](#)

Main article: List of census agglomerations in Alberta

Census subdivisions

[Edit](#)

As of the 2006 census, Alberta had 453 *census subdivisions* (*municipalities* and municipal equivalents) recognized by Statistics Canada. The following is a list of those census subdivisions with a population of 10,000 or greater.



Population growth of Alberta's census subdivisions between 2006 and 2011 censuses

Name ^[14]	Municipal status ^[15]	2011 ^[16]	2006 ^[14]	2001 ^[17]	1996 ^[18]	Notes
Calgary	City	1,096,833	988,193	878,866	768,082	
Edmonton	City	812,201	730,372	666,104	616,306	
Strathcona County	Specialized municipality	92,490	82,511	71,986	64,176	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Red Deer	City	90,564	82,772	67,707	60,075	
Lethbridge	City	83,517	74,637	67,374	63,053	
Wood Buffalo	Specialized municipality	65,565	51,496	41,466	35,213	
St. Albert	City	61,466	57,719	53,081	46,888	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Medicine Hat	City	60,005	56,997	51,249	46,783	
Grande Prairie	City	55,032	47,076	36,983	31,140	
Airdrie	City	42,564	28,927	20,382	15,946	Located within the Calgary CMA

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Rocky View County	Municipal district	36,461	34,171	30,688	23,326	Located within the Calgary CMA
Parkland County	Municipal district	30,568	29,265	27,252	24,769	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Spruce Grove	City	26,171	19,496	15,983	14,271	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Okotoks	Town	24,511	17,145	11,664	8,510	
Leduc	City	24,279	16,967	15,032	14,305	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Foothills No. 31	Municipal district	21,258	19,736	16,764	13,714	
County of Grande Prairie No. 1	Municipal district	20,347	17,970	15,638	13,750	
Sturgeon County	Municipal district	19,578	18,621	18,067	15,945	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Fort Saskatchewan	City	19,051	14,957	13,121	12,408	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Red Deer County	Municipal district	18,351	19,108	18,639	17,126	
Lloydminster	City	18,032	15,910	13,148	11,317	Population totals do not include the part of the city located within Saskatchewan
Cochrane	Town	17,580	13,780	11,798	7,424	Located within Calgary CMA
Camrose	City	17,286	15,620	14,854	13,728	
Stony Plain	Town	15,051	12,363	9,589	8,274	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Chestermere	Town	14,824	9,564	3,414	1,911	
Beaumont	Town	13,284	8,961	7,006	5,810	Located within the Edmonton CMA
Cold Lake	City	13,839	11,991	11,520	4,089	
Brooks	City	13,676	12,498	11,604	10,093	
Leduc County	Municipal district	13,541	12,730	12,528	12,361	Located within the Edmonton CMA
High River	Town	12,920	10,716	9,345	7,359	
Wetaskiwin	City	12,525	11,673	11,154	10,959	
Mountain View	Municipal					

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Alberta#Ethnic_origins[2023-05-10 2:31:16 PM]

County	district	12,359	12,391	12,134	11,277	
Sylvan Lake	Town	12,327	10,208	7,493	5,178	
Strathmore	Town	12,305	10,225	7,621	5,282	
Canmore	Town	12,288	12,039	10,792	8,354	
Clearwater County	Municipal district	12,278	11,826	11,505	10,915	
Lacombe	City	11,707	10,742	9,384	8,018	
Yellowhead County	Municipal district	11,469	10,045	9,881	9,352	
Bonnyville No. 87	Municipal district	11,191	10,194	9,473	17,352	
Mackenzie County	Specialized municipality	10,927	10,002	8,829	7,980	
County of Wetaskiwin No. 10	Municipal district	10,866	10,535	10,695	10,467	
Lacombe County	Municipal district	10,312	10,451	10,159	10,081	
Lethbridge County	Municipal district	10,061	10,302	9,930	9,290	

Population centres Edit

Main article: List of population centres in Alberta

Designated places Edit

Main article: List of designated places in Alberta

Ethnic origins Edit

The ethnicities most commonly reported in the 2021 Census are shown in the table below. The percentages add up to more than 100% because of dual responses (e.g. "Irish-Canadian" generates an entry in both the category "Irish" and the category "Canadian").^[19]

Ethnic Group	Total	Percentage
English	766,070	18.3%
German	641,025	15.3%

Scottish	631,015	15.1%
Irish	561,915	13.5%
Canadian	484,655	11.6%
Ukrainian	343,640	8.2%
French	340,900	8.2%
Filipino	203,955	4.9%
Chinese	177,990	4.3%
Dutch (Netherlands)	174,625	4.2%
Polish	169,925	4.1%
Indian (South Asian)	155,700	3.7%
Norwegian	154,535	3.7%
British n.i.e.	124,835	3.0%
Métis	115,455	2.8%
Italian	98,730	2.4%
Russian	97,890	2.3%
Swedish	92,975	2.2%
Welsh	76,810	1.8%
Caucasian n.o.s.	73,475	1.8%

Other ethnic groups Edit

In addition to the groups listed above, the next most commonly reported (counting both single and multiple responses) were:

- 73,355 [First Nations n.o.s.](#) (1.8%);
- 70,790 [European n.o.s.](#) (1.7%);
- 66,100 [American](#) (1.6%);
- 62,465 [Cree](#) (1.5%);
- 56,190 [Danish](#) (1.3%);
- 51,360 [Hungarian](#) (1.2%);
- 40,165 [Spanish](#) (1.0%);
- 39,535 [Pakistani](#) (0.9%);

Demographics of Alberta - Wikipedia

- 39,395 Vietnamese (0.9%);
- 37,585 Punjabi (0.9%);
- 36,220 Austrian (0.9%);
- 34,225 African n.o.s. (0.8%);
- 32,365 French (0.8%);
- 31,565 Mennonite (0.8%);
- 31,530 Korean (0.8%);
- 31,255 Asian n.o.s. (0.7%);
- 28,860 Sikhs (0.7%);
- 28,480 Lebanese (0.7%);
- 26,600 Albertan (0.6%);
- 26,435 North American Indigenous n.o.s. (0.6%);
- 25,800 Northern Europe n.o.s. (0.6%);
- 25,450 Mexican (0.6%);
- 24,170 Korean (0.6%);
- 23,860 Arab n.o.s. (0.6%);
- 22,450 Swiss (0.5%);
- 21,985 Belgian (0.5%);
- 21,415 Portuguese (0.5%)

Future projections Edit

Ethnic origin by regional group

Group	2016 ^[20]		2036 ^{[21][22]}	
	Number	% of 2016 population (4,067,175)	Number	% of 2036 estimated population (6,201,000)
European origins	2,786,340	70.0%	3,505,000	56.5%
East and Southeast Asian origins	401,820	10.1%	953,000	15.4%
South Asian and Middle Eastern origins	308,610	7.8%	784,000	12.6%
Aboriginal origins	258,640	6.5%	447,000	7.2%
African origins	129,390	3.3%	320,000	5.2%

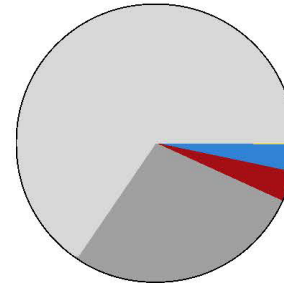
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Latin, Central and South American origins	55,090	1.4%	118,000	1.9%
Other	38,260	0.9%	92,000	1.5%

*Percentages total over 100% due to multiple responses, e.g. German-Indian, Norwegian-Irish.

Visible minorities and Aboriginals Edit

Visible minority and Aboriginal population (Canada 2021 Census)			
Population group		Population	% of total population
European		2,731,825	65.4%
Visible minority group Source: ^[25]	South Asian	297,650	7.1%
	Filipino	216,710	5.2%
	Black	177,945	4.3%
	Chinese	164,235	3.9%
	Arab	69,505	1.7%
	Latin American	66,520	1.6%
	Southeast Asian	54,005	1.3%
	West Asian	25,075	0.6%
	Korean	24,370	0.6%
	Japanese	13,560	0.3%
	Visible minority, n.i.e.	12,100	0.3%
	Multiple visible minority	39,740	1%
	Total visible minority population		1,161,420
Indigenous group Source: ^[26]	First Nations	145,640	3.5%
	Métis	127,470	3.1%
	Inuit	2,945	0.1%
	Aboriginal, n.i.e.	3,620	0.1%
	Multiple Aboriginal identity	4,785	0.1%
Total Aboriginal population		284,470	6.8%
Total population		4,177,715	100%



Indigenous and visible minority identity (2021).^{[23][24]}

- European Canadian (65.4%)
- Visible minority (27.8%)
- First Nations (3.5%)
- Métis (3.1%)
- Inuit (0.1%)
- Other Indigenous (0.2%)

Languages

Edit

Knowledge of languages

Edit

Knowledge of official languages of Canada in Alberta (2016)	
Language	Percent
English only	91.86%
French only	0.10%
English and French	6.57%
Neither English nor French	1.47%

The question on knowledge of languages allows for multiple responses. The following figures are from the 2021 *Canadian Census* and the 2016 *Canadian Census*, and lists languages that were selected by at least one per cent of respondents.

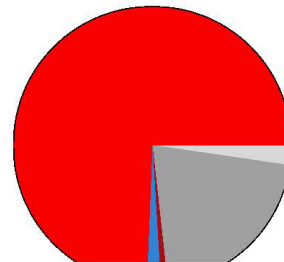
Knowledge of Languages in Alberta

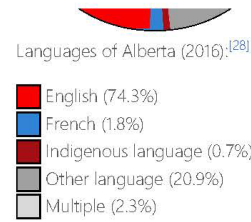
Language	2021 ^[27]		2016	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
English	4,109,720	98.37%	3,916,805	98.46%
French	260,415	6.23%	264,720	6.65%
Tagalog	172,625	4.13%	138,440	3.48%
Punjabi	126,385	3.03%	90,485	2.27%
Spanish	116,070	2.78%	104,445	2.63%
Hindi	94,015	2.25%	61,290	1.54%
Mandarin	82,095	1.97%	70,510	1.77%
Arabic	76,760	1.84%	62,730	1.58%
Cantonese	74,960	1.79%	74,770	1.88%
German	65,370 ^[b]	1.56% ^[b]	83,010	2.09%
Urdu	51,545	1.23%	41,235	1.04%

Mother tongue

Edit

Of the 3,978,145 singular responses to the 2016 census question concerning *mother tongue*, the languages most commonly reported were:^[29]





		2016	%	2011	%	2006	%	2001	%
1.	English	2,972,670	74.71%	2,780,200	78.37%	2,576,670	79.99%	2,379,515	81.84%
2.	Chinese	119,710	3.01%	105,470	2.97%	97,275	3.02%	78,205	2.69%
	<i>Cantonese</i>	59,580	1.50%	34,985	0.99%	32,485	1.01%	26,255	0.90%
	<i>Mandarin</i>	49,990	1.26%	19,325	0.54%	12,135	0.38%	5,580	0.19%
	<i>Min Nan languages (Teochow, Fukien, Taiwanese)</i>	3,075	0.08%	785	0.02%	400	0.01%	N	N
	<i>Hakka</i>	940	0.02%	325	0.01%	425	0.01%	570	0.02%
3.	Tagalog (Filipino/Pilipino)	98,360	2.47%	60,085	1.69%	29,740	0.92%	11,705	0.40%
4.	French	70,440	1.77%	68,545	1.93%	61,225	1.90%	58,645	2.02%
5.	Panjabi (Punjabi)	68,315	1.72%	49,940	1.41%	36,320	1.13%	22,535	0.78%
6.	German	63,570	1.60%	80,905	2.28%	84,505	2.62%	78,040	2.68%
7.	Spanish	54,685	1.37%	44,020	1.24%	29,125	0.90%	19,820	0.68%
8.	Arabic	40,695	1.02%	28,000	0.79%	20,495	0.64%	15,390	0.53%
9.	Urdu	26,860	0.68%	19,900	0.56%	11,275	0.35%	4,910	0.17%
10.	Vietnamese	23,015	0.58%	21,195	0.60%	19,350	0.60%	16,680	0.57%
11.	Selected Aboriginal languages	22,970	0.58%	22,005	0.62%	20,890	0.65%	18,470	0.64%
	<i>Cree</i>	17,125	0.43%	16,745	0.47%	17,215	0.53%	15,105	0.52%
	<i>Blackfoot</i>	3,385	0.09%	3,035	0.09%	3,015	0.09%	2,630	0.09%
	<i>Dene</i>	1,570	0.04%	1,680	0.05%	1,585	0.05%	1,495	0.05%
	<i>Ojibway</i>	630	0.02%	455	0.01%	615	0.02%	645	0.02%
12.	Ukrainian	21,215	0.53%	24,575	0.69%	29,455	0.91%	33,970	1.17%
13.	Polish	19,780	0.50%	19,890	0.56%	21,990	0.68%	20,635	0.71%
14.	Russian	17,465	0.44%	13,840	0.38%	10,145	0.31%	6,980	0.29%
15.	Korean	17,400	0.44%	13,885	0.39%	10,845	0.33%	6,330	0.22%
16.	Hindi	16,495	0.41%	12,290	0.35%	8,985	0.28%	6,315	0.22%
17.	Dutch	16,005	0.40%	17,950	0.51%	19,980	0.62%	19,575	0.67%
18.	Niger-Congo languages	15,515	0.30%	N	N	N	N	N	N

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	<i>Swahili</i>	2,390	0.06%	1,455	0.04%	850	0.03%	380	0.01%
	<i>Akan (Twi)</i>	1,765	0.04%	1,100	0.04%	345	0.01%	N	N
	<i>Kinyarwanda (Rwanda)</i>	770	0.02%	440	0.01%	60	0.01%	N	N
	<i>Rundi (Kirundi)</i>	570	0.01%	290	0.01%	50	0.01%	N	N
19.	Persian	14,835	0.37%	10,655	0.30%	7,700	0.24%	3,700	0.13%
20.	Gujarati	12,775	0.32%	8,675	0.24%	6,280	0.19%	4,910	0.17%
21.	Italian	11,475	0.29%	11,960	0.34%	13,095	0.41%	13,935	0.48%
22.	Somali	9,425	0.24%	5,515	0.16%	3,130	0.10%	810	0.03%
23.	Portuguese	8,565	0.22%	7,380	0.21%	7,205	0.22%	6,110	0.21%
24.	Romanian	8,255	0.21%	6,550	0.18%	4,370	0.14%	2,890	0.10%
25.	Amharic	7,015	0.18%	5,110	0.14%	2,785	0.09%	1,100	0.04%
26.	Bengali	6,940	0.17%	5,030	0.14%	2,710	0.08%	1,190	0.04%
27.	Hungarian	6,505	0.16%	6,700	0.19%	6,770	0.21%	6,985	0.24%
28.	Malayalam	6,230	0.16%	2,760	0.08%	1,550	0.05%	1,055	0.04%
29.	Ilocano	5,750	0.14%	3,010	0.08%	1,885	0.06%	N	N
30.	Cebuano and other Bisayan languages	5,025	0.13%	3,255	0.09%	1,370	0.04%	N	N
31.	Nepali	4,995	0.13%	1,605	0.05%	N	N	N	N
32.	Tamil	4,650	0.11%	2,645	0.07%	1,385	0.04%	1,110	0.04%
33.	Japanese	4,575	0.11%	4,560	0.13%	4,555	0.14%	3,625	0.12%
34.	Croatian	4,425	0.11%	3,960	0.11%	4,150	0.13%	4,195	0.14%
35.	Serbian	4,115	0.10%	3,560	0.10%	3,090	0.10%	2,125	0.07%
36.	Scandinavian languages	3,750	0.09%	4,935	0.14%	6,045	0.19%	6,795	0.23%
	<i>Danish</i>	2,225	0.06%	2,805	0.08%	3,510	0.11%	3,615	0.12%
	<i>Swedish</i>	785	0.02%	950	0.03%	1,145	0.04%	1,345	0.05%
	<i>Norwegian</i>	740	0.02%	1,180	0.03%	1,245	0.04%	1,670	0.06%
37.	Greek	3,285	0.08%	2,965	0.08%	3,305	0.10%	2,765	0.10%
38.	Afrikaans	3,050	0.08%	2,420	0.07%	N	N	N	N
39.	Sinhalese	2,935	0.07%	1,940	0.05%	835	0.03%	N	N
40.	Sindhi	2,835	0.07%	2,560	0.07%	2,000	0.06%	1,990	0.07%
41.	Turkish	2,760	0.07%	2,460	0.07%	1,605	0.05%	810	0.03%
42.	Czech	2,715	0.07%	2,880	0.08%	3,100	0.08%	3,520	0.12%
43.	Oromo language	2,615	0.07%	1,405	0.04%	N	N	N	N
44.	Albanian	2,435	0.06%	1,685	0.05%	N	N	N	N

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45.	Pashto	2,340	0.06%	1,850	0.05%	1,175	0.04%	275	0.01%
46.	Nilo-Saharan languages	2,310	0.06%	N	N	N	N	N	N
47.	Slovak	2,275	0.06%	2,145	0.06%	2,430	0.08%	1,605	0.06%
48.	Creole	2,120	0.05%	1,560	0.05%	415	0.01%	250	0.01%
49.	Khmer (Cambodian)	2,075	0.05%	1,745	0.05%	1,740	0.05%	1,450	0.05%
50.	Bosnian	2,020	0.05%	1,745	0.05%	1,745	0.05%	N	N

In addition to the table above, other mother tongues in Alberta include (including languages with more than 407 people, or 0.01 per cent of respondents):

- 2,010 [Telugu](#);
- 1,655 [Marathi](#);
- 1,595 [Hiligaynon](#);
- 1,505 [Bulgarian](#);
- 1,470 [Thai](#);
- 1,470 [Kurdish](#);
- 1,350 [Indo-Iranian languages](#), not included elsewhere;
- 1,310 [Malay](#);
- 1,100 [Serbo-Croatian](#);
- 1,075 [Lao](#);
- 1,050 [Hebrew](#);
- 975 [Pampangan](#);
- 870 [Sign languages](#);
- 835 [Finnish](#);
- 780 [Karenic languages](#);
- 755 [Mongolian](#);
- 710 [Tibetan](#);
- 655 [Lithuanian](#);
- 640 [Slovenian](#);
- 495 [Latvian](#);
- 445 [Armenian](#);
- 430 [Macedonian](#);

In addition to the single-language responses detailed above, about 88,765 people reported having more than one [mother tongue](#). There were 74,515 responses of both [English](#) and a non-official language; 2,785 of

both [French](#) and a non-official language; 10,005 of both [English](#) and [French](#); and 1,455 of [English](#), [French](#) and a non-official language.

Religion Edit

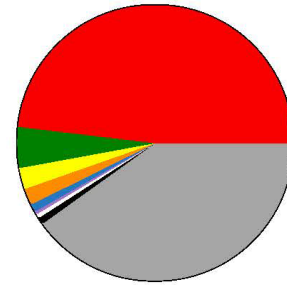
Just under 50 percent of Albertans identify as [Christian](#), while over 40 percent of residents identify with [no religion](#). The largest denominations are the [Roman Catholic](#), [United](#), [Anglican](#), [Lutheran](#), and [Eastern Orthodox](#) and [Oriental Orthodox](#) Churches.

Just over 1 percent of Albertans are members of [the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints](#), descended from [pioneers](#) who emigrated from [Utah](#) around the turn of the 20th century; there are three [temples](#) in the province. Alberta also has large numbers of [Pentecostal](#), [Presbyterians](#), and [evangelical](#) Christians.

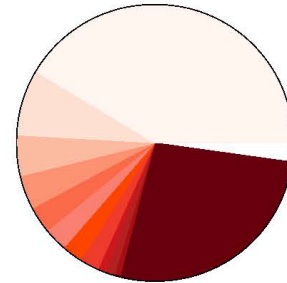
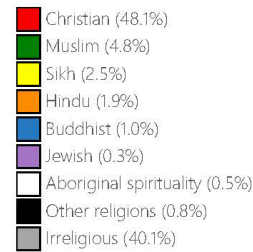
There are significant numbers of [Mennonites](#) and [Hutterites](#), which are communal [Anabaptist](#) sects. There are also many [Jehovah's Witnesses](#) and [Reformed](#) Christians, as well a significant population of [Seventh-day Adventists](#) in and around [Lacombe](#) where the [Canadian University College](#) is located.

Alberta is also home to several [Eastern Rite Churches](#) as part of the legacy of Eastern European immigrants, including the [Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy of Edmonton](#), and the [Ukrainian Orthodox Diocese of Edmonton and Western Canada](#). There are 500 [Doukhobors](#) living in their few communities across Southern Alberta.

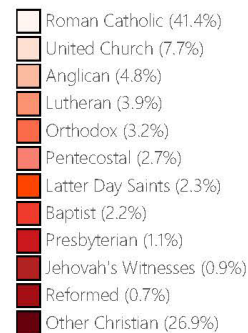
Many people of the [Hindu](#), [Sikh](#), and [Muslim](#) faiths also make Alberta their home; one of the largest [Sikh temples](#) in Canada is located just outside [Edmonton](#). Most of Alberta's Jewish population of 11,390 lives in [Calgary](#) and [Edmonton](#).



Religious affiliation (2021).^[30]



Christian sub-affiliation (2021).^[30]









Religion (2021) ¹	Denomination	Congregation	Proportion
Christian		2,009,820	48.1%
	<i>Anglican Church</i>	95,560	2.3%
	<i>Baptist</i>	44,605	1.1%
	<i>Catholic</i>	833,025	19.9%
	<i>Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox</i>	63,775	1.5%
	<i>Jehovah's Witnesses</i>	18,185	0.4%

	<i>Latter Day Saints</i>	47,125	1.1%
	<i>Lutheran</i>	78,925	1.9%
	<i>Methodist</i>	9,640	0.2%
	<i>Pentecostal</i>	53,900	1.3%
	<i>Presbyterian</i>	22,850	0.5%
	<i>Reformed</i>	14,735	0.4%
	<i>United Church</i>	153,820	3.7%
	<i>Other Christian</i>	541,520	15.2%
Muslim		202,535	4.8%
Sikh		103,600	2.5%
Hindu		78,520	1.9%
Buddhist		42,830	1.0%
Jewish		11,390	0.3%
Other Religions		33,220	0.8%
Aboriginal spirituality		19,755	0.5%
No religious affiliation		1,676,045	40.1%

^{^1} Statistics Canada. 2022. Alberta (table). National Household Survey (NHS) Profile. 2021 National Household Survey. Released October 26, 2022.^[30]

Religious groups in Alberta (1981–2021)

Religious group	2021 ^[31]		2011 ^[32]		2001 ^[33]		1991 ^[34]		1981 ^[35]	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
Christianity 	2,009,820	48.11%	2,152,200	60.32%	2,099,435	71.38%	1,928,745	76.56%	1,903,205	85.98%
Irreligion	1,676,045	40.12%	1,126,130	31.56%	694,840	23.62%	496,150	19.69%	260,015	11.75%
Islam 	202,535	4.85%	113,445	3.18%	49,045	1.67%	31,000	1.23%	16,865	0.76%
Sikhism 	103,600	2.48%	52,335	1.47%	23,470	0.8%	13,550	0.54%	5,985	0.27%
Hinduism 	78,520	1.88%	36,845	1.03%	15,965	0.54%	10,770	0.43%	7,360	0.33%
Buddhism 	42,830	1.03%	44,410	1.24%	33,410	1.14%	20,745	0.82%	6,200	0.28%
Indigenous spirituality	19,755	0.47%	15,100	0.42%	—	—	—	—	—	—
Judaism 	11,390	0.27%	10,900	0.31%	11,085	0.38%	9,950	0.39%	10,655	0.48%

Other	33,220	0.8%	16,605	0.47%	13,900	0.47%	8,270	0.33%	2,355	0.11%
Total responses	4,177,715	98.01%	3,567,975	97.88%	2,941,150	98.87%	2,519,180	98.96%	2,213,650	98.92%
Total population	4,262,635	100%	3,645,257	100%	2,974,807	100%	2,545,553	100%	2,237,724	100%

Migration Edit

Immigration Edit

Alberta Immigration Statistics^{[36]: 239 [37]: 108}


































Year	Immigrant percentage	Immigrant population	Total population
1901	42.8%	31,240	73,022
1911	56.8%	212,426	374,295
1921	46.5%	273,364	588,454
1931	41.8%	305,738	731,605
1941	32.5%	258,387	796,169
1951	25.5%	240,016	939,501
1961	21.7%	288,749	1,331,944
1971	17.3%	282,260	1,627,870

The 2021 census reported that immigrants (individuals born outside Canada) comprise 970,975 persons or 23.2 percent of the total population of Alberta.^[38]

Immigrants in Alberta by country of birth

Country of Birth	2021 ^{[38][39]}		2016 ^[40]		2011 ^{[41][42]}		2006 ^{[43][44]}		2001 ^{[45][46]}	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
 Philippines	167,735	17.3%	123,830	14.7%	69,575	10.8%	36,630	7%	24,800	5.7%
 India	122,145	12.6%	91,660	10.8%	59,020	9.2%	38,610	7.3%	24,670	5.6%
 China	61,390	6.3%	57,695	6.8%	49,595	7.7%	41,495	7.9%	27,630	6.3%
 United Kingdom	56,675	5.8%	59,215	7%	58,245	9%	60,210	11.4%	59,510	13.6%
 Pakistan	30,815	3.2%	28,080	3.3%	19,110	3%	12,095	2.3%	5,415	1.2%
 United States	30,540	3.1%	30,460	3.6%	31,050	4.8%	28,325	5.4%	27,510	6.3%
 Vietnam	27,875	2.9%	27,080	3.2%	26,020	4%	24,270	4.6%	22,005	5%
 Nigeria	21,065	2.2%	12,405	1.5%	5,575	0.9%	1,740	0.3%	985	0.2%
 Hong Kong	18,725	1.9%	19,115	2.3%	17,300	2.7%	17,455	3.3%	18,600	4.2%

Demographics of Alberta - Wikipedia

 Mexico	17,985	1.9%	15,665	1.9%	10,755	1.7%	5,970	1.1%	3,880	0.9%
 Germany	16,635	1.7%	19,200	2.3%	20,085	3.1%	21,570	4.1%	21,845	5%
 South Korea	16,180	1.7%	13,850	1.6%	9,575	1.5%	8,120	1.5%	5,290	1.2%
 Poland	15,595	1.6%	16,930	2%	16,335	2.5%	19,165	3.6%	19,680	4.5%
 Ethiopia	14,420	1.5%	10,565	1.2%	6,375	1%	3,655	0.7%	1,370	0.3%
 Netherlands	12,730	1.3%	14,035	1.7%	15,290	2.4%	16,715	3.2%	17,385	4%
 Colombia	10,385	1.1%	9,535	1.1%	6,860	1.1%	3,155	0.6%	945	0.2%
 Syria	9,975	1%	4,800	0.6%	1,185	0.2%	975	0.2%	610	0.1%
 Lebanon	9,960	1%	10,390	1.2%	8,390	1.3%	7,530	1.4%	6,870	1.6%
 Eritrea	9,720	1%	4,815	0.6%	2,805	0.4%	965	0.2%	845	0.2%
 South Africa	8,960	0.9%	7,355	0.9%	6,010	0.9%	4,950	0.9%	4,025	0.9%
 Ukraine	8,915	0.9%	8,150	1%	6,430	1%	5,435	1%	5,170	1.2%
 Iran	8,865	0.9%	8,910	1.1%	5,595	0.9%	3,995	0.8%	2,400	0.5%
 Jamaica	8,695	0.9%	6,845	0.8%	4,340	0.7%	3,755	0.7%	3,705	0.8%
 Somalia	8,545	0.9%	7,060	0.8%	3,395	0.5%	2,120	0.4%	795	0.2%
 Russia	7,470	0.8%	7,260	0.9%	5,900	0.9%	4,850	0.9%	3,635	0.8%
 Romania	7,190	0.7%	7,725	0.9%	6,235	1%	5,165	1%	3,920	0.9%
 Italy	6,990	0.7%	8,115	1%	8,050	1.2%	8,705	1.7%	9,830	2.2%
 El Salvador	6,940	0.7%	7,255	0.9%	5,535	0.9%	5,475	1%	4,695	1.1%
 Egypt	6,760	0.7%	5,320	0.6%	3,120	0.5%	2,140	0.4%	1,490	0.3%
 Afghanistan	6,585	0.7%	5,190	0.6%	4,345	0.7%	3,305	0.6%	1,695	0.4%
 Iraq	6,215	0.6%	5,935	0.7%	3,825	0.6%	2,300	0.4%	1,490	0.3%
 Kenya	6,070	0.6%	5,120	0.6%	4,005	0.6%	3,425	0.6%	2,875	0.7%
 Bangladesh	6,035	0.6%	5,085	0.6%	3,680	0.6%	1,835	0.3%	690	0.2%
 Nepal	4,970	0.5%	3,915	0.5%	1,260	0.2%	490	0.1%	115	0%
 Sri Lanka	4,930	0.5%	4,835	0.6%	3,295	0.5%	1,600	0.3%	1,330	0.3%
 Venezuela	4,800	0.5%	4,335	0.5%	1,930	0.3%	1,350	0.3%	500	0.1%
 Fiji	4,690	0.5%	4,625	0.5%	4,140	0.6%	3,975	0.8%	3,395	0.8%
 Tanzania	4,660	0.5%	4,510	0.5%	—	—	4,035	0.8%	4,435	1%
 Bosnia and Herzegovina	4,335	0.4%	4,555	0.5%	3,720	0.6%	3,505	0.7%	3,065	0.7%
 Ireland	4,225	0.4%	3,940	0.5%	2,795	0.4%	2,475	0.5%	2,840	0.6%
 Chile	4,215	0.4%	4,255	0.5%	4,305	0.7%	4,345	0.8%	3,775	0.9%
 Sudan	4,145	0.4%	2,580	0.3%	—	—	3,400	0.6%	1,055	0.2%

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Alberta#Ethnic_origins[2023-05-10 2:31:16 PM]

 Malaysia	3,990	0.4%	4,260	0.5%	—	—	3,215	0.6%	2,855	0.7%
 Australia	3,690	0.4%	3,360	0%	—	—	2,480	0.5%	2,370	0.5%
 Brazil	3,800	0.4%	2,545	0.3%	1,740	0.3%	1,130	0.2%	750	0.2%
 Japan	3,380	0.3%	3,060	0.4%	2,935	0.5%	2,265	0.4%	1,730	0.4%
Total	970,975	100%	845,215	100%	644,115	100%	527,030	100%	438,335	100%

Recent immigration Edit

The 2021 Canadian census counted a total of 193,170 people who immigrated to Alberta between 2016 and 2021.

Rank	Country	Population	% of recent immigrants
1	Philippines	47,605	24.6%
2	India	31,815	16.5%
3	Nigeria	9,840	5.1%
4	China	9,495	4.9%
5	Syria	7,295	3.8%
6	United States	5,175	2.7%
7	Eritrea	5,120	2.7%
8	Mexico	4,165	2.2%
9	Pakistan	4,080	2.1%
10	Ethiopia	3,960	2.1%
11	United Kingdom	3,800	2%
12	South Korea	3,430	1.8%
13	Iran	3,260	1.7%
14	Nepal	2,620	1.4%
15	Jamaica	2,130	1.1%

Interprovincial migration Edit

Main article: Interprovincial migration in Canada

Over the past five decades, Alberta has had the highest net increase from interprovincial migration of any province. However, it typically experiences population decline during economic downturns, as it did during the 1980s.^[*citation needed*] Oil is the main industry driving interprovincial migration to Alberta, as many Canadians move to



Net cumulative interprovincial migration per Province from 1997 to 2017, as a share of population of each Province

Alberta to work on the oil fields. Interprovincial migration to Alberta rises and drops dependent of the price of oil. There was a dramatic reduction after the 2014 drop in oil prices.^[48]

Interprovincial migration in Alberta

	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net migration
2009–10	▼ 57,958	▼ 61,229	▼ -3,271
2010–11	▲ 63,975	▼ 55,532	▲ 8,443
2011–12	▲ 80,837	▼ 53,185	▲ 27,652
2012–13	▲ 84,602	▼ 46,004	▲ 38,598
2013–14	▲ 87,307	▲ 51,925	▼ 35,382
2014–15	▼ 81,540	▲ 59,946	▼ 21,594
2015–16	▼ 56,978	▲ 72,086	▼ -15,108
2016–17	▼ 50,396	▼ 65,955	▼ -15,559
2017–18	▲ 55,147	▼ 58,394	▲ -3,247
2018–19	▲ 65,778	▲ 60,236	▲ 5,542
2019–20	▲ 85,919	▲ 77,519	▲ 8,400

Source: Statistics Canada^[49]

See also [Edit](#)

- [Demographics of Calgary](#)
- [Demographics of Canada](#)
- [Demographics of Edmonton](#)
- [Population of Canada by province and territory](#)

Notes [Edit](#)

a. ^ The three most populated provinces, as of July 1, 2018 were Ontario with 14,322,757 inhabitants representing 38.6% of the Canadian population; Quebec with 22.6% or 8,390,499 people and British Columbia 13.5% and British Columbia with 4,991,687 people



Demographics of Canada's provinces and territories

or 13.5%.

- b. [^] ^{***a***} ^{***b***} Now excluding Plautdietsch.

References **Edit**

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<p>Portal:</p> <p> Canada</p>
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APPENDIX H: DEMOGRAPHICS OF CALGARY

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Demographics of Calgary - Wikipedia

Demographics of Calgary

In the [2021 Census](#), the City of [Calgary](#) had a population of 1,306,784 residents, representing 30.7% of the 4,262,635 residents in all of [Alberta](#), and 3.5% compared to a population of 36,991,981 in all of [Canada](#).^[23] The total population of the [Calgary census metropolitan area \(CMA\)](#) was 1,481,806.^[24] Calgary is the [largest city](#) in Alberta, and the [third-largest municipality](#) and [fifth-largest metropolitan area](#) in Canada, as of 2021.



Downtown Calgary

Federal census population history

Year	Pop.	±%
1891	3,876	—
1901	4,091	+5.5%
1906	11,967	+192.5%
1911	43,704	+265.2%
1916	56,514	+29.3%
1921	63,305	+12.0%
1926	65,291	+3.1%
1931	83,761	+28.3%
1936	83,407	−0.4%
1941	88,904	+6.6%
1946	100,044	+12.5%
1951	129,060	+29.0%
1956	181,780	+40.8%
1961	249,641	+37.3%
1966	330,575	+32.4%
1971	403,319	+22.0%
1976	469,917	+16.5%
1981	592,743	+26.1%
1986	636,107	+7.3%
1991	710,795	+11.7%
1996	768,082	+8.1%
2001	878,866	+14.4%
2006	988,193	+12.4%
2011	1,096,833	+11.0%
2016	1,239,220	+13.0%
2021	1,306,784	+5.5%

Source: *Statistics Canada*

^[1]^[2]^[3]^[4]^[5]^[6]^[7]^[8]^[9]^[10]^[11]

^[12]^[13]^[14]^[15]^[16]^[17]^[18]^[19]^[20]^[21]^[22]^[23]

Civic census

Section 57 of Alberta's *Municipal Government Act* (MGA) enables municipalities to conduct censuses.^[25] The City of Calgary first conducted a **municipal census**, or civic census, in 1931.^[26] It has conducted a civic census annually since 1958.^[26]

Calgary's 2016 civic census counted a population of 1,381,345.^[27] From 2011 to 2012, there was a 2.7% increase over its 2011 municipal census population of 1,090,936.^{[28][29]} The city attributed the 29,289 increase in residents to a **natural increase** of 9,631 and a **net migration** of 19,658 since the 2011 civic census.^[30] The 2012 civic census also recorded a total 459,339 dwellings in the city.^[30]

2012 population breakdown

The following is a breakdown of the City of Calgary's 2012 civic census results by community, including residential communities, industrial areas, major parks and residual areas by electoral ward.^[30]

Neighbourhoods of Calgary						
Name ^[30]	Quadrant	Sector ^[31]	Ward ^[32]	Type ^[31]	2012 Population Rank	Populatio (2012) ^[3]
West Hillhurst	NW	Centre	7	Residential	87	5,802
West Springs	SW	West	6	Residential	51	8,228
Westgate	SW	West	8	Residential	128	3,172
Westwinds	NE	Northeast	5	Industrial	255	0
Whitehorn	NE	Northeast	5	Residential	17	11,850
Wildwood	SW	West	8	Residential	136	2,598
Willow Park	SE	South	14	Residential	93	5,229
Windsor Park	SW	Centre	11	Residential	108	4,126
Winston Heights/Mountview	NE	Centre	9	Residential	111	3,891
Woodbine	SW	South	13	Residential	38	9,131
Woodlands	SW	South	13	Residential	77	6,201
Total City of Calgary						1,120,200

Growth and density

Between 2016 and 2021, the population of the City of Calgary grew by 5.5%, compared with an increase of 7.8% for the Calgary CMA.^[35] During the same period, the growth rates were 10.8% for Alberta and 5.9% for Canada.^[36] With land areas of 820.62 km² (316.84 sq mi) and 5,098.68 km² (1,968.61 sq mi) for the city and CMA respectively, the population density was 1,592.435/km² (4,124.388/sq mi) for the city and 290.6254/km² (752.7164/sq mi) for the CMA in 2021.^[36]

Age and gender

In the 2011 census, the median age was 36.4 years for both the City of Calgary and its CMA.^[35] Comparatively, the median ages were 36.5 years in Alberta and 40.6 years in Canada.^[37] The largest age group was 25 to 29 years for both the city (93,360) and the CMA (100,290).^[35]

The 2011 census also indicated that 50.09% of the population was female and 49.91% was male in the city (549,360 females and 547,475 males) and 50.05% and 49.95% in the CMA (607,970 females and 606,870 males).^[35]

Ethnicity

Metro Calgary

Ethnic Origin ^[38]	Population	Percent
English	298,865	21.74%
Canadian	275,950	20.07%
Scottish	240,775	17.52%
German	201,650	14.67%
Irish	197,185	14.34%
French	118,080	8.59%
Chinese	104,620	7.61%
Ukrainian	90,740	6.60%
East Indian	90,620	6.59%
Filipino	75,020	5.46%

Panethnic groups in Metro Calgary (2001–2021)

Panethnic group	2021 ^{[39][40]}		2016 ^[41]		2011 ^[42]		2006 ^[43]	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
European ^[a]	849,560	57.98%	869,555	63.26%	828,330	69.08%	805,825	75.29%
South Asian	153,200	10.46%	122,900	8.94%	84,870	7.08%	57,700	5.39%
Southeast Asian ^[b]	117,445	8.02%	93,900	6.83%	71,245	5.94%	41,320	3.86%
East Asian ^[c]	112,825	7.7%	106,240	7.73%	89,345	7.45%	77,885	7.28%
African	75,645	5.16%	54,190	3.94%	32,985	2.75%	21,060	1.97%
Indigenous	48,625	3.32%	41,645	3.03%	33,370	2.78%	26,575	2.48%
Middle Eastern ^[d]	48,180	3.29%	39,130	2.85%	25,765	2.15%	17,670	1.65%
Latin American	34,390	2.35%	27,710	2.02%	20,595	1.72%	13,410	1.25%
Other/Multiracial ^[e]	26,265	1.79%	19,385	1.41%	12,620	1.05%	8,840	0.83%
Total responses	1,465,180	98.88%	1,374,650	98.71%	1,199,125	98.71%	1,070,295	99.16%
Total population	1,481,806	100%	1,392,609	100%	1,214,839	100%	1,079,310	100%

Note: Totals greater than 100% due to multiple origin responses

Future projections

Pan-ethnic Origin Projections (2041)

	2041 ^{[45][46]}	
	Population	%
European ^[f]	1,042,500	42.05%
South Asian	395,000	15.93%
Southeast Asian	265,000	10.69%
Filipino	216,000	8.71%
Other Southeast Asian	49,000	1.98%
East Asian	223,000	9%
Chinese	177,000	7.14%
Korean	35,000	1.41%
Japanese	11,000	0.44%
African	196,000	7.91%
Middle Eastern	135,000	5.45%
Arab	87,000	3.51%
West Asian	48,000	1.94%
Indigenous	90,500	3.65%
Latin American	76,000	3.07%
Other	55,000	2.22%
Projected Metro Calgary Population	2,479,000	100%

City of Calgary

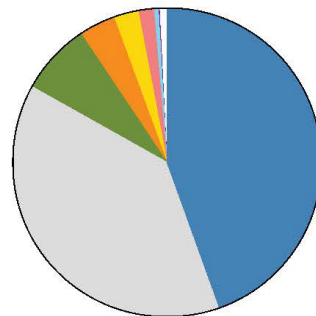
Panethnic groups in the City of Calgary (2001–2021)

Panethnic group	2021 ^[47]		2016 ^[48]		2011 ^[49]		2006 ^[50]	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
European ^[g]	715,725	55.41%	744,625	60.91%	727,935	67.26%	722,595	73.77%
South Asian	141,660	10.97%	115,795	9.47%	81,180	7.5%	56,210	5.74%
Southeast Asian ^[b]	110,610	8.56%	89,260	7.3%	67,880	6.27%	40,325	4.12%
East Asian ^[c]	109,615	8.49%	103,640	8.48%	87,390	8.07%	76,565	7.82%
African	70,680	5.47%	51,515	4.21%	31,870	2.94%	20,540	2.1%
Middle Eastern ^[d]	45,885	3.55%	37,800	3.09%	25,215	2.33%	17,175	1.75%
Indigenous	41,350	3.2%	35,195	2.88%	28,905	2.67%	24,425	2.49%
Latin American	31,855	2.47%	26,265	2.15%	19,870	1.84%	13,120	1.34%
Other/Multiracial ^[e]	24,400	1.89%	18,305	1.5%	11,990	1.11%	8,525	0.87%
Total responses	1,291,770	98.85%	1,222,405	98.64%	1,082,230	98.67%	979,485	99.12%
Total population	1,306,784	100%	1,239,220	100%	1,096,833	100%	988,193	100%

Note: Totals greater than 100% due to multiple origin responses

Religion

City of Calgary



Religion in Calgary (2021)

Christian (44.5%)

- No Religion (38.7%)
- Muslim (7.4%)
- Sikh (3.8%)
- Hindu (2.6%)
- Buddhist (1.6%)
- Jewish (0.5%)
- Aboriginal Spirituality (0.1%)
- Other (0.8%)

Religion (2021) ^[52]	Population	Percent
Christian	575,250	44.5%
No religion	499,375	38.7%
Islam	95,925	7.4%
Sikh	49,465	3.8%
Hindu	33,450	2.6%
Buddhist	20,855	1.6%
Jewish	6,390	0.5%
Aboriginal Spirituality	1,370	0.1%
Other	9,695	0.8%

Metro Calgary

Religion (2021) ^[53]	Population	Percent
Christianity	656,315	44.8%
No religion	576,025	39.3%
Islam	100,825	6.9%
Sikhism	56,055	3.8%
Hinduism	34,920	2.4%
Buddhism	22,125	1.5%
Judaism	6,705	0.5%
Aboriginal Spirituality	1,480	0.1%
Other	10,730	0.7%

Language

Knowledge of languages

Metro Calgary

The question on knowledge of languages allows for multiple responses. The following figures are from the [2021 Canadian Census](#), and lists languages that were selected by at least 1,000 respondents.

Knowledge of Languages in Metro Calgary

Language	2021 ^[54]	
	Pop.	%
English	1,430,255	97.62%
French	98,320	6.71%
Oromo	2,115	0.14%
Somali	2,430	0.17%
Amharic	8,450	0.58%
Arabic	34,975	2.39%
Hebrew	2,065	0.14%
Tigrigna	7,655	0.52%
Khmer (Cambodian)	1,255	0.09%
Vietnamese	19,290	1.32%
Bisaya, n.o.s.	1,115	0.08%
Cebuano	3,530	0.24%
Hiligaynon	1,365	0.09%
Ilocano	6,560	0.45%
Indonesian	1,250	0.09%
Pampangan (Kapampangan, Pampango)	1,145	0.08%
Tagalog	70,230	4.79%
Kannada	1,085	0.07%
Malayalam	3,850	0.26%
Tamil	4,425	0.3%
Telugu	2,425	0.17%
Albanian	1,865	0.13%
Bulgarian	1,015	0.07%

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Language	2021 ^[54]	
	Pop.	%
Czech	2,130	0.15%
Polish	9,110	0.62%
Russian	15,020	1.03%
Serbo-Croatian	6,600	0.45%
Slovak	1,440	0.1%
Ukrainian	4,620	0.32%
German	16,305	1.11%
Afrikaans	2,070	0.14%
Dutch	4,540	0.31%
Danish	1,075	0.07%
Greek	2,335	0.16%
Bengali	6,140	0.42%
Gujarati	11,115	0.76%
Hindi	44,965	3.07%
Kacchi	2,320	0.16%
Marathi	2,290	0.16%
Nepali	2,925	0.2%
Punjabi	68,240	4.66%
Sinhala	1,380	0.09%
Urdu	31,625	2.16%
Kurdish	1,420	0.1%
Dari	4,760	0.32%
Iranian Persian	6,960	0.48%
Italian	9,510	0.65%
Portuguese	6,780	0.46%
Romanian	5,875	0.4%

Language	2021 ^[54]	
	Pop.	%
Spanish	58,975	4.03%
Japanese	5,155	0.35%
Korean	12,225	0.83%
Akan (Twi)	1,395	0.1%
Igbo	3,030	0.21%
Swahili	3,405	0.23%
Yoruba	6,335	0.43%
Mandarin	46,240	3.16%
Min Nan (Chaochow, Teochow, Fukien, Taiwanese)	2,380	0.16%
Cantonese	42,805	2.92%
Thai	1,300	0.09%
Turkish	2,600	0.18%
Hungarian	3,665	0.25%
Total Responses	1,465,175	98.88%
Total Population	1,481,806	100%

Mother tongue

Metro Calgary

Based on Calgary's 2016 metropolitan census reporting a population of 1,381,345, English is the mother tongue for 67.8 per cent of inhabitants. French-speakers make up 1.5 per cent with 20,715 people. Other languages make up 30.7 per cent or 383,320. The top five languages outside English and French in Calgary are Tagalog (Pilipino; Filipino), Punjabi (Panjabi), Cantonese, Mandarin, and Spanish (at 8,685 or 2.1 per cent of Calgary's population).^[55]

City of Calgary

Top 25 languages Calgary, 2016 ^[56]	Population	%
English	806,815	67.8
Tagalog (Filipino)	39,285	3.3
Panjabi (Punjabi)	38,840	3.3
Cantonese	33,700	2.8
Mandarin	28,355	2.4
Spanish	27,055	2.3
Arabic	18,390	1.5
French	18,150	1.5
Urdu	16,320	1.4
Vietnamese	12,550	1.1
German	9,895	0.8
Persian	9,525	0.8
Russian	9,255	0.8
Korean	8,880	0.7
Polish	7,680	0.6
Hindi	7,050	0.6
Gujarati	5,390	0.5
Yoruba	5,306	0.5
Italian	5,000	0.4
Romanian	4,495	0.4
Bengali	4,070	0.3
Amharic	4,050	0.3
Dutch	3,435	0.3
Hungarian	3,395	0.3
Portuguese	3,360	0.3
Ukrainian	3,345	0.3

See also

- [Demographics of Edmonton](#)
- [Demographics of Alberta](#)
- [List of neighbourhoods in Calgary](#)

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- a. 2001-2016: Statistic includes all persons that did not make up part of a visible minority or an indigenous identity.

2021: Statistic includes all persons belonging to the non-indigenous and non-visible minority "White" population group.
 - b. Statistic includes total responses of "Filipino" and "Southeast Asian" under visible minority section on census.
 - c. Statistic includes total responses of "Chinese", "Korean", and "Japanese" under visible minority section on census.
 - d. Statistic includes total responses of "West Asian" and "Arab" under visible minority section on census.
 - e. Statistic includes total responses of "Visible minority, n.i.e." and "Multiple visible minorities" under visible minority section on census.
 - f. Statistic includes all persons that did not make up part of a visible minority or an Indigenous identity.
 - g. Statistic includes all persons that did not make up part of a visible minority or an indigenous identity.

External links

- **Alberta Municipal Affairs – Municipal Census & Population Lists** (https://web.archive.org/web/20120418173014/http://www.municipalaffairs.alberta.ca/mc_official_populations.cfm)
- **City of Calgary** (<http://www.calgary.ca>)
 - **Civic Census Results** (<http://www.calgary.ca/CA/city-clerks/Pages/Election-and-information-services/Civic-Census/CensusResults.aspx>)
- **Statistics Canada** (<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/start-debut-eng.html>)
 - **2006 Census** (<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/index-eng.cfm>)
 - **2011 Census** (<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cfm>)