

Spanish Language Maintenance and Shift among the Chilean Community in Auckland

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Abbreviations and Glossary

ALAC	Auckland Latin American Community Incorporated
Chiwi	New Zealander of Chilean descent
Kiwi	New Zealander
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Peña	Social gathering with performances of traditional Latin American music and/or dance
Spanglish	Mixture of Spanish and English often identified by code-switching mid-sentence: common amongst youth

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which, to a substantial extent, has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Dedication



This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Patricia Davila – social worker, mentor, advocate and beloved friend of the Auckland Latin American community.

Esta tesis está dedicada a la memoria de Patricia Davila: asistente social, mentora, defensora y querida amiga de la comunidad latina en Auckland.

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Abstract

Language often plays a significant role in a migrant's sense of cultural identity and, more broadly, the cultural identity of migrant communities is deeply affected by issues of language maintenance and shift. Existing New Zealand literature in the field includes studies of migrant communities from Europe, Asia and the Pacific (Starks, 2005) but there are still sizeable migrant communities whose language needs have yet to be investigated.

This thesis addresses the situation of one migrant group by investigating Spanish language maintenance and shift among the Auckland Chilean community, the most established of the Latin American communities in New Zealand. It investigates the attitude of the community to language maintenance and shift, the importance of language to its cultural identity and if and how the language is being maintained.

An ethnographic approach provided a rich narrative which allowed the community's experience of language maintenance and shift to be shared from its perspective (Dörnyei, 2007). The fourteen participants were Chilean migrants who had arrived in New Zealand as either adults or children and were sourced through snowball sampling. Their ages ranged from early twenties to late sixties and, at the time of the interviews, their length of residence in New Zealand varied from several years through to almost forty years. Qualitative interview data was supplemented and verified through observation of language use at community events (Talmy, 2010) while community records provided background information on the community.

This study shows that the Chilean community greatly values its language with each of the participants identifying the Spanish language as being core to their identity. Surprisingly, this included participants who did not believe that it was absolutely necessary to pass the language on to their children.

The high status of the language within wider New Zealand society, which is enhanced by the popularity of the children's television programme *Dora the Explorer*, plays an important role in supporting the community's cultural identity and providing an impetus for participants to pass the language on to their children.

However, there are many challenges to intergenerational language transmission which need to be addressed if language shift is to be avoided. An increase in mixed marriages, in particular, means that increased institutional support is imperative if children are to acquire a parental community language. The economic, academic and cognitive advantages that bilingualism can offer also need to be brought to the attention of community members so that they can make educated language choices for their children.

This research is particularly timely given the growing population of Spanish speakers in New Zealand, and also the recent launch by the Royal Society of New Zealand (2013) of the issues paper *Languages in Aotearoa New Zealand* which urges action in the area of maintenance of community languages.

It is hoped that this thesis will act as a tool for the community, allowing them to better assess the state of the language and providing them with recommendations that might aid them in language maintenance efforts.

Chapter One:

Introduction

Understanding Spanish is a prerequisite for full immersion in Auckland's Latin American community. As it is not widely understood outside the community, the Spanish language effectively acts as a key to the door between the inside and outside of the community: if you do not have that key you can only watch from the window. Using Spanish is an effective way of including and excluding others.

Barnard, 1996, p.19

1.1. Background to the study

Spanish is a relatively new addition to the array of languages available for language students in New Zealand and, as recently as a decade ago, it was unusual to find someone speaking it who was not from a Spanish or Latin American background. The above quote underlines the importance of understanding the language in order to gain full access to Spanish-speaking communities. Barnard tells us that, when she carried out her research in the mid-1990s, she observed only two non-Latin Americans whom she felt were totally accepted into the community; she attributed this to their ability to speak Spanish. One was the daughter of a long-time supporter of the community and the other was the sole Kiwi member of traditional Latin American dance group *Los Chaskis*, who was, in fact, me.

My involvement in the Auckland Latin American community began in 1993 when I was at secondary school and started learning Spanish. At that stage, Spanish was offered in only two schools in Auckland so, with the assistance of my school, I enrolled in the course offered by the Correspondence School of New Zealand. My family was acquainted with a handful of Chileans (this was one of the reasons for my choice of Spanish as a language to study) and they soon invited me to join *Los Chaskis* which performed at a number of Latin American community events, as well as cultural festivals organised by bodies such as the local council.

Over the next twenty years, my association with the community was to continue. At various times, I have been a member of the Auckland Latin American Community Incorporated (ALAC), a non-profit organisation which runs social and cultural services for the community; I have twice served for a period of time on the Executive Committee. Most importantly for me, I have participated in three different dance groups: *Los Chaskis*, *Makehue* and, now, *Macondo Latin American Dance Group*.

I was fortunate to finish secondary school just as a major in Latin American Studies was added to the options offered for a Bachelor of Arts degree at The University of Auckland and this, with a minor in Spanish, seemed like a natural fit with my interests. Four trips to Latin America over the past ten years have strengthened my enthusiasm for the language and culture so, when I started thinking about possible thesis topics, my thoughts turned to the Latin American community in Auckland.

The purpose of this thesis is not only to gain a Master of Arts in Applied Language Studies for myself, but to provide an overview of the state of the Spanish language in the Latin American community, for use by the community as it decides how it wants to deal with the issues of language maintenance and language shift.

1.2. Aims and significance of the study

This thesis will investigate Spanish language maintenance and shift within the Chilean community in Auckland. The aim is to gain an understanding of the importance of the language to the cultural identity of the Chilean community and to discover whether the language is being maintained or if a shift to English is taking place.

The research will draw not only on the thoughts and opinions of the Chilean community in Auckland but it will also draw upon my experience as a Spanish language student at a time when the language was relatively new to the New Zealand education system and my association of two decades with the Latin American community. While the design of the study will give a voice to the

community, my knowledge of the community plays a significant role in providing the context of the study and in gaining meaningful access to the community.

The first significant group of migrants from Latin America was made up of refugees from Chile following the 1973 military coup in that country. As the most established Spanish-speaking ethnic group in Auckland, this community was the obvious choice for this study given that it includes Spanish speakers who are migrants themselves and also the children and even grandchildren of migrants.

The study seeks to tell the story of a community language from the perspective of the community itself. Therefore, an ethnographic approach was selected in order to provide the narrative data necessary to describe and interpret the participants' perspectives and do them justice (Blommaert, 2007; Dörnyei, 2007). Given the long engagement with the community that accompanies ethnographic research, this approach was also a good fit for me personally, both as a part-time student and as someone who had an existing association with the community. In defining my relationship with the community, I would label myself as a 'friend' rather than as a member of the community.

Qualitative research methods are frequently utilised in language maintenance research in New Zealand; however, this is one of very few studies to take an ethnographic approach. The study will therefore add to the body of literature on ethnography in a community language setting.

While many other community languages from Asia, Europe and the Pacific have undergone research in New Zealand, Spanish has yet to be studied in any detail (Starks, 2005). Not only is this study addressing the gap in the literature at both an international and a local level, but the research is particularly timely with the increasing numbers of Spanish-speaking migrants entering the country.

Given that the community which was selected for this study started arriving in New Zealand over thirty years ago, the findings of this thesis should also be of benefit to more-recent arrivals from Latin America who are wondering what the future holds for their language.

This thesis is limited in its scope; however, it is hoped that this will be the starting point for a discussion about language maintenance and the potential for language shift within Spanish-speaking communities. Future research should be able to build on this study in order to provide a comprehensive view of the state of Spanish as a minority language in New Zealand.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

Chapter Two: Language Maintenance and Shift

Chapter Two will define language maintenance and language shift, and outline factors which may contribute to one or the other, before examining the international literature on Spanish as a migrant language with a focus on Australia, given its geographical and cultural proximity to New Zealand. The chapter will then provide a brief overview of languages in New Zealand before discussing previous research into language maintenance in New Zealand. It will provide an analysis of issues faced by other community languages and how successful, or otherwise, each community has been in maintaining its language. The chapter will then turn to Spanish-speaking communities in New Zealand, providing a context for this study.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter will outline different methodological approaches taken in previous research into language maintenance and language shift. It will then move to my own study, explaining the methodological approach and research methods, and justifying my choice of these with reference to the literature. Background will be provided on the selected participants and data analysis methods will be discussed. Finally, I will consider ethical issues and, in particular, my role as a 'friend' of the community which I am studying.

Chapter Four: Situating the Language

Chapter Four will present the findings of the study through the voices of the participants themselves. It will focus on the participants' culture, attitudes and identities, situating the language within the Chilean community in Auckland.

Chapter Five: Language Maintenance or Language Shift?

This chapter will continue on from Chapter Four, drawing together the findings of the study in relation to the state of the language itself. It will examine whether the community is currently experiencing language maintenance or language shift, and will present language support mechanisms and language barriers as identified by the participants. Finally, it will discuss issues that the community will face going forward if it wants to pass its language on to future generations.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

The final chapter draws together the findings of the study, outlining and analysing the key issues which have arisen from these. The chapter will examine the future of the Spanish language among the Auckland Chilean community, with reference to the views of study participants. Finally, it will identify areas that would benefit from future research and make recommendations on how the community could address issues arising from the research.

Chapter Two:

Language Maintenance and Shift

2.1. Chapter outline

This thesis is intended to provide a perspective on the situation of one of many community languages in New Zealand and, therefore, it is important that the context in which this community found itself on arrival here is understood. For this reason, Chapter Two will provide an overview of the New Zealand context with a focus on language planning and recognition, or the lack of it. It will then define language maintenance and shift before providing an overview of current literature and discussing factors which may affect these. It will also discuss language attitudes and the role which they play before examining international studies into Spanish language maintenance. The chapter will then summarise existing research among migrant communities in New Zealand and identify gaps in this research. Finally, a background will be provided for the Chilean, and wider Latin American, communities in Auckland.

2.2. The New Zealand context

New Zealand is predominantly a monolingual English society despite the fact that the indigenous language Māori is an official language, along with New Zealand Sign Language, and there is a wide array of migrant languages at the country's disposal (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). The Māori language arrived in New Zealand with Polynesian explorers between 800 to 1000 years ago and it still bears a great similarity with those languages spoken in other Pacific countries (Harlow, 2005). While European voyagers first arrived in 1642, Māori remained the dominant language until the arrival of significant numbers of English-speaking settlers in the mid-nineteenth century. Over the next century, New Zealand would develop into a largely monolingual society, with English becoming the default language of business, government, education and the media. Many non-English-speaking migrants found that the host society responded negatively to hearing different languages, for example Dutch, used

in public. Using a foreign language was regarded with suspicion because monolingual New Zealanders couldn't understand and therefore assumed that the speakers were talking about them (Crezee, 2012).

Despite the influx of immigrants over the past half-century and increasing multiculturalism, particularly in the larger centres such as Auckland and Wellington, English has continued to dominate, with little or no support for migrant languages. As recently as 2001, 82.2% of New Zealand's population was still monolingual in English (Starks et al., 2005) with only 16.1% of the population speaking two or more languages.

The ad hoc nature of language planning (Waite, 1992) meant that a comprehensive and cohesive language curriculum was missing from New Zealand schools with the emphasis being on traditionally taught languages such as French and German, the indigenous language Māori and, in some cases, Japanese. As a high school student in the early-to-mid-1990s, my options were limited to French, German and Māori, and, in order to learn Spanish, I was obliged to study it by correspondence. At this time, learning a language other than those previously mentioned was considered extremely unusual and resulted in many classmates questioning my choice, despite the fact that Spanish is one of the most-widely spoken languages in the world.

The report *Aotearoa: Speaking for Ourselves* (Waite, 1992) was largely prompted by the development of the Australian National Policy on Languages and was intended as a framework through which to address the range of language issues facing New Zealand. These included: the protection and revitalisation of Māori; English language literacy support; and the status of community and international languages in New Zealand, in particular during a period of increasing globalisation and international trade. According to *Aotearoa* (Waite, 1992):

New Zealand needs to foster the knowledge and use of languages other than English and Māori, in order to enhance our competitiveness on the international scene, to raise our international standing, to improve our understanding of other peoples and their ways of life, to facilitate the access of new settlers to a range of social services, and to broaden our intellectual horizons. (Part A, p. 6)

In relation to the maintenance of community languages, the report goes further:

Bilingualism (with maintenance of the first language) fulfils many goals, including the reinforcement of family structure, strengthening of individual and group identity, enhancement of educational achievement, and contributing to the pool of New Zealanders able to use languages other than English. It would be foolish to let this resource go to waste. (Part A, p. 20)

The report contended that a pool of bilingual New Zealanders would be vital to the country's international relations and trade, in addition to other benefits including the intellectual advantages of bilingualism. Yet, despite the sense of urgency conveyed in the report, it did not gain the political traction necessary for the recommendations to be implemented (Human Rights Commission, 2008) and, twenty years later, language planning still languishes near the bottom of national educational priorities. As a result, community languages continue to be an untapped resource and receive little, if any, institutional support.

2.3. Defining language maintenance and shift

The issue of language maintenance versus language shift is a key concern affecting migrant communities from non-English-speaking countries. The term language maintenance is used to refer to relative stability among a minority group which is living in a situation where it is surrounded by a more dominant language (Baker, 2001a). This group may be a minority migrant community which has moved into the majority language community or it may be an indigenous community which is outnumbered by a migrant community. This stability is provided by the number of speakers of the language, its distribution, the use of the language by a range of age groups and the language being spoken in a number of domains, including the home (Baker, 2001a). Fishman (1985) defines language maintenance as "the process and pursuit of inter-generational language continuity" (p. 225). He asserts that this is a result of the minority group retaining sufficient control over cross-cultural contact that its ethnocultural systems are not overwhelmed.

Language shift refers to a decrease in numbers of people speaking a language and a shift to a dominant language (Baker, 2001a). A shift may be signalled by a reduction in proficiency by speakers of the language and a decrease in the domains where it may be spoken, in addition to a decrease in the number of speakers and their distribution. The term 'language shift' can be used to

describe the gradual shift in a language by an entire community, a group within a community or an individual person (Clyne, 1991). This shift often takes place so gradually that it might not be obvious to the community at first. Clyne describes the shift as being a change in: a main language, a dominant language, a language used in one or more domains, or a language which is used exclusively for any one of the four language skills (reading, writing, listening, speaking).

Many migrants arrive in a new country either monolingual in their mother tongue or with a limited grasp of the language of their new country. In spite of this, shift to the dominant language can take place in as little as two generations, although three to four is more usual (Fishman, 1985). The community itself may not see speaking the language as being an advantage to their children or may not realise that there is a risk of losing the language because everyone in the current generation seems to speak it. However, without active steps being taken to preserve a community language, a shift to the dominant language is inevitable.

When contact takes place between two languages, the emergence of linguistic conflict is always a possibility (Al-Sahafi & Barkhuizen, 2006). Walker (2004) describes three possible outcomes resulting from the clash between a community language and the dominant language:

- A monolingual outcome will occur where the community language is not sustained at a level that allows social interaction and, over time, the 'inner voice' of each speaker, the internal voice in which they think about their thoughts and emotions, disappears and is replaced by English. The result is cultural and linguistic assimilation, or language shift.
- In situations where the proficiency of the community language can be maintained and English is learnt as an additional language, the outcome will be bilingualism and language maintenance.
- The third, and undoubtedly the least-helpful, outcome for its speakers is a situation where the community language is lost to the extent that speakers can no longer interact socially with other

speakers of the language but, at the same time, their acquisition of English does not result in full fluency. This outcome results in the speaker neither maintaining their original voice nor constructing a new one through assimilation (Walker, 2004). In this case, the speaker is left in a state of limbo, having achieved neither complete language maintenance nor complete language shift. Presumably this outcome would be the least common of the three.

Core to research into language maintenance and shift is the concept of the domains or the 'contexts' (Baker, 2001a) in which the language is used. As previously mentioned, the stability of a minority language is largely dependent on the language being spoken in a variety of domains. These include, but are not limited to: religion, media, the home, education and the workplace. Without access to their heritage language in several domains, opportunities for migrants to speak their languages are very restricted and it is very easy for them to become reliant on the dominant English language.

For the purposes of this study, language maintenance is defined as the continued fluency of a migrant community in its language, specifically Spanish, in the face of pressure from the more-dominant English language. Language shift will be defined as an individual or group of migrants gradually losing fluency in their heritage language as they adopt the language of the host society as their primary form of communication.

2.4. Factors affecting language maintenance and shift

There are a number of factors which can affect the rate at which language shift takes place in a community. These range from obvious reasons such as the size of the community and its distribution, to economic factors and the influence of the attitude of wider society towards the migrant community.

2.4.1. Domains

Studies on language maintenance and shift frequently focus on domains of language usage. The importance of a language being available in multiple domains is a prominent feature of Joshua Fishman's work. According to Fishman (1985), the key challenge in passing a heritage language down the generations is in limiting the use of the outside language in internal community

pursuits. Fishman refers to this as “the maintenance of intracultural boundaries” (p. 226).

Active use of a language in a number of different domains such as education, media and religion can play an instrumental role in supporting minority languages and this can be seen in the revitalisation of indigenous languages such as Māori and Welsh (Holmes, 2008; Spolsky, 2005). On the other hand, possible language shift is often signalled by the shift in language used in one or more domains.

2.4.2. Demographic factors

The number of domains in which a language can be found directly influences the survival of the language and, therefore, the size of the community and its distribution can play a key role in language maintenance and shift. A large community makes it easier to maintain the language as it is more likely to be spoken in a number of domains outside the home, as demonstrated by the Maltese communities in Australia (Holmes, 2008) where the largest communities experienced the slowest rate of language shift. The distribution of the community is also crucial. If the community is clustered together, then the likelihood of daily interactions in the mother tongue is increased. If the community is dispersed over a large area, then a conscious decision must be made to seek out other speakers, or language use will be restricted to the home domain. For migrants who move to a small town where there is no opportunity to speak the language outside the home, language shift becomes inevitable (Holmes, 2008). The rate of language shift may also be exacerbated if the community has been resident for many years with little recent migration or contact with its home country (Baker, 2001a). If migrants have the option of returning home, either permanently or to visit, then maintaining their mother tongue becomes a priority, whereas those who cannot return, or have little intention of returning, lack the same motivation to avoid language shift.

2.4.3. Economic and social factors

Economic factors such as employment opportunities also impact on the survival of a language within a small community. Learning the language of their host country often becomes critical in order for migrants to obtain employment (Holmes, 2008). Social factors also affect the rate of language shift. Migrants

whose goal is to move upwards in society often experience rapid language shift as the better their knowledge of the dominant language is, the better their chances of success are. Access to education also plays a part. Undertaking higher education, while providing migrants with opportunities for social and economic mobility, can also alienate them from their communities if other community members do not have the same opportunities (Baker, 2001a).

In communities where integration into the dominant society is seen as desirable, language shift happens more quickly. In a society where the dominant language is everywhere, it may seem to the migrant community that there is no great advantage in heritage language maintenance. They may not even realise that, without actively engaging in language maintenance, language shift is a possibility. Two examples of this in New Zealand were the Dutch and Dalmatian communities who were encouraged to migrate to New Zealand because it was thought that their culture was very similar to that of the host society and they would therefore assimilate quickly. Fasold (1987) discusses language shift and language maintenance being the results of a long-term decision made by the community as a whole. In the case of the Dutch and Dalmatian communities, a choice was made to prioritise integration and the acquisition of English over maintenance of their heritage language. Research by Stoffel (1982) found that the Dalmatian community was in favour of retaining its Dalmatian identity insofar as this did not happen at the expense of the New Zealand identities of its members. Language was seen as less important in retaining this than was food and dance. In communities such as these, language shift took place in as little as two to three generations.

2.4.4. Language attitudes

Both Roberts (2005) and Starks (2005) identify a positive attitude on the part of a migrant community towards the language of its homeland as the essential ingredient in language maintenance. A positive attitude increases the likelihood that the language will be spoken in a number of domains and this assists the community in avoiding a shift to the dominant tongue.

While the attitude of the migrant community can reduce the rate of language shift if the community values its language and feels that it is fundamental to its cultural identity, the attitude of wider society also plays a role. A positive societal

attitude towards the language encourages a positive attitude in the migrant community which is essential to ensure the use of the language in different domains and resistance to language shift. Plimmer's (1994) study of the Italian community in Wellington found that its attitude towards the language was enhanced by the prestige of it being associated with fashionable clothes, cars and food.

However, a negative attitude on the part of wider society can have a detrimental impact. Baker (2001a) identifies racism and ethnic discrimination against a migrant community as issues which can trigger the denial of an ethnic identity and lead to language shift. This is reflected in the experience of the Dutch community in the mid-twentieth century when speaking a foreign language was frowned upon in New Zealand. Conversely, a discriminatory attitude towards the host community on the part of the migrant community can encourage language maintenance.

Romaine (2011) discusses the way in which stereotypes can be projected on to a language and how this can result in the community making a conscious decision to stop speaking the language as self-defence in order to avoid stigma, such as in the aforementioned case of Dutch settlers (Crezee, 2012). Another example of this is Quechua which is spoken throughout Andean countries from Chile and Argentina in the south, to Ecuador at the northern tip of the Andes. Quechua speakers were encouraged to abandon their language in preference for Spanish which was considered the language of education, economics and politics. There was great stigma attached to being heard speaking Quechua and, in Peru, this was reinforced by the labelling of the shift from Quechua to Spanish as "integration into national society" (Mannheim, 1984, p. 292).

This fear of harassment and discrimination has been seen worldwide with many cases, including that of Māori here in New Zealand, where parents stopped speaking their native tongue to their children to ensure that their children did not suffer the same treatment at school that they suffered themselves. Assimilation and the ability to speak fluent English was seen as providing children with greater education and employment opportunities, to the extent that, while some Māori parents resisted the shift, many saw it as essential for their children's future (Spolsky, 2005).

2.4.5. Institutional support

In recent years, institutional support, both governmental and non-governmental, has been seen to play a role in maintaining and reviving indigenous languages such as Welsh and Māori. In 1987, the Māori language was declared an official language of New Zealand and the Māori Language Commission was set up to promote Māori as a living language which should be used as an everyday means of communication.¹ Over the years, the community itself also played a role by establishing structures and support mechanisms for the language such as *kohanga reo*, or Māori-language kindergartens.

However, this level of institutional support is not something that migrant languages in New Zealand enjoy (Holmes, 2008; Spolsky, 2005). Community initiatives such as mother-tongue schools, community groups and the media can play crucial roles in maintaining a language by providing opportunities for individuals to hear and speak it (Baker, 2001a), but governmental assistance can take this a step further by providing the funding, structures and expertise necessary to provide meaningful language support.

Without institutional support, and with cultural activities available solely in the majority language, the 'intracultural boundaries' advocated by Fishman (1985) are no longer in place and the language loses a space in which it can be heard and used without outside influences. This results in a reduction in domains in which the language may be spoken, making it more difficult to resist language shift.

2.4.6. Identity

Baker (2001a) also pinpoints identity as being crucial in avoiding language shift. People who consider their language essential to both their ethnic and self-identities, and who have strong emotional attachments to their heritage language, are more likely to maintain the language than are those who define their identities through factors other than language.

Sociolinguists focus on the role of language in identity construction at both individual and group levels. The processes of language maintenance and

¹ Sourced from www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz

language shift are examples of macro-level processes which result from micro-level decisions being made about language choice. Therefore, the ways in which people exercise linguistic choice as part of their everyday lives act as drivers in shaping the future direction and survival of the language concerned. While the concept of identity is shaped by a range of factors, the importance of language rests on the fact that almost every aspect of culture is dependent upon language for its transmission from one person to the next. Language is crucial in deciding with whom we might have commonalities and with whom we may not share anything in common. Our ability, or lack of ability, to speak a language can facilitate or restrict our ability to communicate. The ability to construct and maintain distinctive identities serves a boundary-marking function between groups and language plays a key part in this.

Baker (2001a; 2001b) claims that language planning is essential in maintaining minority languages and that linguistic and cultural diversity is essential for stability and human adaptability:

In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. That is, diversity is directly related to stability; variety is important for long-term survival. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environment over thousands of years (atmospheric as well as cultural). Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus language and cultural diversity maximises chances of human success and adaptability. (Baker, 2001b, p. 281)

It is clear that maintaining a language goes hand in hand with the larger goal of cultural survival and the valuing of ethnic diversity.

2.5. Overseas research on Spanish language maintenance and shift

Castilian Spanish, commonly known as Spanish, is the third-most-spoken language in the world with over 330 million speakers (Potowski & Rothman, 2011). In the United States (US), it is the second-most-common language after English with 37 million speakers. It is, therefore, unsurprising that this is the country in which the greatest amount of research has taken place on language maintenance and shift among Spanish-speaking migrant communities. According to Potowski and Rothman (2011), research on Spanish is in its infancy in New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom (UK); however, an investigation of the literature shows that, of those four countries, by

far the least research on Spanish language has been carried out in New Zealand.

2.5.1. North America

In the US, the anti-immigration rhetoric which has dominated the political scene in recent years has been targeted largely towards the Hispanic population (Valdés, 2011). The fear of monolingual, Spanish-speaking, illegal migrants from the South has led to concerns that the dominant culture and language may be at risk from these migrants. However, Valdés makes the assertion that, to the contrary, research into language maintenance and shift shows that Spanish-speaking communities are experiencing the same rapid shift to the dominant English language as can be seen elsewhere, which can lead to English monolingualism in as few as four generations. The key difference between Spanish and other heritage languages is that the scale of the shift from Spanish to English is disguised by the large numbers of new Spanish-speaking immigrants who continue to arrive in the US every year.

Language attitudes are again a key feature in North American research with Galindo (1995) emphasising the importance of sociolinguistic studies considering the impact of language attitudes when investigating language change in bilingual communities. Galindo herself investigated the attitudes of adolescents in bilingual speech communities towards the different varieties of Spanish and English within their communities. While in New Zealand Spanish is generally viewed positively by society, this is not the case in the US where it is seen as the language of those on the bottom rung of the socio-economic ladder who carry out less-desirable, low-paying jobs. However, Galindo (1995) found that, while some speakers might have negative perceptions of the language and its speakers, they also felt a sense of language loyalty, seeing Spanish as a link to their Hispanic heritage and cultural identity. They also saw it as a link to their wider families, particularly their grandparents.

The need for fluency in Spanish to maintain a family connection was also identified as a key motivation for both Canadian and Australian Hispanics to safeguard their heritage language (Guardado, 2008; Jones Díaz, 2011). Spanish was seen as a link to older generations of the family and to extended family in their country of origin. Guardado's participants considered speaking

the heritage language essential to “unity and connectivity” (p. 179) when communicating with other family members. In Australia, research by Jones Díaz (2011) found that regular visits to family back home gave children a valuable opportunity to reconnect with their parents’ culture and share everyday language practices. She describes these family connections as “contributing towards securing social, linguistic and cultural capital” (p. 269). The family is an essential resource in the transmission of the language and, in particular, visiting extended family in the home country as this brings enormous benefits through increased exposure to the language in its natural setting. The ability to interact with family in the country of origin was central to the interviews for my own study as will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

In both the US (Galindo, 1995) and Canada (Guardado, 2008), research showed that parental language choice plays a significant role in determining whether a heritage language will be passed on to the next generation. Guardado (2008) states that “it is the home language practices unfolding in the trenches that ultimately have the most direct and proximate effect” (p. 180). He also draws a link between cultural awareness in immigrant families and the commitment to their cultural identity and Spanish language maintenance. His findings indicate that parental commitment to maintaining and developing the heritage language, and indeed cultural identity, was directly related to the parents’ own cultural awareness. Those who had a stronger cultural awareness seemed to be more likely to pass this, and the heritage language, on to their children. However, Valdés (2011) highlights the fact that while intergenerational transmission is indeed essential to language maintenance, as Fishman has maintained for many years, some parents may not possess the language skills to pass the language on if they themselves have been living in an English-dominant society for their entire lives. This means that, while native speakers may possess the language resources to avoid language shift, those in the third generation face a far greater task if they are committed to maintaining their heritage languages.

The changing face of Spanish in the US means that language choices are no longer restricted to Spanish and English. While half of Galindo’s (1995) respondents told her that they spoke formal Spanish, there were a number of teens who said that they used informal varieties such as Tex-Mex and Caló,

which are characterised by words that would previously have been considered taboo. Galindo found considerable use of code-switching among teens; the main reasons for this were that they couldn't remember a word or because a phrase might sound more natural to them in Spanish so, while the rest of the conversation might be in English, they will switch to Spanish for that portion of the sentence. Galindo illustrates this claim with the example of a teen who asks her mother, "Can you make me some *papas con huevo*" (p. 84), because 'potatoes with egg' didn't sound nearly as delicious to her.

According to Romaine (2011), hybrid languages, such as those discussed by Galindo (1995), can act as long-term markers of a group identity in an increasingly mobile world. Speaking a form of 'Spanglish',² a blend of Spanish and English, is not only a way to communicate with other bilingual English/Spanish speakers, it is a way of reflecting the hybrid nature of its speakers, both linguistically and culturally. While Spanglish is unlikely to replace the Spanish language entirely, given the continued immigration of Spanish speakers to the US and family links with countries to the South, it is unlikely that Spanglish will disappear.

According to Romaine, the speed at which patterns of Spanish/English bilingualism are evolving makes it very difficult to predict future patterns of Spanish; Urzúa and Gómez (2008) reiterate that even living in an 'ethnic enclave', such as the Puerto Rican community in Southbridge, Massachusetts, may merely slow language shift rather than prevent it completely, so the future of Spanish in the US should not be taken for granted.

2.5.2. United Kingdom

While many participants in the aforementioned studies were relatively recent arrivals to the US and Canada from Latin America, and in particular Mexico, the UK study undertaken by Pozo-Gutiérrez (2006) investigated a very different group of Spanish-speaking migrants. This research explored the language legacy of Spaniards who arrived in the UK between 1950 and 1974. Pozo-Gutiérrez found that many of these had tried to integrate into the English-speaking society as quickly as possible and this had led to a high level of

² See Abbreviations and Glossary for definition.

language loss. This echoes not only the experience of the Dutch in New Zealand, but also that of Spanish migrants to Australia in the middle of last century (Martín, 2011). Given the period of migration to the UK being examined, it was often the case that the respondent was the sole Spanish speaker in their workplace and wider community, and this resulted in a strong desire to become acculturated so that they could fit in and feel accepted. For those migrants who had ambitions of undertaking higher education, attaining both fluency and a high level of literacy in English was essential, and the children of migrants found that they were immersed in a monolingual education system which had little understanding of bilingualism and expected them to assimilate. It was not until 1977 that the European Community Council directed member states to allow heritage culture and languages to be taught as part of the school curriculum; however, it took another two decades, and increased multiculturalism, before this began to happen in practice (Pozo-Gutiérrez, 2006).

In recent years, with the increasing status of Spanish in the UK through the popularity of Spanish and Latino music, dance and films, many children of these immigrants who speak little or no Spanish are frustrated by their lack of language skills (Pozo-Gutiérrez, 2006). They and their children are embarking on a rediscovery of their Spanish heritage: not only the language, but also history, politics and other aspects of their culture. Pozo-Gutiérrez (2006) refers to this as the “hispanisation” (p. 228) of popular culture and discusses the burgeoning film and music industries in both Spain and Latin America which have been experiencing worldwide success over the past decade, something which is also noticeable in New Zealand and became particularly apparent during the interview phase of this study. The accessibility of Spanish-language media, publications and language resources also plays a role. One participant in the study spoke of buying a doll, which was designed as a teaching aid and both spoke and sang in Spanish, to encourage her granddaughter to develop Spanish language skills. Pozo-Gutiérrez is optimistic for the future of Spanish in Great Britain and hopes that now that the language has become a “fashionable commodity” (p. 228) and receives increasing global recognition, there may be a reversal in the language shift which has taken place over the past half a century. This view of Spanish as being a fashionable language is one which emerged during fieldwork for this thesis and it will be interesting to observe in

years to come whether the optimism with which Pozo-Gutiérrez views Spanish in the UK is reflected in New Zealand's experience.

2.5.3. Australia

The early experience of Australia in relation to Spanish-speaking migrants has many commonalities with that of Britain. Spaniards began to arrive in the country from the 1940s and were required, along with migrants from other countries, to assimilate quickly (Clyne & Kipp, 2006; Martín, 1996; Martín, 2011) and the Department of Immigration established a *Good Neighbours* organisation with the purpose of assisting migrants in doing this. According to Martín (1996), this organisation was both nationalistic and paternalistic; it viewed migrants as lucky to have the opportunity to live in Australia and preached a discourse of assimilation. In a similar way to that of the New Zealand experience, this organisation encouraged parents to speak only English to their children and, within the school system, migrant students were put into separate classes so that they had little opportunity to speak their heritage language with each other (Martín, 2011).

While New Zealand's immigration policies during the first half of the twentieth century were not nearly as draconian as were those of Australia, the experiences of migrants from a non-English-speaking background certainly reflected some of those which were encountered by migrants to Australia. In particular, these new arrivals in New Zealand experienced racism and bias towards their heritage languages and were told that a shift to English was essential if their children were to succeed in their new country.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the ideology of complete assimilation by migrant communities in Australia began to make way for a discourse of integration. The pressure on these communities to relinquish their cultural heritages and mother tongues reduced and it became acceptable for them to maintain their own languages and cultures alongside their Australian identities. In 1972, the racist White Australia Policy was finally revoked by the Labour Government (Martín, 1996). This policy reversal opened the doors to migrants from countries outside Europe, resulting in a shift to migration from Spanish-speaking Latin America rather than Spain itself. Given the political upheaval in Chile, Argentina and El Salvador, a number of migrants arrived as refugees; however, these were

outnumbered by those Latin Americans who were seeking to settle in Australia for personal and economic reasons (Sanchez-Castro & Gil, 2009). Unsurprisingly, given that migration from the Spanish-speaking Southern Hemisphere has been more recent, these migrants appear to be more successful in maintaining their language than were earlier arrivals (Clyne & Kipp, 2006).

Comparable to those in the New Zealand context, Spanish-speaking communities in Australia have been the focus of very little research in the areas of language and migration studies. Martín's PhD thesis is the key publication in the field which examines the Spanish language (Martín, 1996), with contributions also being made by smaller studies such as Sanchez-Castro and Gil (2009) and Gibbons and Ramirez (2004). The latter study by Gibbons and Ramirez demonstrated that there was a direct correlation between a higher proficiency in both English and Spanish and positive beliefs about bilingualism.

Martín (1996) uses a mixed-method approach consisting of a survey, interviews, participant observation and document analysis to investigate the state of Spanish in the Latin American community at both a macro and a micro level. His focus on domains provides a comprehensive picture of where the language is being used most often. Martín found that those participants who had arrived in Australia prior to the age of 16 showed a steady decrease in speaking Spanish in three core domains: the home, a relative's home, and a friend's house. This highlights the importance of targeting language maintenance efforts at children and those adults who are supporting their language-learning efforts.

2.6. New Zealand language maintenance research

Over the past thirty years, much research has taken place on community languages within migrant communities in New Zealand, meaning that there is now a considerable volume of literature available to researchers in the field. Communities which have been the focus of research include:

- Afrikaans-speaking South African (Barkhuizen, 2006; Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006; Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2006)

- Cantonese (Roberts, 1991; Roberts, 2005)
- Cook Islands (Davis & Starks, 2005; Starks et al., 2005)
- Dalmatian (Stoffel, 1982)
- Dutch (Crezee, 2008; Kuiper, 2005; Roberts, 2005)
- Greek (Verivaki, 1991)
- Gujarati (Roberts, 2005)
- Korean (Kim & Starks, 2005; Kim & Starks, 2010)
- Italian (Plimmer, 1994)
- Niuean (Starks, 2006; Starks et al., 2005)
- Polish (Neazor, 1991)
- Samoan (Roberts, 2005; Starks et al., 2005)
- Sinhalese (Daly, 1990)
- Tongan ('Aipolo & Holmes, 1990; Starks et al., 2005).

An analysis of the research confirms the three generalisations made by Roberts (2005): firstly, that community languages are reasonably well maintained in the first generation; secondly, that there can be a large variation in the success of language maintenance in the second New Zealand-born generation; and, finally, that the attitude of the migrant community has an enormous impact on the ability of the language to be maintained from the second generation onwards. Starks (2005) identifies the following patterns in the research:

- Rapid language loss
- The importance of the home domain
- Attitudes towards heritage languages
- The advantage of having extended family close by
- Access to the heritage language in the education system.

It is clear that the common theme in language maintenance research among migrant communities is the link between language maintenance and cultural identity (Starks, 2005). This reflects the notion that attitudes to a language are a

key factor in language maintenance and that migrants who view their language as crucial to their identities are more likely to resist language shift.

In general, the migrant communities surveyed valued their languages and saw them as being integral to their senses of ethnic identity. For example, over 90% of participants in the 'Aipolo and Holmes (1990) study of the Wellington Tongan community strongly agreed with positive statements about the language: 85% of the study participants believed that Tongan was a beautiful language and over 90% felt that all Tongans should learn the language and considered that language maintenance was important.

The Greek and Chinese communities, particularly the earlier generations (Holmes et al., 1993), also demonstrated positive attitudes towards their languages. First-generation Greeks believed their language to be at the core of their cultural identities and, while the second generation did not think that it was a defining element of their identity, they did believe that it was desirable to speak the language. Chinese parents were adamant that their heritage and culture were vitally important, and language was seen as part of this (Holmes et al., 1993). They wanted their children to be aware of their heritage and over two-thirds of respondents had sent or were sending their children to Chinese language school in an effort to ensure that they didn't lose the language. However, similarly to the Greek community, the later generations were less enthusiastic about maintaining the language than were the first.

The key exception to the above research was Neazor's (1991) study into the Wellington Polish community in which, to the researcher's surprise, only two of the sixteen interviewees felt that speaking the language was essential to having a sense of Polish identity. According to Neazor, this community placed more importance upon maintaining its cultural traditions than its language.

The aforementioned study into the Italian community in Wellington (Plimmer, 1994) demonstrated the importance of the views of wider society to the minority community's attitude towards its language. This is an issue which emerged as a key theme during the interview phase of this thesis, in particular in relation to the status of Spanish worldwide and its increasing presence on New Zealand television. Plimmer (1994) argues that "belonging to a group widely recognised

as having ‘style’ and ‘class’ clearly contributes to a positive self-image” (p. 99) and the natural consequence of this is in generating enthusiasm for the culture and language.

Daly (1990) also discusses the status of a minority-language community as having an impact on the self-esteem of the community and, therefore, its enthusiasm to maintain its language. The social status of a group within wider society is often aligned to its economic status and, therefore, groups with low status are less likely to have high self-esteem and are at higher risk of language shift.

Where a community seeks to integrate quickly, for example the Dutch (Crezee, 2008; Crezee, 2012; Kuiper, 2005; Roberts, 2005) and Dalmatian (Stoffel, 1982) communities, language shift happens more rapidly and the community appears to have a more ambivalent attitude towards language maintenance than do other communities.

Government policy in New Zealand in the 1940s and 1950s was focused on attracting English-speaking migrants and those with what was perceived to be a similar culture. Following the successful assimilation of a small group of Dutch migrants, their compatriots were welcomed into the country. The major migration of Dutch people to New Zealand took place in the 1950s and 1960s with many of the initial arrivals being single men who, naturally, married outside the Dutch community (Kuiper, 2005). The Government encouraged these new migrants to settle throughout the country and this population spread resulted in very few Dutch people having the opportunity to speak their mother tongue outside the home. This is illustrated in Crezee’s (2012) PhD study in which almost half of the thirty respondents reported speaking “very little” Dutch with friends during the initial period of settlement.

As previously mentioned, many Dutch migrants found that, if they spoke in their mother tongue, they were considered with suspicion by monolingual New Zealanders. Two-thirds of Crezee’s (2012) participants said that they felt that the host society wanted them to speak English all the time so they obliged in order for their children to be accepted and to be able to access education. Dutch parents were actively encouraged to speak English with their children to

better prepare them for academic study. Because this advice was given by education professionals, many parents took it seriously, although these professionals were generally monolingual themselves and there was no evidence of harm in being bilingual. On the contrary, research on bilingualism has shown it to be of academic benefit to children (Crezee, 2012).

The attitudes towards Dutch migrants speaking their own language bear some similarities to those towards the speaking of Māori; Māori speakers were told that, in order to succeed in the New Zealand education system, their children needed to speak English. Until the late twentieth century, students were frequently punished for speaking Māori at school and this reinforced the message that fluency in English was critical. Similarly, by encouraging their children to speak English and sacrificing their mother tongue, Dutch migrants felt that they were being responsible parents and were doing the right thing. As a result, a shift to English by the third generation was particularly marked in this community (Roberts, 2005).

In spite of their efforts to fit in, many of Crezee's (2012) participants expressed sadness that they had never really been accepted into the community due to the fact that their Dutch accents still marked them out as migrants. They regretted not passing their language on to their children and grandchildren, and commented that over the half-century since the arrival of the first Dutch settlers, New Zealand had become more accepting of cultural differences and therefore new migrants would experience a different reception to their languages than the Dutch community had.

The Sri Lankan community also experienced a great rate of language loss which Daly (1990) attributed to its country of origin being a former British colony. The use of English as a language of prestige in their homeland, prior to their arrival in New Zealand, meant that interviewees were fluent in the language and it appeared that they preferred to use a Sri Lankan variety of English, rather than Sinhalese, to self-identify. As a result, English was used in domains such as the home where the nurturing of a heritage language generally takes place. Daly speculated as to whether the decreasing status of English in Sri Lanka might mean that future migrants would be more likely to view the retention of Sinhalese positively.

In comparison to the Dutch who were encouraged to assimilate into New Zealand society, the Gujarati and Cantonese communities found themselves subjected to discrimination by the immigration authorities in New Zealand. According to Roberts (2005), immigration policy through to the 1970s and 1980s was informed by racism which led to these communities feeling excluded from the wider population. Marriage into the largely Pākehā³ host society was also discouraged; this further accentuated their sense of being on the outside. The active discrimination faced by these groups led to them clinging to their ethnic identities and fostering their languages and cultures within both the family and their own communities.

2.6.1. Common factors across the literature

The range of domains in which speakers can engage with a language has a significant impact on the likely success of language maintenance. However, few migrant languages in New Zealand have the advantage of being used in more than a couple of domains and, therefore, it is the home which is the crucial domain in successful language maintenance. Speaking the language in the home has been identified in the literature as a common factor for communities which have successfully avoided language shift or have slowed the rate at which it has taken place. But while parents have greater control of language choice in the home than they do in other domains, ensuring that their mother tongue is used consistently can present a challenge (Barkhuizen, 2006). Some parents, while encouraging the use of the mother tongue in the home, may not have a specific policy to do this and choose to not correct their children if they talk in English. However, other families make a conscious choice to implement a policy to speak only their mother tongue in the home as they see it as being the only way to ensure that their children grow up bilingual in both English and their community language.

Intermarriage is identified as a major cause of language loss in minority communities in New Zealand. Davis and Starks (2005) reported a lower level of proficiency in Cook Island Māori for children born into mixed marriages. This was attributed to the decreased opportunity that children have to speak and

³ New Zealander of European descent.

hear Cook Island Māori when their parents have two different heritage languages. In cases where inter-ethnic marriage took place between two people from two different Pacific Island backgrounds, the common language, and therefore the language of the home, was often English. In cases where one parent spoke only the dominant language and the other was bilingual, the language of the monolingual parent was spoken. According to Clyne (1991), mixed marriage almost always leads to monolingualism in the children.

In some communities, inter-ethnic marriage has been actively discouraged (Holmes et al., 1993) and it has been considered preferable to seek marriage partners in the country of origin. This not only serves the purpose of slowing the rate of language shift, but it is also possible that bringing fluent speakers into the community may also help to revitalise the language.

Institutional support is seen as a significant factor in the difference between success and failure in maintaining a language (Holmes, 2008). Research into migrant languages shows that they enjoy very little institutional support apart from that which the community itself has initiated. In New Zealand, this tends to focus around the domain of religion, with the Pasifika communities in particular being regular participants in church services in their community languages ('Aipolo & Holmes, 1990; Roberts, 2005). Religious services are also available in several Asian languages, Afrikaans (Barkhuizen, 2006) and even Spanish in larger centres such as Auckland and Wellington.

Other organised activities include non-religious social events such as those organised for the Italian community in Wellington by the Garibaldi Club (Plimmer, 1994) and for the Polish community at the Dom Polski centre (Neazor, 1991). In Auckland, several migrant communities have managed to maintain premises with little or no governmental support, including the Villa Dalmacija (Dalmatian community), the Polish House and the Mahatma Gandhi Centre. The Auckland Latin American Community funds its offices and library in Onehunga by taking on governmental contracts in areas such as refugee and migrant resettlement; however, these are largely based around the need for bilingual social workers and not for the purposes of servicing the language needs of the community. It is clear that institutional support is lacking for migrant languages, although, given the number of languages spoken and the

small size of some migrant communities, it would not be an easy task to provide institutionalised assistance for all our community languages.

While communities from the Pacific and Asia regions have been the focus of much research in the area of language maintenance and shift, Starks (2005) identifies significant gaps in research into community languages and argues that these need to be addressed, particularly among the African, Middle Eastern and Latin American communities. As the first study to focus on one of the many Spanish-speaking communities in New Zealand, this research attempts to address one of these gaps.

2.7. Spanish-speaking communities in New Zealand

Prior to the 1970s, there were very few Latin Americans living in New Zealand, as illustrated in Table 1 (below). The earliest Latin Americans to settle here probably arrived in sailing ships which called at ports in South America (Wilson, 2009); however, these numbered less than 200 until after World War One when a small number of Argentines arrived. Due to the close links between Argentina and Britain at this time, some of these migrants had English ancestry, so New Zealand would have been a comfortable fit. In 1973, General Augusto Pinochet staged a coup against Chilean President Salvador Allende and his Popular Unity Government. There was a subsequent exodus of academics, musicians, artists and left-wing activists and these people settled throughout the world with a small number finding themselves in New Zealand. Over time, these migrants were joined by family members and the Latin American community expanded yet further with political refugees arriving from Argentina, El Salvador, Colombia and Peru (Walker, 2011).

Table 1: Latin American-born residents in New Zealand (Wilson, 2009)

Census year	Chile	Argentina	Brazil (Portuguese speaking)	Mexico	Peru	Other Latin American countries	Total
1921	39	49	24	10	15	N/A	137
1951	49	103	35	12	19	N/A	218
1976	273	181	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2001	756	384	654	246	408	1,065	3,513
2006	1,377	909	1,761	384	498	1,644	6,573

Most of these migrants settled in the main centres and both Wellington and Auckland began to develop Latin scenes (Walker, 2011; personal observations). While the scene in Wellington was focused around the bohemian central-city location of Cuba Street, the differing demographics in Auckland meant that the community was spread across a much larger area. In the city centre, the focus for Latin American music and dance was nightclub *El Inca* on Karangahape Road which operated in the second half of the 1990s and was frequently a venue for the two main Latin American bands at the time, Kantuta and Banda Latina, both of which are still in existence.

2.7.1. Formation of the Auckland Latin American Community Incorporated

Meanwhile, the newly formed Auckland Latin American Community Incorporated set up a community centre, *La Casa Latina* [The Latin House], in the suburb of Onehunga. *La Casa Latina* provided a venue for dance and musical groups to practise and perform, and for classes in English, Spanish, music and dance. It was also the location for the office of the new Spanish-language paper *Voces del Sur* [Voices of the South] and an exhibition space for artists. Regular *peñas* or folkloric evenings were held at the centre and the Latin American community began to thrive. As the largest group within the wider Latin American community, the Chilean community also thrived with Chile National Day celebrations becoming the largest event of the year.

While some Aucklanders had a keen interest in Latin American culture and attended community events at *La Casa Latina*, the Spanish language was spoken by very few non-native speakers and this lack of language limited the extent to which they could fully participate (Barnard, 1996). Over the past two decades, with the increasing popularity of aspects of Latin culture such as food, music and dance, the Spanish language has also increased in popularity as a subject for study. In 1991, only 256 secondary school students (Wilson, 2009) were learning Spanish while, in 2002, this had risen to 4,823 (Wilson, 2009) and, in 2009, there were 35,000 students enrolled in Spanish classes at secondary school and 2,500 at university (McDonald, 2009). In 1995, The University of Auckland expanded the number of papers on Spanish and/or Latin American history, politics and literature under the umbrella of a new

undergraduate major in Latin American Studies. And, in 2002, the New Zealand Centre for Latin American Studies was founded at The University of Auckland.

2.7.2. Auckland in 2013

Present-day Auckland is very different to the city which many of this study's participants would have experienced on their arrival in New Zealand. The demography of the Latin American community has changed considerably over the last decade; much of this is due to Working Holiday Visa arrangements that New Zealand now has with Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay.⁴ While some of the young, predominantly well-educated, Latin Americans who arrive on these visas stay for only the allowable twelve months, many find jobs and decide to stay on permanently.

Nowadays Auckland has a thriving Latin scene. There are a number of Latin American restaurants and nightclubs ranging from Mexican taco joints and tequila bars, to two Argentine restaurants with full-sized wood-burning *parrillas* [open fires with grills]. Hispanic films appear not only at the New Zealand International Film Festival but also in specific Latin American Film Festivals which are frequently sponsored by the relevant embassies. Salsa and tango classes are offered across Auckland and the Latin-inspired fitness craze *Zumba* has become a hit.

Recent Latin American migrants have started up businesses importing a number of products from their home countries and, in 2010, an organisation, KiwiLatino, was set up to represent Spanish-speaking businesses and professionals. In 2012, two different monthly markets featuring Hispanic products were established in Auckland, offering venues for these businesses to promote and sell their products: the O Mercado Latin Market which includes Brazilian products and the Spanish Market run by the Latin Rhythm Dance School.

With the increasing popularity of Latin American culture in New Zealand, many patrons of these venues and dance-class students are New Zealanders rather

⁴ Sourced from www.immigration.govt.nz

than Latin Americans, although community-organised national day parties are still largely dominated by Latinos (own observations).

ALAC has settled in new premises in Onehunga where they run:⁵

- Bilingual social services and job-seeking assistance
- English and Spanish courses
- Traditional Latin American dance group *Macondo*
- Spanish-language library *Letras Latinas*
- Cultural events and Spanish-language film evenings
- Sports days and the annual Latin Marathon
- Spanish-language seminars on topics of interest to recent migrants such as the New Zealand health system.

This range of services would have been unheard of thirty years ago when Chileans started arriving in large numbers.

The changing face of the Latin American community in Auckland is one that has the potential to impact the future of the Spanish language, as will be discussed in the findings of this study.

2.7.3. Previous research

The Spanish-speaking communities in New Zealand have been largely neglected in the area of language with the exception of Walker's (2011) work on three Latin American families who were surveyed as part of a larger study of adult multilingual immigrants. Other research has approached the community from the paradigms of social work (Rivera, 1997 in Walker, 2011) and identity studies (Barnard, 1996). When discussing the importance that fluency in Spanish had on her ability to carry out her research on ethnic identity among Chilean women in Auckland, Barnard noted that understanding Spanish was a prerequisite for full immersion in the community as without it people were left watching activities from the outside rather than being able to participate fully.

⁵ Sourced from ALAC records and own observations.

The growing popularity of Spanish and increased numbers of speakers from non-Latin backgrounds means that this is far less the case now than it was sixteen years ago. According to Statistics New Zealand (2007), the number of Spanish speakers in New Zealand has more than doubled over the ten years between 1996 and 2006, with an increase from 10,692 to 21,642 (see Table 2 below).

Table 2: Spanish speakers in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2007)

Census year	Spanish speakers
1996	10,692
2001	14,676
2006	21,642

The largest group of Spanish speakers, numbering 14,466, identifies their ethnicity as “European”; however, it is unclear how many of those are of Spanish descent. It is possible that many of them may be either bilingual/multilingual speakers from other European countries, or New Zealanders of European descent. The next-largest grouping is an umbrella grouping of “Middle Eastern/Latin American/African”, presumably due to the small numbers of migrants from these continents; again, this provides little detail as to how many of them are native speakers from Spanish-speaking countries. A total of 2,202 people who identify as New Zealanders speak Spanish and a further 1,419 Māori identify themselves as Spanish speakers.

Walker (2011) asserts that, due to the small size of Spanish-speaking communities in New Zealand, they are at even greater risk of language shift than are communities such as those studied by Guardado (2008) and Clyne (1991) in Canada and Australia, respectively. Because of limited access to Spanish-speaking domains outside the home, the burden of retaining the language rests upon the parents. She discusses three families with at least one parent from a Spanish-speaking background which had varying levels of success in passing the language on to their children, ranging from full bilingualism to limited understanding of the language. Walker provides an example of a Chilean family from her study which managed to maintain the

language relatively successfully until the parents were outnumbered by their children and then the most common form of communication became 'Spanglish', a mixture of Spanish and English. This change to the language was reflected in other aspects of their life, such as the food they ate, so that they gradually became a hybrid of the two cultures. Other participants described how they mixed far more with people from other parts of Latin America than they would have in their home country, and that they had begun to share different aspects of each other's traditions (Walker, 2011).

Findings from the survey (Walker, 2011) showed that parents felt that it was important for their children to speak Spanish, not only for the sake of their cultural identity and being able to communicate with family back home, but also because they saw bilingualism as being advantageous. They saw the Spanish language as an important one given how widespread it is throughout the world. However, they did express concerns about how realistic this goal was in a country where English is as dominant as it is in New Zealand.

Walker (2011) concludes that the experience of Spanish-speaking communities in New Zealand mirrors those of migrant small communities living in English-dominant societies throughout the world. Parents see bilingualism positively and believe that it will help their children to succeed; they have a strong belief in the importance of the language to their cultural identities. However, despite a commitment to maintaining the language, this can be difficult in a society where there are few resources and little structural or policy support available for heritage language communities.

Two factors are identified by Walker (2011) as assisting in the retention of the Spanish language in New Zealand: the small size of the Latin American community means that the language provides a crucial link to their origins; and the fact that New Zealand is isolated from Latin America means that "the continued use of Spanish helps minimise a sense of distance, reducing the significance of place by becoming the site of identity construction itself" (p. 350). While communities can play a role in providing children with exposure to the Spanish language, the role of the parents is critical in ensuring the success of transmission of the Spanish language from one generation to the next. Walker voices the hope that creating conditions for Spanish-English bilingualism at a

societal level would assist parents in these efforts, and would benefit the country in its goal of creating a culturally and linguistically diverse society.

As an observer of the Latin American community for almost two decades, I have watched the Spanish language, and associated cultural activities, gain in popularity. During my teenage years in the mid to late 1990s, it was not unusual for me to be the only Kiwi who was dancing salsa at the Latin American nightclub *El Inca*. However, in Auckland it is now possible to dance salsa every night of the week and most dancers are from non-Latin backgrounds. This popularity of music, dance and food is also reflected in the number of non-Latins who speak Spanish. In theory, this provides a far greater number of domains in which the language can be accessed and it should be more possible to maintain the language than it was in the past; however, language maintenance still requires great effort on the part of the community members themselves and it is the willingness to put in this effort which this study will explore.

2.8. Summary

All heritage languages are at risk of language shift when spoken by migrant communities who are surrounded by another, more-dominant, language; Spanish is no exception to this. This language shift can lead to language loss in as few as three or four generations (Fishman, 1985) as illustrated by the cases of the Dutch communities in New Zealand and the Spanish community in the UK.

Factors which may encourage language shift range from the size of a community and how it is dispersed, to economic factors, and factors related to language attitudes and the community's perceived cultural identity. The most-crucial resources in maintaining the language are the parents of the community and their language ability, sense of cultural identity and commitment to carrying out an often-difficult task. These findings are reflected in both the New Zealand and international literature with different communities experiencing different success rates in maintaining their heritage languages.

This study has investigated one of the least-researched community languages in New Zealand, Spanish. The focus of the research was the Chilean

community in Auckland. As illustrated by this review, this community is both the most-established and the largest Spanish-speaking Latin American community and will therefore provide richer data on language maintenance and shift than would communities which have migrated to New Zealand more recently.

It is hoped that this research will not only add to the body of knowledge on heritage languages in New Zealand, but will be a useful resource for the Auckland Chilean community in their efforts to maintain their language and culture.

Chapter Three:

Methodology

3.1. Chapter outline

This study is an exploration of Spanish language maintenance and shift from the viewpoint of the Chilean community in Auckland, New Zealand. This chapter will outline methodological approaches taken by previous studies into language maintenance and shift before describing, and providing a rationale for, the methodological approach selected for this study. It will detail the research instruments selected and how these were used, and the data-analysis process. Finally, the chapter will discuss ethical issues and the role of the researcher, both in ethnographic research in general and in this study in particular.

3.2. Established research approaches

Methods for studying community languages generally fall into two broad categories: quantitative techniques such as census questions and postal questionnaires; and qualitative techniques involving ethnographic methods such as participant observation, case studies, recorded interactions and diaries (Holmes, 1997).

While much research now takes a mixed-method approach which combines both qualitative and quantitative methods, the belief that the two approaches complement each other has not always been universally embraced. Dörnyei (2007) claims that “qualitative research methods gained paradigmatic status as a reaction against quantitative research” (p. 30) and Lazaraton (2003) also identified a tendency to define qualitative research in comparison to quantitative research rather than in its own right. These opinions reflect a well-established view that the two approaches are in opposition to one another.

Holmes (1997) argues that the two techniques are complementary with quantitative data drawn from large samples allowing the researcher to make

broad generalisations while the qualitative data can provide depth and insight. She states that “the result is a rich data base of qualitative material in the form of interpretive comment to illuminate the quantitative data which forms its backdrop” (p. 27). According to Dörnyei (2007), this combination of quantitative and qualitative data enables a multi-level analysis which increases the strength of the research and enhances its validity through triangulation of data.

While the perception that a quantitative aspect is necessary to provide validity to a research project is still prevalent, Hymes (1980) argues that the field of linguistics has demonstrated that qualitative methods on their own can be the basis for sound research. Studies such as those by Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) and Jeon (2008), demonstrate that this is indeed the case, and so I share Hymes’ opinion that well-designed and rigorous qualitative research can stand on its own as is evidenced by the research approach selected for this study.

Previous research into migrant community languages in New Zealand has largely consisted of census and survey techniques involving large-scale, self-administered questionnaires. These may be followed by interviews or, in some cases (Plimmer, 1994; Stoffel, 1982), the researcher may be present while the questionnaire is completed in order to answer any questions which the participant might have. Verivaki (1991) refers to this method as “questionnaire-based interviews”. The issue of consistency is one that must be raised given that a study might include data both from participants who had minimal interaction with the researcher and from those who required considerable assistance.

A relatively small number of studies use an ethnographic approach, the reasons for which will be discussed in section 3.3. One study which engaged an ethnographic approach was Kim and Starks (2005) which utilised language diaries, although they noted that the information gained was much the same as that gained through the use of a questionnaire.

Questions asked of participants were consistent across the different studies, focusing on language proficiency, use and attitudes, as well as some demographic data. Holmes (1997) discusses the importance of setting a

community language within its socio-economic context and argues that 'Aipolo does this effectively by including questions, based on her personal experience in the community, which would help to identify employment situations where participants may be able to speak Tongan. Studies ranged in size from sixteen participants, eight each of the first and second generations (Plimmer, 1994), to over one hundred (Roberts, 2005).

3.3. Research approach

This study is framed within an interpretive paradigm and a qualitative approach has been selected as it involves emergent designs which allow flexibility as the study progresses rather than the research design being rigidly configured in advance. Qualitative research projects can utilise a wide range of research instruments to source data, including: interviews, focus groups, observations, case studies, participant diaries and researcher journals. Also, data may be supplemented with document analysis, artefacts and film or audio recordings. This study involves four different research instruments which allow the triangulation of data, an important factor in providing validity in qualitative research.

Research investigations in qualitative research take place in the natural setting in order to satisfy the objective of describing phenomena as they occur in their native environments. For the purpose of this thesis, the native environment consists of participants' homes, the offices of the ALAC, and venues for community events such as council-owned halls and private bars and restaurants.

Qualitative research focuses on insider meaning and the subjective experiences of individual people and how they perceive these. Sample sizes are often small as the approach can be very intensive and often results in large amounts of data being collected. The outcome of the research is interpreted through the researcher's eyes and the researcher's own experiences and values are therefore integral to the process and are frequently openly stated as has been done in this thesis. While Dörnyei (2007) acknowledges that some weaknesses have been attributed to qualitative research methods, he argues that these can provide rich data which broaden our understanding of our world, and provide

the flexibility to allow for a change in methods if and when something does not go to plan. This study attempts to convey the subjective experiences of the Auckland Chilean community on a small scale, and will identify areas in which further research could be carried out in order to provide a full picture of the state of the Spanish language in Hispanic communities in New Zealand.

More specifically, this is an ethnographic study, concerned with both descriptions and interpretations of cultural behaviour, with my role as a researcher being to focus on understanding the inside perspective of the culture involved (Lazaraton, 2003): in this case, that of the Auckland Chilean community. Dörnyei (2007) describes ethnography as being in many ways the embodiment of qualitative research. He argues that it provides a rich narrative which describes the activities and behaviours of the community and the meaning which the community itself attaches to these. This is reinforced by Blommaert (2007) who describes a key feature of ethnography as being its ability to describe and analyse complex issues comprehensively which allows it to do justice to participants' perspectives, an approach which aligns well with the aims of this study.

The specific field of linguistic ethnography is defined by Wetherall (2007) as the meeting of an approach that privileges language (linguistics) with an approach which focuses on culture (ethnography). She explains that this combination allows researchers to "study the discursive patterns found in everyday interactions and aim to situate these in the dynamics of wider cultural settings" (p. 661). The situating of language within the wider cultural context is core to research into language maintenance and was a motivating factor in my selection of this thesis topic.

The rationale for selecting an ethnographic approach is largely based on my wish to tell the community's story about their language and their culture from their perspective. Given my engagement with the community, this approach also seemed to be an appropriate fit for me personally. Dörnyei (2007) identifies the three key features of ethnographic research as being: the focus on participant meaning; prolonged engagement by the researcher in a natural setting; and the emergent nature of the research as the study focus evolves and emerges out of the fieldwork. This prolonged engagement in a setting is the key

drawback of ethnographic research as this is time which few researchers can afford. It could be argued that this is particularly the case now, given that, in New Zealand and further afield, researchers' productivity is increasingly being measured by the number of publications which they produce.

It is important that, as a researcher, I acknowledge my own subjectivity as an active participant in, but not a member of, this community for the past nineteen years. This long association with the community is a privilege which few researchers enjoy, in that it provides me with the prolonged engagement that is required for ethnographic research, as does the completion of this thesis part time over a period of two years.

3.4. Research instruments

Overseas research provides us with examples of ethnographic research into language maintenance which employ a variety of different research instruments. The first of these is Arthur's (2004) study of the Somali community in London which involved: both individual and group interviews; informal observations in homes, community centres and schools; and formal observations at a language literacy class which were audio recorded. Jeon (2008) used similar instruments in her study of Korean language maintenance but also included data gathered from informal conversations and through document analysis. In their study of Chinese immigrant communities in the US, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) used interviews, either individual or with several family members present, combined with informal conversations and observations at community events such as movie showings, seminars, outings and cultural gatherings, and when one researcher worked as a volunteer teacher at a weekend language school.

In New Zealand, questionnaires are largely the research instrument of choice in the study of language maintenance. While these are often supplemented by qualitative interviews with smaller groups of participants, for example Roberts (2005), it is rare for researchers to take an ethnographic approach. Jeong Kim's thesis (Kim & Starks, 2005) on the Korean community is an obvious exception. As previously mentioned, this study used participant language diaries. Due to the demanding nature of this instrument for the participants themselves,

participants were sourced from acquaintances who had an interest in language maintenance.

After consideration of the methods utilised in previous research, as previously outlined, and deciding on an ethnographic approach, the following research instruments were selected for data collection:

- Interviews
- Informal observations and conversations
- Community records
- A researcher journal.

While language diaries could have provided another perspective, given that these are very time-consuming for the participants this was not a research instrument which I felt comfortable using, and I believe that the combination of methods which I selected has provided me with the rich data that I was seeking.

3.4.1. Interviews

Interviews were central to my research approach. Talmy (2010) describes the ethnographic interview as a research instrument, the object of which is to access and present the “participants’ beliefs, attitudes, perceptions and experiences” (p. 133). He argues that this type of interview gives voice to the participants and this was the overarching aim of this thesis.

The interviews were semi-structured to allow information to flow from the participants, although they were initially asked for some basic demographic information to provide a background for their story such as: age, country of birth, first language(s) and whether they have children/parents living in New Zealand and which languages they speak. Questions which were used to prompt discussion included:

- Where do you speak Spanish? With whom?
- Is the Spanish language important to your perception of your cultural identity?
- Do you have to speak Spanish to be a real member of the community?

- How important is it to you that the language is maintained for future generations?
- Have you or your family actively sought to maintain the Spanish language?
- Have you used any community services or activities to maintain your language skills and/or connection to the community?
- How do you define your identity? Chilean who lives in New Zealand, Kiwi of Chilean descent, Chilean Kiwi, Chiwi?

Initially, two pilot interviews were undertaken to test the questionnaire and the data gained. These were followed by interviews with another five participants in 2011 and a further seven in 2012.

Each interview took place in a location of the participant's choosing which, generally, was their home, although several interviews were carried out at workplaces or at the ALAC offices.

3.4.2. Participant observation

Participant and non-participant observation is characteristic of classic ethnographic research (Harklau, 2005, in Dörnyei, 2007) and, by selecting an ethnographic approach, I was able to both supplement and verify data gained through my interviews with notes taken from informal observations and conversations at community events.

Dörnyei (2007) describes a four-part process for accessing and withdrawing from a community when undertaking ethnographic research. In my case, an existing relationship with the community alleviated the need to find a role or way of fitting into the community as I was already familiar to many of the people with whom I was working and my presence would not be seen as unusual or cause discomfort or concern. And while I have relinquished my role as researcher now that the study is complete, I will not be withdrawing from the community completely as my association with the Auckland Latin American Community is a large part of my life and one which I intend to continue.

Observations took place at a number of community events during 2011 and 2012. These included Chile National Day celebrations, the annual *Maratón*

Latina [Latin Marathon] and the ALAC Annual General Meetings and Christmas parties. Given the small size of the Chilean community, I was also fortunate to mix in the same or similar circles as did many of my participants; this meant that I was frequently able to informally observe their language use in its natural setting and discuss language-related issues with them. These informal conversations and observations allowed me to verify what participants told me during the interview process about their language use; this was in a similar manner to the way in which Willoughby (2009) used observations to confirm data gained in her interviews with teenagers in an Australian high school.

After each event, I would record any observations which seemed relevant to the study. I chose not to do this while I was at the event itself to avoid community members feeling uncomfortable. While at the events, I paid attention to which language the participants used to address friends and family, and the way in which language was used in the organisation of the event: for example, on signage, by MCs, in music and in publicity materials. I also noted the mix of cultures of the people present at the events, and whether attendees appeared to be of mainly Latin American origin or were evenly split between Latin Americans and other ethnic groups.

3.4.3. Research journal

I have used my research journal as a place to record notes from interviews and observations and to reflect on these and record my progress through the thesis. A research journal can become a valuable source of data as the researcher logs details of their fieldwork as it takes place. But the journal can go further in providing a place for the researcher to mull over ideas and start to analyse and interpret data. According to Dörnyei (2007), if kept in an orderly format, a journal can also serve as a data source for an ethnographic study.

In recording my observations of the community in my journal alongside my interview notes, I was able to compare whether the descriptions of language use with which the participants provided me were reflected by their behaviour in a community setting. For example, by using my journal to record the language in which one participant interacted with her daughter at various events, I was able to verify her description of language use within the family. In this case, the daughter spent several months in Chile during the data collection process so

observations which took place both before and after this sojourn were valuable in identifying a significant change in language usage between mother and daughter over the course of the study.

3.4.4. Document analysis

Document analysis is often used to provide the historical context of a research project and this was the case in this study. I already had a number of resources of my own, such as a documentary about a large Latin American festival run by the community in 1996, and programmes and photos from many community events since 1994. However, ALAC has allowed me access to additional historical material including:

- Publicity and informational flyers for services and events
- Programmes from community events
- Copies of the community newsletter *Voces del Sur* which was founded in 1994.

In addition to providing background information about the Auckland Latin American community, this material has both refreshed my memory of events and people active in the community in the past, and has provided me with information about activities of the Latin American community in other parts of New Zealand during this time. It also provided information which assisted in prompting interviewees when necessary: for example, when asking participants about the types of events or places where they might speak Spanish or may have spoken Spanish in the past.

While the use of multiple research methods in qualitative research enables researchers to triangulate their data and verify information provided by participants, there is also the risk of conflict between data sources. In this study, I was very fortunate in that the information provided by participants largely matched my own observations and therefore verified what I had been told rather than calling the interview findings into question.

3.5. Participants

Participants were sourced through the snowball sampling method. Both Bryman (2004) and Tolich and Davidson (1999) define the snowball sampling method as making contact with an initial group of people each of whom has a relationship with the research topic. This group is then used to generate further contact with likely participants.

Due to the wide range of contacts that I have in the community, I was able to use this to full advantage when contacting possible participants. Some participants are people with whom I am a friend or an acquaintance, while others are friends or acquaintances of people whom I know. One participant met an Argentine friend of mine by chance in the street and, during the course of their conversation, my friend asked if he would be interested in participating in the study. Naturally, because of the small size of the community, even if I had not been acquainted with a participant previously, we had friends or acquaintances in common in every case.

Fifteen participants were sought initially with the possibility of increasing the number should this have been required. In the end, twelve interviews were carried out with fourteen participants, all of whom were born in Chile. All participants were aged over sixteen and fulfilled at least one of the following roles:

- Migrants whose children have either been born or grown up in New Zealand
- Migrants who arrived in New Zealand as children
- Professionals such as social workers and teachers
- People who carry out voluntary work within the community.

Some participants fulfilled multiple roles: for example, as a parent and also a community worker or volunteer. This selection of participants has provided a wide range of views encompassing both those that are personal and those from a professional standpoint.

Potential participants were given a Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 1) to inform them about the project and written consent was obtained before any interviews occurred. Interviews took place either individually or with several family members present (e.g. two parents or a parent and child) depending on the participants' preferences. Interviews were audio recorded but not videoed and were later transcribed.

3.5.1. Participant demographics

Participants' ages ranged from early 20s to late 60s with most participants aged between thirty and fifty-nine.

Table 3: Ages of participants

Age at time of interview				
20–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60–69
1	5	3	4	1

As is often the case with this type of study, it seemed easier to attract the interest of mothers when discussing language in relation to their children. I did actively seek male participants in order to provide a gender mix; however, the gender of participants is still skewed towards females.

Table 4: Gender of participants

Gender	
Male	Female
5	9

Eleven participants were Chileans whose children were either Chilean born or of Chilean descent but had grown up in New Zealand. Three participants had arrived in New Zealand as children. Two participants included in these two categories fitted into both, having been brought up in New Zealand and then going on to have children themselves. There were also two participants who were Chileans who did not fit into either category but whose professions

involved working with the community. It should be noted that several other participants also carried out voluntary or paid work within the community.

Table 5: Participants' roles in the community

Role			
Parent	Child	Both parent and child	Professional (e.g. social worker or teacher)
9	1	2	2

The length of time since participants arrived in New Zealand ranged from two years to thirty-nine years.

Table 6: Participants' length of time in New Zealand

Years living in New Zealand at time of interview							
1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	36–40
2	4		2	1		3	2

Half of the fourteen participants had an association with ALAC as an employee, member or active supporter while the other seven were from the wider community, although they might occasionally avail themselves of ALAC services or attend events organised by ALAC.

Overall, the fourteen participants provided a range of opinions from different viewpoints reflecting their personal experiences and, in some cases, their experiences as professionals working with the Chilean, and wider Latin American, communities.

3.6. Ethical considerations and the role of the researcher

As social research delves into people's lives and opinions, and often relates to sensitive issues, ethical considerations must be at the forefront of qualitative research (Dörnyei, 2007). When undertaking sociolinguistic research within minority communities, researchers are creating a form of social relationship with that community according to Garner et al. (2006). They argue that

“methodological choices are determined by the nature of the relationship, and consequently methodological choice is in principle ethical. The researcher and the researched influence the relationship and the investigative methods need to reflect these influences” (p. 62). Garner et al. discuss three areas of ethical concern. These are:

- The connection between field research and official policy
- The researcher’s responsibility towards people whom the research has the potential to threaten or marginalise
- The degree to which the researcher becomes allied to the group that he or she is studying.

The position taken by a researcher falls into one of three possible power relationships: research on, for or with the research participants (Garner et al., 2006). In order to empower participants, a study must use interactive methods, allowing the participants to voice their own agendas while the researcher responds to them in a considerate but critical manner. The aim of this research project straddles two power relationships with research participants as the research took place both on and for the community. While the community members were involved in discussions around the research project before it took place, they were not involved in defining the research and therefore it cannot be considered to be research ‘with’ the community.

According to Starfield (2010), the role of the ethnographic researcher is “counter to the positivist construct of the dispassionate, objective researcher who is absent from the account produced” (p. 54). Every researcher should reflect on their own positioning and subjectivity and their role in the project and any possible influence should be clearly stated.

Scollon and Scollon describe the ethnographic researcher as being a participant-observer (Scollon & Scollon, 2007; Tusting & Maybin, 2007) and claim that bringing the researcher into the community can threaten the “scientific cannons of objectivity and distance” (p. 612). Reflexivity is frequently mentioned in relation to social science research; however, Tusting and Maybin (2007) explain that this issue is more common in ethnographic research than it

is in other approaches given that this type of research often requires the researcher themselves to be an active participant in the field. They claim that, while this means that the researcher can gain insights which would not be accessible through any other research approach, their participation can influence the language practices of the people around them. This is an issue which I considered at length in relation to this project; however, I felt that my impact on the community's language practices would not be significant given that the community was already accustomed to my presence at community events.

Puddephatt et al. (2009) counter the above criticism by reiterating Kuhn's assertion that there is a significant difference between the way that traditional sciences claim to be practised and the reality. Scientists too, we are told, are "human beings, members of organised collectives that bring with them a host of theoretical biases in the way that the research is conducted and evidence is analysed" (p. 8). Therefore, rather than trying to ignore the connection that the researcher has to the social world, their reflexivity should be recognised in order to make research more transparent as I have done in this case.

From the inception of this study, I have acknowledged my potential conflict of interest in the dual role of researcher and someone with a personal involvement with the Chilean community. I am in the unique position of being an outsider who has been permitted to enter into the community due to my language skills and enthusiasm for the culture, but, as I do not have any Latin American heritage, my role is as a 'friend' of the community rather than as a community member. This association has provided me with a great advantage in undertaking this research but has also meant that I have had to be conscious of these two roles during the study. The Participant Information Sheet discussed this relationship and made it clear to each participant that it was their choice whether or not they wished to be involved in the research project and their decision would not affect their relationship with me.

As previously mentioned, my association with ALAC began in the year that it was founded, 1993. My current dance group, Macondo Latin American Dance Group, performs at a number of important events in the Chilean, and wider Latin American, communities and, therefore, has a relatively high profile. We also

assist in the organisation of events such as the Chile National Day parties and at the post-earthquake fund-raising events in 2011. This means that, as well as being seen performing at these events, I also help work on the door and behind the bar so am seen to play a useful role in the community and many participants in the study will have been aware of this. The study was designed to take advantage of existing community events in order to provide the participants with opportunities to voice their opinions and concerns about their language and cultural identity in a way which would not be overly intrusive.

Prior to embarking on the research, I met with the Executive of ALAC who expressed strong support for the project and felt that it was particularly timely. While I would like my thesis to be useful in assisting ALAC in its future work with the Latin American community, I have been conscious that I am telling a story from the participants' perspectives and I must allow their voices to be heard. I am also aware of the fact that research does not always provide a community with the information that it was anticipating.

Tolich and Davidson (1999) explain that, to learn about participants' perspectives, we also have an obligation to safeguard the information that is divulged. They discuss at some length the "small town" nature of research in New Zealand and emphasise that simply giving each participant a pseudonym is not sufficient to ensure anonymity in the wider community. In her thesis, Barnard (1996) discusses the need to keep descriptions as general as possible given the small size of the Chilean community. While she has made a concerted attempt to do this in her thesis, as someone involved in the Auckland Latin American community, I was still able to identify study participants based on the very abstract descriptions, and recognised myself as the person described in the thesis as the sole Kiwi member of a Latin American dance group. As someone who has had long-term involvement with the Chilean community, I believe that I am better placed than was Barnard to identify which individual characteristics may allow the easy identification of a participant by other community members. For this reason, published information about participants has been generalised, such as referring to age groups rather than the exact age of each participant.

In addition, as part of the interview process, I explained the risks of identification to participants and the fact that I could offer only limited confidentiality and not full confidentiality as someone who knows them well may still be able to identify them with the small amount of personal information provided. This was acknowledged in my application to the AUT Ethics Committee:

The researcher will endeavour to protect the participants' confidentiality, however given the small size and close-knit nature of the community, it may not be possible to guarantee full confidentiality and it has been decided to offer limited confidentiality to avoid misleading participants.

The value which I place on my involvement with the community meant that I was conscious of the importance of not offering complete confidentiality when it may not be within my power to ensure this. In some cases, because of the snowball sampling technique, participants are aware of each other's identities and may be able to work out who is likely to have said what.

Many of the participants were happy to be identified but, still, I have allocated a pseudonym to each of them to avoid the person's identity detracting from the information gained and because the importance of the study is in the overall picture provided by the community.

Ethics approval was gained from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on 16th June 2011: AUTEC Reference number 11/77. My involvement with the community was clearly stated in all documentation including AUTEC participant information sheets.

3.7. Data analysis

While quantitative research has clearly defined steps with obvious start and end points for data collection and analysis, the process of qualitative research is less linear. Dörnyei (2007) describes the process as a "zigzag" backwards and forwards between collecting, analysing and interpreting the data. This is the approach to data analysis which this project took, avoiding what Dörnyei describes as a common mistake of novice researchers in collecting too much data initially which may distract the researcher from the details. The 'zigzag' approach allows qualitative researchers to start analysing the data early on in the process. They can then collect additional data until they reach saturation which is the point at which data does not seem to add anything new.

In this case, data analysis began in the early stages of the data collection process, following the two pilot interviews. It continued throughout the second group of interviews and then the final set, until saturation point was reached and the data being collected did not provide any new information. Interview transcripts were transcribed with the assistance of a bilingual transcriber, and then translated where necessary. Despite being offered the opportunity to be interviewed in either Spanish or English, all the participants except one opted to be interviewed in English. In my opinion, this was largely for my benefit as, while I speak Spanish, the participants were all very helpful and were seeking to make the interview process as smooth as possible for me. Following transcription, all of the transcripts were checked against the recordings to ensure accuracy, particularly in the case of unclear dialogue which I, as the interviewer, was able to more accurately identify than was the transcriber. The transcripts were then analysed and common themes began to emerge from the data.

An inductive approach was taken towards identifying themes, with the themes being allowed to emerge naturally from the data rather than the process being driven by theory or previous research (Boyatzis, 1998). While I was aware of the results of previous research, both in New Zealand and overseas, I also knew that this was the first study to focus on a Spanish-speaking community in Auckland and therefore the themes emerging from the data may vary somewhat from those in previous studies.

Talmy (2010) identifies thematic or content analysis as a common feature in his study of qualitative research articles. He contends that this type of approach aligns well with the use of qualitative interviews as a research instrument. Boyatzis (1998) describes a theme as a pattern found within the data. This can range from a simple description and analysis of possible observations to, at the other end of the spectrum, a sophisticated interpretation of aspects of the phenomenon. Thematic analysis provides a vehicle through which the qualitative researcher can communicate their findings to members of the wider research community, including those who come from different fields or use different methods.

Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) selected coding and thematic analysis as the approach to data analysis in their study of the Chinese community in the US. Zhang coded the interview transcripts and fieldwork notes and then continued to read through the data in order to refine and standardise the codes and identify key themes. The themes were then clustered together and three domains emerged from the data: cultural identity, language preference and social networks. After the initial stages of data analysis, the researcher discussed her preliminary conclusions with the participants and sought their opinions; this allowed her to collect further data in order to verify or refute the feedback which she had received. This process of seeking participant feedback or endorsement of initial findings is a unique feature of qualitative research methods, although it is not one which I have elected to use in this particular study.

Similarly to Zhang, I coded the interview transcripts, identifying themes and the quotes that voiced them best. Once themes and related quotes had been identified, my data were categorised using Excel spreadsheets, a separate spreadsheet for each theme, with all relevant quotes from each interview listed under sub-themes with identifying data, such as line numbers, alongside them.

In November 2011, I presented my initial findings at the *Language, Education and Diversity Conference* at The University of Auckland. At this stage, I had interviewed seven participants and had identified a number of themes emerging from the research, so preparing for this presentation gave me an opportunity to pause in the data collection process and assess the data gained to date. This was a very worthwhile exercise. The second stage of interviews in 2012 confirmed the earlier findings but also resulted in additional themes emerging from the data.

3.8. Summary

The approach taken for this research is one which is designed to allow the Auckland Chilean community members to share their stories about their language, and which also takes advantage of my long-term involvement with the community. An ethnographic approach fits naturally with these aims, as does thematic data analysis which allows information to reveal itself naturally

from the data. Interview data is both supplemented and verified through participant observation, while document analysis provides background information on the data. Ethical issues and the role of the researcher have been carefully considered and ethics approval was gained for the study.

Chapter Four:

Situating the Language

4.1. Introduction

The intention of this study was to allow the story of the Spanish language in the Auckland Chilean community to be told through the voices of community members. Therefore, the participants' attitudes and perceptions are the focus in both this chapter and the next, with the role of researcher being to present and critique these views, comparing them to the findings of previous research in the field. Chapter Four will focus on the culture, attitudes and identity of the Chilean community, both at an individual and community level. It will situate the language within the community and provide the context for discussion of language maintenance and shift in Chapter Five. Firstly, the chapter will examine the status of the Spanish language within wider New Zealand society before examining its importance to individual identity and the role it plays within the family and in community membership and participation.

4.2. Spanish in New Zealand society

Societal attitudes can play a significant role in the maintenance of a minority community language (Plimmer, 1994). The view of wider society can influence the community's own attitude towards its language which, according to Roberts (2005) and Starks (2005), is a key factor in language maintenance. A positive community attitude can provide the impetus to pass the language to the following generation, while a negative attitude can hasten language shift.

Over the past two decades, there has been a considerable increase in familiarity with the Spanish language, and with both Spanish and Latin American cultures, amongst wider New Zealand society. This was not only reflected in the interview data but also echoed my own experience as someone who has been involved in the Latin American community in Auckland during this period.

In the 1990s, while people from other ethnic backgrounds would attend Latin American community events occasionally, or would visit *El Inca* nightclub or the *Mexican Café*, very few of them understood Spanish or were familiar with the cultures associated with it. In the six years between 1999 and 2005, the number of schools in New Zealand which offered Spanish as a subject for study, more than doubled from 68 to 140,⁶ and there was a corresponding increase in the number of Latin American bars and restaurants. Salsa and tango are now taught throughout New Zealand and the names of the steps are taught in Spanish meaning that even non-Spanish-speaking dancers learn some basic vocabulary. Spanish-language films are more widely available and, in 2012, the 11th annual Latin American Film Festival took place with the festival's reach extending beyond the main centres of Auckland and Wellington to include the cities of New Plymouth, Tauranga, Palmerston North and Dunedin.⁷

This change in status of the Spanish language was a common theme throughout the interviews and was reflected in comments such as the following from Andrea:

I wish salsa had been hot when I was growing up. There's a lot more status now in being Latino or being Latina, because of the US influence and all the stuff coming out of Miami, or maybe the world. It definitely has a much higher status now than it used to have.

Andrea, 50s, line 251

Andrea talked about her childhood memories of the image of Latin America in the international media. Perhaps unsurprisingly in the 1960s and 1970s, news items focused on the political instability of the region and provided a negative perception of the continent. These images of coups and military dictatorships (Wynia, 1996) would have been further reinforced by the fact that many Latin Americans living overseas would have been political refugees. This one-sided construction of Latin America has changed to become more balanced over recent years with negative stories being counteracted by positive articles: in

⁶ Sourced from www.educationcounts.govt.nz

⁷ Sourced from www.filmarchive.org.nz

particular, travel articles such as *Chile: Digging for charms in Santiago* (19/12/12) and *Argentina: Stepping out in Buenos Aires* (21/12/12).⁸

According to Andrea, the increasing popularity of Latin language and culture is reflected not only on the dance floor but also in the supermarket aisles. While food products from Spanish-speaking countries were previously unheard of, they are now widely available, in particular those from Mexico. It would now be considered unusual to not find tortillas, taco seasoning or salsa in a supermarket and New Zealanders can now dine out on paella, burritos and churros. Most New Zealanders would now be familiar with these words and they have made their way into everyday usage in the New Zealand English vocabulary. Andrea sees this change as a positive one, meaning that New Zealanders can now understand more about her culture and language.

The increasing level of interest in Latin American culture and the Spanish language in Auckland was reflected by several other interviewees. Carolina and Silvia felt that this increased attention provides hope for the language in the future as it is seen as more desirable to speak Spanish while Cipriano acknowledged the changing status of the language and expressed an opinion that the increasing numbers of Latin Americans arriving on Working Holiday Visas is helping to refresh the language.

The changing view of Spanish within New Zealand society reflects that of the UK which, according to Pozo-Gutiérrez (2006), has experienced a “widespread ‘hispanisation’ of popular culture” (p. 228). This has contributed to Spanish becoming a more appealing language choice, most particularly for the children of Hispanic immigrants, many of whom have embarked on a rediscovery of their parents’ language and culture. Plimmer’s (1994) study of the Italian community in Wellington also found that the attitude of wider society towards the Italian language and culture provided support for the language within the community itself. This reflects the findings of this thesis which show that the growing prestige of Hispanic culture and the Spanish language in New Zealand is supporting language loyalty among the Chilean community and makes its members feel that their language and culture are to be valued.

⁸ Sourced from www.nzherald.co.nz

Dora the Explorer

While many findings from this study reflect the experiences of other community languages in both New Zealand and overseas, one particularly unexpected finding was the influence of *Dora the Explorer* on the status of Spanish in New Zealand, especially for young Chiwis and their classmates. *Dora the Explorer* is an American animated television series which has been screening in the US since 2000 and is now available in 151 markets and 30 languages.⁹ It has become extremely popular with young children in New Zealand since it started screening here.



Dora is a seven-year-old girl who, in each episode, embarks on an adventure to find something or help somebody. Dora and her cousin Diego, who has his own spin-off series *Go Diego Go*, are bilingual. Dora teaches viewers Spanish by introducing them to short words and phrases which are repeated over and over again as is typically seen in the language-teaching classroom. The show's creators, Nickelodeon, describe the show as follows:

Dora the Explorer is a ground-breaking children's show, in part because it incorporates play-along viewing and interaction in every episode. *Dora the Explorer* also introduces kids to Spanish words, encourages movement, and gives viewers the skills and the confidence needed to overcome challenges.¹⁰

There are also two characters who are monolingual in Spanish: Tico the squirrel and Señor Tucan. An example of language in the programme is below. In this episode, Dora's parents give her a new backpack:

Parents: We have a surprise for you.

Dora: You do? What?

Parents: It's something that will help you carry your books to the library. ¡presentamos a backpack!

Dora: (Gasps) A backpack! Just what I need!

⁹ Sourced from tvbythenumbers.zap2it.com

¹⁰ Sourced from www.nickjr.com

Parents: This is a very special backpack, Dora. ¡contiene de todo! Anything you need, she's got inside for you.

Dora: I love it! Thank you, Mamá. Thank you, Papi. Gracias.

Parents: De nada. De nada.

Backpack: Hola, Dora!

Dora: Hola!

Backpack: I can carry lots of stuff, mi amiga.

Dora: Backpack speaks Spanish and English just like me.

As can be seen in this excerpt, the characters intersperse English with Spanish words and phrases which are generally then repeated in English for understanding. The character *Backpack* which features in many of Dora's adventures is also bilingual, as are most of the other characters; this leads to bilingualism being presented as normal in the programme.

Dora is popular not only with children from Spanish-speaking backgrounds, but with the wider community. As a result, children from other ethnic backgrounds recognise Spanish words and phrases when the children are speaking to their parents. The popularity of *Dora the Explorer* means that many non-Latin children are being exposed to Spanish from an early age in New Zealand and think that it's 'cool' to speak Spanish as Dora does, meaning that Spanish-speaking youngsters are sometimes viewed by their peers as 'cool' by association.

The subject of *Dora the Explorer* as a language influence first arose in an interview with Yolanda who was discussing her daughter being complimented on her bilingualism:

And you know she can speak Spanish like Dora [laughs].

Yolanda, 30s, line 245

Having Dora as a role model has allowed Yolanda's daughter to feel pride in speaking Spanish. Her kindergarten also uses Dora as a teaching aid and Yolanda's daughter feels proud that she already knows the Spanish words that the other children are learning.

Another participant, Maria, commented that her friend's son, who does not speak much Spanish himself, is enormously popular at kindergarten (kindy) because his name is Diego, like Dora's cousin and sidekick on the programme. When dropping her own son at kindergarten, Maria has found that children recognise that she is speaking Spanish and like to practise the words that they have learnt with her:

[The children] say "Hi I know that you are speaking Spanish. Hola!" That is all that they can say, but it's nice because they can recognise our language.

Maria, 40s, line 765

Maria has found that, in comparison, many adult New Zealanders do not recognise Spanish when they hear it and she is frequently asked what language she is speaking. This familiarity with the Spanish language on the part of children of kindergarten and primary school age provides a clear distinction between the older and younger generations for her.

The one participant whose son is growing up with exposure to three languages (English, Spanish and his mother's language), Cipriano, commented that his young son has been a fan of *Dora the Explorer* since the age of one. The family has Spanish-language DVDs of *Dora*, in addition to the usual English-dominant ones, in order to help him learn more Spanish. Cipriano commented that his son loves the *Dora* series so much that he would happily watch it all day if he were allowed to, although the adults around him find the repetitive nature of the programme a little irritating after a while.

Seven of the nine participants with either children or grandchildren in the target age group for *Dora the Explorer* either volunteered that the children watched the programme, or confirmed that this was the case when asked. This interest in a television series reflects the importance of pop culture on children's identity formation as identified by Guardado (2002). Children enjoy being linked with a culture that is successful and popular and, while *Dora the Explorer* is primarily in English, the teaching of Spanish vocabulary and phrases has increased the prestige of the language for children of kindergarten and primary school age.

Given that embarrassment over being different was a factor in children from previous generations not wanting to speak a foreign language, as discussed in Chapter Five, the increased status of Spanish among young children could well assist the current generation of Chilean, and other Spanish-speaking, parents in passing the language on to their children. It is also possible that, once Dora fans from non-Spanish-speaking backgrounds reach intermediate and secondary school, the demand for Spanish as a language option may increase; this will further reinforce the increased status of the language. In a similar way to the Spanish-speaking doll described by Pozo-Gutiérrez (2006) as a teaching tool, the availability of a programme like *Dora the Explorer* in so many countries is a reflection of the level of worldwide recognition which the language has now gained.

4.3. Language and identity

A key aim of this research was to investigate the link between language and identity among the Chilean community. According to the literature, the connection between language and identity is a fundamental characteristic of human beings (Llamma & Watt, 2010) and this is reflected in the findings. Every participant in this study, including those who did not feel that it was essential to pass the Spanish language on to their children, felt that Spanish was important to their own identity. The following comment by Martín was typical of the views expressed by participants:

Language is who you are. Your language, I mean mi español, el chileno is who I am, you know.

Martín, 40s, line 208

Martín sees the Spanish language as being a crucial factor in his identity as a Chilean. He talked about the pride that he feels when he hears Spanish spoken with the Chilean accent as he walks down the street. The simple act of hearing his language, even though it might be spoken by a complete stranger, reminds him of how important it is to him. Another participant, Maria, spoke of her pride in her language and her satisfaction at being bilingual in Spanish and English at a time when many New Zealanders pay to learn Spanish as an additional language. Her young New Zealand-born son is often complimented on speaking

Spanish with a Chilean accent by other members of the community and this makes her feel immensely proud as a parent.

Participants also identified Spanish as the language of emotion for them. Marisol describes it as a language of comfort for Latin American people with whom she has worked. Arriving in New Zealand as adults means that many Spanish-speaking migrants will never feel they are as fluent in English as they are in Spanish and, for this reason, they prefer to speak in Spanish when talking about difficulties that they may be having:

Cuando tienen algún problema les gusta hablar en su lengua para que entiendan. Digamos porque el ingles para nosotros las personas que llegamos ya a una edad más mayor nunca vas a poder expresarte 100% en ingles. Siempre vas a preferir hablar en español por lo menos por lo que he testado toda la gente no se siente bien “confident” en ingles es más fácil hablar en español tus problemas.

When they have a problem, they like to speak about it in their own language so that they understand. For people like us who arrive at an older age, we are never going to be able to express ourselves 100% in English. They will always prefer to speak in Spanish for, as I have told you, not everyone feels confident in English and it's easier to speak about their problems in Spanish.

Marisol, 30s, line 102

However, even when participants are completely fluent in both languages, they feel more comfortable expressing their feelings in their mother tongue. For example, despite speaking English for over twenty years, Silvia has found only in the last decade that saying “I love you” in English has real significance for her. Prior to this, she felt the associated emotions only when using the Spanish “te amo”. And, even today, she finds that songs in Spanish touch her in a way that those in English do not:

I don't feel I identify with the music, English music, no. But Chilean music, everything in Spanish for me, music is very important. I listen English music but it doesn't fill my heart, but I hear something in Spanish, I just I embrace straight away.

Silvia, 50s, line 267

One participant whose children speak limited Spanish, feels that using Spanish brings a closeness with them, and that Spanish endearments don't translate

well into English. She describes Spanish as the “language of her heart” and notes that her son often unintentionally switches to Spanish when he is asking for something from her:

I don't want to say that he uses it entirely for manipulative purposes, like when he wants something he uses the language of my heart, but... I don't think he's thinking of strategically, but it does add a little more closeness. There are some things we typically only say in Spanish, in terms of endearment and things like that, which I still say in Spanish to them even if I am speaking English to them.

Andrea, 50s, line 37

These findings reflect the “personal emotional security” (Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2006) which a language can provide. According to Barkhuizen and Knoch, this is one of three areas in which the Afrikaans language had great psychological importance for their study participants; the other two were the manifestation of self-identity and their social integration into a new culture. This reliance on the heritage language as being crucial to a person's identity is reflected by a number of studies in the field, as well as by the narratives of participants in this thesis. Even when learning English is considered a priority for success in New Zealand, immigrants may also deem the community language essential to their ethnic identities as in the case of the Niuean (Starks, 2006), Tongan and Chinese (Holmes et al., 1993) communities. First-generation Greek participants (Holmes et al., 1993) shared this view of the role of language as crucial to their identities; however, by the second generation, it was being viewed as important to their identities rather than as a defining element, an outlook which contrasts with the position of New Zealand-raised (albeit not New Zealand-born) participants in this study.

4.4. Community membership

The ability to speak Spanish was described by Barnard (1996) as key to being able to participate fully in Auckland's Latin American community. Seventeen years after Barnard made this statement, most of the participants in this study reiterated the view that Spanish was essential for community membership and for full participation in community events. They described community events and activities as being Spanish focused. These claims were confirmed by my observations at Chilean-run events throughout the duration of this study.

Announcements and presentations would be made in Spanish and then translated into English. This was generally done with two presenters, one for each language, although, in the past, I have attended events where there has been a single, bilingual MC. Spanish is almost always the primary language at these events with even signs advertising food and drinks written entirely in Spanish.

The common view was that it was crucial for the Spanish language to play a key role in community events. Cipriano spoke of his belief that this fits well with the enthusiasm for Latin culture and language that is held by the general public, in addition to supporting language maintenance. Within a sports team in which he participates, Spanish is the primary language and this is helping him and his Spanish-speaking team-mates to maintain and develop their language skills:

Everything's done in Spanish you know... that's what's kept me, and I think a lot of my mates my age, kept us in tap with our language you know. Because I think we're all about the same you know, starting to forget these words and this and that but over a few years we've gotten better and better.

Cipriano, 30s, line 148

The youngest participant, Federico, felt a sense of belonging when mixing with other Chileans. He described the Chilean accent as providing a commonality which transcends factors such as age, and makes him feel a part of the community.

Barnard's (1996) analogy of the Latin American community as a house, where Spanish is the key to the door and non-Spanish speakers can only watch through the window, was reflected in a quote by Enrique:

You cannot be someone unless you have the language really. You could understand about somebody's culture, like I understand about Māori for example. I understand about Māori. I love the culture. I can look at it the culture and enjoy it and so on but, unless I understand what they're on about, I cannot feel like I'm one of them. If I want to be one of them, you know not that I want to, but I'm saying if I was Māori and I don't understand Māori, I don't understand te reo and I'm not able to te reo myself, then I'm an outsider.

Enrique, 50s, line 671

Enrique considers it impossible to participate fully in any community without speaking the language. He believes that, while you can have an understanding of the culture without the language, you will never be able to be part of the community if you don't speak the native tongue of its members. You will only ever be able to view the culture from the outside rather than participate in it. While he has many Māori friends and interacts with members of their community, he does not feel part of the community due to his lack of language skills. A lack of fluent speakers of te reo Māori is one legacy of the colonisation of New Zealand which raises issues around the link between identity and language in Maoridom. While the media focuses on the redress of historical land confiscations, according to Lunt, Spoonley and Mataira (2002) addressing economic disparity through the return of land must be accompanied by a strengthening of the language to ensure its continuation.

Within the Chilean community, the rate of Spanish-language literacy is such that the community has not yet had to face the issue of English dominating community events as can often happen in Maoridom. The description by Enrique of viewing a culture from the outside because of a lack of language skills echoes my own experience over many years of involvement in the Chilean community. While my language skills allow me to easily participate in dance groups and Spanish-language events, non-Spanish speakers are reliant on other people to translate, meaning that they often miss out on much of the communication between community members. The question is whether the proportion of fluent Spanish speakers within the community will ensure that Spanish continues to be the dominant language for community interaction in the future.

4.5. Advantages of bilingualism

Bilingualism is now commonly acknowledged as not only aiding academic development, but also having personal and economic value (Baker, 2001a). Bilingual children fare better academically and find language learning much easier than do those who are not bilingual. Speaking another language has also been proven to delay the onset of Alzheimer's disease (Bialystok, 2011).

Increased multiculturalism means that speaking a language other than English is more common in New Zealand than it was two decades ago. Spanish is now seen as a particularly useful language given that it is spoken in over twenty countries, including by a large proportion of the population of the US. The usefulness of Spanish as an additional language arose in almost all of the interviews, with the role of Spanish in the US being mentioned by a number of participants. Comments by Yolanda and Erica were typical of those by participants. They agreed that Spanish is a prominent language on the world stage and, therefore, is an important language to maintain:

I've found specifically Spanish is a good language to know because you can communicate with many countries... including the United States. Many people speak Spanish so I found it a handy language to know.

Yolanda, 30s, line 75

For me it's very important. I think Spanish is one of the two second language, more important language, so for me it's very important to keep you know.

Erica, 30s, line 120

However, participants, including those whose children are not fluent in Spanish, went further in discussing the advantages which bilingualism itself can provide. Federico described a strong sense of language loyalty towards Spanish and felt that it was important that both he and his younger brother maintained it, but he also acknowledged that speaking two languages was a useful skill and would be of benefit to him. Cecilia expanded this concept further, describing her sons as being better prepared to live in a multicultural city such as Auckland because they are accustomed to hearing different languages and their ears are more attuned to hearing a variety of accents than are those of monolingual New Zealanders:

They speak Spanish. It's for me personally, it's really important that they know both their languages. If I had it my way, they'd be doing other languages as well... language I think is so important because New Zealand is so multicultural.

I think kids have a different ear the way they listen to things. It's different sounds they can pick up even when they're talking to people, foreign people and they understand their accent more than someone who has never spoken a language.

Cecilia, 40s, line 171

The benefits of bilingualism in relation to brain development and academic success were acknowledged by Marisol, who also identified potential benefits to the family and wider community:

Las personas que tienen dos idiomas son más inteligentes y son mas confidentes de aprender otro idioma mas. Entonces la idea es que mientras más idiomas puedas aprender es mucho mejor para la comunidad, individualmente y familiar y comunitariamente.

People who speak two languages are more intelligent and more confident in learning an additional language. Therefore, the idea is that the more languages that you can learn, the better for the individual, the family and the community.

Marisol, 30s, line 122

This influence of bilingualism on the individual, the family and the wider community was identified in *Aotearoa* (Waite, 1992) and bilingualism was noted to fulfil goals such as “the reinforcement of family structure, strengthening of individual and group identity” (p. 20).

Carolina, as a teacher, argued that, by speaking the heritage language in the home, the parents were essentially bringing their children up with two languages for no cost. She felt that, by taking advantage of the pre-school period, parents could immerse their children sufficiently in the language for them to have the confidence and skills to continue speaking it once they were attending English-speaking school or kindergarten:

It's the opportunity of being bilingual for free in some ways. That is the point in my personal opinion... They will have the opportunity my kids, if I would have kids one day, of being bilingual for free without any effort. Just be strong three or four years that's it you know like. And then learn a third language or whatever.

Carolina, 30s, line 161

Starks (2005) tells us that, in order for community languages to coexist alongside English in New Zealand, there needs to be a shift away from both English-dominant bilingualism and English monolingualism. Balanced bilingualism would lessen the threat posed to community languages by English, and removing the perception of language shift as inevitable would encourage language maintenance within the community. In contrast but with the same

result, language maintenance may also be lacking in communities which don't see the risk of language shift, such as the Niuean (Starks, 2006) and Samoan (Pilkington, 1990) communities who take community bilingualism for granted.

It is clear that bilingualism is seen as an advantage by many members of the Chilean community; however, not all interviewees felt that this view was widespread. Several participants expressed concern that the need to speak English for economic and educational reasons had blinded some community members to the future advantages offered by bilingualism, and that other Chileans simply may not be aware of those advantages due to the number of people in the community with a low level of education.

4.6. Communication with family in Chile

There was general consensus among participants about the importance of their children being able to speak Spanish so that they could communicate with their families back in Chile. Without Spanish, they cannot talk to grandparents and other family members and so are unable to build relationships with them, a concept which is foreign to many Chileans given that the family is generally considered core to their identities. Federico expressed a hope that his younger brother will maintain his fluency in Spanish so that he can communicate with his family in Chile. Federico wants him to understand that he is loved by his family in Chile and isn't alone in New Zealand. Similarly, most of Yolanda's family still live in Chile and she considers it imperative that her children can speak Spanish with them, unlike her cousin's children who don't have a relationship with their Chilean family because they speak only English:

With my kids, it's very important because they have all their relatives and the extended family back in Chile. So to me it's important that they can communicate with them... I have a cousin who lives in the United States and she never bothered teaching her kids to speak Spanish so the kids don't get to visit Chile because they can't communicate with anyone there.

Yolanda, 30s, line 319

Children of participants who came from mixed marriages were less likely to speak fluent Spanish, making trips back to Chile much more difficult for everyone involved. Andrea's children speak limited Spanish and she described

trips to Chile with them as being exhausting because they rely on her translating for them. She would also like them to be able to communicate better in Spanish so that they could have relationships with their wider family and maintain contact with them from New Zealand, something that is currently very difficult due to language constraints:

I find it actually quite exhausting when the kids come with me, because I do go and see my parents every year, and the times that the kids come with me having to translate is just exhausting. So I wish they had kept up the language so they could talk to their grandparents, and you know, establish ties with the rest of the family, the extended family.

Andrea, 50s, line 52

The experience of children visiting family in Chile and not being able to communicate with family members was discussed by both Martín and Cecilia. They described the frustration on both sides at the inability to communicate:

And it's tough for you. It's tough for the children. It's tough for the people there. You know, the children, I mean, they want to say "hello" to their grandparents or you know, uncles, cousins and all that. And not sitting in the corner not talking; I've seen it.

Martín, 40s, line 202

Erica and her husband look forward to the future, not only considering Spanish essential for their son to communicate with family, but also seeing it as a tool to open the door to educational opportunities such as attending university in Chile:

I mean for me it's very important because in my family and [husband]'s family nobody speak English. And I thinking about when we come back to Chile must be you know he need to communicate with my parents and all his family there so it's really important to us to maintain the Spanish.

Maybe one day he if he want to go to the university there must be we can send him to the uni there so he have to speak really well Spanish.

Erica, 30s, line 184

The need for children to learn their heritage languages in order to communicate with family members back home arose in many international studies, with Guardado identifying this as the key motivator for maintaining Spanish in the family. A comment by one of Guardado's (2008) participants echoed those

heard during interviews for this research: that her parents back in Spain would “kill” her if they couldn’t communicate with their grandchildren. Galindo (1995) found that, despite a negative perception towards the language and its speakers on the part of some of her informants, participants in her study all perceived Spanish as a link to their heritage and to their relatives, especially grandparents, in Mexico.

In addition to needing to speak Spanish in order to visit Chile, participants in this study identified the need for their children to speak Spanish in order to communicate with non-English-speaking family members who visit the family in New Zealand. This issue arose in interviews with Maria and Cecilia, and also reflected Yolanda’s experience with family members visiting for long periods of time. When visitors from Chile are staying with their families, their homes revert to entirely Spanish-speaking households and English is almost never used. These visits to and from Chile not only assist in language maintenance but also play a role in revitalising the language and helping Chileans who are resident in New Zealand to keep the language current.

4.7. Summary

It is clear that the Spanish language is considered core to the identity of the Chilean community in Auckland. Community members see the language as integral to community socialisation and those who are unable to speak the language are perceived as missing out. Even participants whose children do not speak Spanish fluently felt very strongly that their mother tongue was an essential factor in their own identities.

In addition to the benefits that bilingualism can bring, the link to Chile, and in particular to their families, provides impetus for parents to pass the language on. The increased status of Spanish in New Zealand seems to be aiding parents in encouraging their children to maintain the language, in particular with the arrival of television series *Dora the Explorer* which has raised awareness of Spanish-English bilingualism in wider society. However, as will be identified in Chapter Five, there are still a number of barriers to heritage language transmission between generations and bilingualism should not be taken for granted.

Chapter Five:

Language Maintenance or Language Shift?

5.1. Introduction

While it is clear that the participants in this study value the Spanish language as part of their Chilean identities this chapter will focus on whether they are being successful in intergenerational language transmission or whether there is a shift to the dominant English language. It will discuss findings from the study in relation to language support and techniques which families are using to teach their children Spanish, before outlining barriers to language maintenance as identified by the interviewees, in order to give a picture of the current state of the language within the community.

5.2. Maintaining the language

5.2.1. Institutional support

Institutional support can play a role in language maintenance by providing domains outside the home where the language can be heard and spoken (Nesteruk, 2010; Plimmer, 1994). As discussed in Chapter Two, these can include: heritage language media, libraries, language classes and community organisations as well as more-formalised government-funded structures.

The profile of the Spanish language in the New Zealand education system has increased considerably over the past two decades. As outlined in 2.7.1, the number of students studying Spanish at secondary school level in 1991 was only 256, rising to 35,000 in 2009. This means that Spanish is now seen as a normal language choice for students; this differs considerably from my experience when I started learning the language in 1993.

However, it is not clear whether the availability of Spanish teachers with full fluency in the language has kept pace with the growth in student numbers; Maria commented on the fact that her son Federico's teacher didn't seem to have the high level of proficiency which she would have expected in a secondary school Spanish teacher. Spanish-language options are clearly

designed for new learners of the language rather than for heritage learners, meaning that students who are exposed to the language in the home may find that they are one step ahead of their teachers. This is likely to continue until such time as the increase in the number of students is matched by a corresponding increase in the number of teachers with the required language proficiency.

Unfortunately, New Zealand-based Spanish-language media has not experienced the same rapid rate of growth as has the education sector. Spanish-language radio is limited to locally based Access Radio¹¹ programmes and FM Radio AustralNZ which is run by several members of the community and has a focus on playing Spanish-language music with some issues-based programmes, although a regular schedule of programmes is not available on their website.¹² Written media has also experienced little or no growth over the years; this may be due to the increased availability of overseas Spanish-language media online. The Auckland Latin American Community published a Spanish-language magazine, *Voces del Sur*, for many years but this is no longer in publication.

The two institutions which featured most often in the interviews were ALAC and the Chilean Embassy.

Auckland Latin American Community Incorporated

While a number of participants had engaged or been involved with ALAC and its Spanish-language library *Letras Latinas*, those participants living furthest from the organisation's Onehunga base were less aware of the services and events offered by the organisation. In particular, they seemed unaware of the (now discontinued) Spanish-language playgroup, in which children were taught Spanish through play. While aware of the existence of ALAC, Erica was not familiar with the full range of services it offered and believed that these needed to be more widely publicised:

¹¹ Partly funded by the New Zealand Government broadcast funding agency New Zealand on Air. Sourced from accessradio.org

¹² Sourced from www.radioaustralnz.com

Most of the other people, they never actually, some they don't know there is a Latin House [ALAC] so you know they should do something about it.

Erica, 30s, line 343

Many participants who were members of ALAC availed themselves of a number of different ALAC services and resources, not only *Letras Latinas*, but also the Spanish-language film screenings and the Saturday-morning children's playgroup, and by participating in the organisation's traditional dance group Macondo (to which I belong). Each one felt that these events and services enabled them to maintain a link with their culture and to mix with other Spanish-speaking Latin Americans.

During its early years, ALAC played more of a social role, bringing together a relatively small Latin American community for fiestas and peñas¹³ and so offering opportunities to speak in Spanish and enjoy traditional food and music. However, the focus has now moved into policy development and social services with two Spanish-speaking social workers providing support for migrants and refugees. In recent years, New Zealand has accepted a number of refugees from Colombia, meaning that ALAC's services have been utilised by refugee resettlement agencies in providing translation and social support services, both in Auckland and in the nearby city of Hamilton.

The mentoring and community-building role played by ALAC was also discussed by several interviewees. Enrique detailed the way in which ALAC members had developed skills through volunteer roles in the organisation and had then gone on to study social work and/or to work in the community sector. He sees the organisation as a tool to assist both individual community members and other community groups to play a part in supporting the local Latin American community.

According to those participants with close involvement with ALAC, the organisation's ultimate goal is a Spanish immersion school, similar to Māori immersion schools, where children can study in their mother tongue and achieve full Spanish-English bilingualism. This could be either a stand-alone

¹³ Social gatherings with performances of traditional Latin American music and/or dance.

institution or a satellite classroom in an existing state school. Comments from interview participants, including those without a connection to ALAC, indicate that an initiative of this type would be welcomed by the community.

The Chilean Embassy

The Chilean Embassy is based in Wellington and was seen by participants as serving only the political and commercial needs of the country, such as liaising with New Zealand politicians and businesses, and issuing visas and passports. A number of interviewees expressed disappointment that their embassy did not play a role in celebrating and promoting Chilean culture and the Spanish language. The lack of a presence in Auckland was a common observation made in interviews with some suggestions that ALAC was meeting some of the needs of the Chilean community that would seem to be the role of the Embassy to address.

Carolina commented that in the two years that she had been living in New Zealand, she hadn't seen the Chilean Embassy do anything for the Chilean community in Auckland:

It's the Embassy job... I have been here two years and they haven't done even one event for the Chilean community. I'm not saying like food for free but something, a movie for free from the Chilean Embassy in the community centre, that's it. Like something that would make the feeling that you are closer to your country. They haven't done anything, even one, nothing.

Carolina, 30s, line 620

In addition to being the location of New Zealand's largest population of Chileans, Auckland was seen by Cecilia as the gateway to the country for visitors, migrants and young people on Working Holiday Visas arriving from Chile. For this reason, she couldn't understand why the Embassy didn't have a small office in Auckland, in addition to Wellington, to provide much-needed services and support. She also observed that the Embassy played a very minimal role in providing information to their citizens and commented that, if it hadn't been for the internet, a lot of Chileans wouldn't have been aware of the 2010 earthquake in their homeland.

The absence of the Embassy in celebrating Chile National Day in Auckland was particularly felt. Cecilia felt that, for Chileans who have been in New Zealand for a long time, this day has particular significance as the one day on which they put aside their New Zealand lives and come together to celebrate their Chilean heritage. On the Embassy website, listings of cultural events are limited to those celebrating Chile's bicentenary in 2010. The Embassy itself organised several events in Wellington and listed a community-run event in Palmerston North. However, nothing was listed for Auckland where the highest numbers of Chilean migrants reside. Not only did the Embassy not organise anything for Auckland-based Chileans, but it did not list any of the community-run events that were held in the city on its website.¹⁴

The lack of institutional support for Spanish in Auckland echoes the experience of Wellington's Italian community (Plimmer, 1994) with organised activities reliant upon initiative and funding from community members. This is not sustainable in the longer term if language shift is to be avoided.

5.2.2. Community events

Community events are another form of institutional support and play a large part in language maintenance for those who regularly attend them. These events are generally Spanish focused and so give attendees an opportunity to immerse themselves in Spanish for an evening. For the Chilean community, the largest celebrations are held to mark Chile National Day on 18 September. In the past two years, 2011 and 2012, there have been several Chile National Day parties. Events such as the Latin Marathon, South American sports teams and markets play a similar role.

During the mid-to-late 1990s, as discussed in Chapter Two, ALAC ran a community centre, *La Casa Latina*. This created a space for language and music classes, an exhibition, social worker and newspaper offices, and regular peñas or cultural evenings. As a child, Cipriano was able to mix with other children from Spanish-speaking backgrounds at these events and he continues to attend events in the community whenever possible:

¹⁴ Sourced from chileabroad.gov.cl

I think having celebrating all the national days you know. Having the sports tournaments, just having functions and markets, and you know all those sorts of things. I think it's really important you know. [In the days of the ALAC community centre in Onehunga] every weekend there was a party... I'd just meet all the other kids and it would be the same oh we'll see you next weekend you know... Having Casa Latina or a place like that, you know, there was always something was on you know. It was huge you know. That's when they got the idea to have all the dance groups for the kids you know, the seniors and then you know, and having the bar running, and all the arts and crafts and whatever.

Cipriano, 30s, line 372

Enrique and Ana took their children to as many community-organised events as they could manage in order to expose them to their language and culture. This included the Spanish-language camps that ALAC ran for children from Hispanic backgrounds. Enrique describes these:

Just before they were teenagers, sort of nine, ten, no maybe ten and twelve, we took them to the Latin American camps in groups. You know boys and girls, and that was to maintain the language so they could speak in their Spanish, and yeah try to maintain the language.

Ana, 50s, line 1031

Enrique and Ana found these camps, along with the other resources and Spanish classes which they accessed, were of great benefit in reinforcing the language learning that was taking place in the home.

5.2.3. Books

Several participants with an association with ALAC mentioned the increasing popularity of the library, *Letras Latinas*, which is located at the ALAC offices in Onehunga. This library has some 4000 volumes, mainly in Spanish, and is increasingly focused on purchasing children's books to assist parents with teaching their children Spanish. The library also lends books to schools and is becoming popular as a resource for Spanish teachers throughout Auckland. Enrique describes a conversation that he had with the library coordinator:

She's noticing a lot of parents are bringing are coming in to take a lot of books, kids' books, to the kids because there is mixed marriages. This is the big problem with mixed marriages when you've got one person speaks Spanish and the other speaks English. The children tend to go to the side because here is the majority English, so the only way to maintain them is through these books right. And not all of them have the

opportunity of getting books being sent from home or whatever and so that's been one of the things that she's noticed a big movement so she's had quite a lot of books given to her or bought for kids...

Enrique, 50s, line 1121

While some participants are members of *Letras Latinas*, other participants were unaware of its existence and relied on the small, but growing, Spanish-language section of the Auckland Libraries, or had family living in Spanish-speaking countries send them books.

One family, which has a love of reading, both belongs to *Letras Latinas* and has books sent over from Chile. Cipriano described his son's love of reading and the fact that his father is always finding new Spanish-language books for his grandson. He spoke admiringly of his father's ability to source reading material in Spanish and the continual availability of books in Spanish in the family home.

Enrique sees reading as an important tool in language learning and used books as a tool to teach himself English on arrival in the 1980s. He joined the library and read about subjects with which he was already familiar. He and his wife Ana put aside a short amount of time each day to teach their children Spanish. They used songs and games, and also had a Spanish textbook for children which they worked their way through, chapter by chapter:

As they grow up we, with the Spanish, we taught them by the book. We had a book and we taught you know, we followed the book, and they had you know half an hour every day of the Spanish. Just playing, singing, and doing this and doing that, and you know as play, not as a class.

Ana, 50s, line 575

The difficulty of obtaining books in Spanish in New Zealand means that there is a reliance on family sending them from overseas and on *Letras Latinas* and the Auckland Libraries, although comments from several participants indicated that the internet is now a great source of reading material. Reading their children books in the heritage language was one of the key language maintenance strategies used by participants in Nesteruk's (2010) study alongside the telling of traditional folk stories and the use of heritage language DVDs, a strategy also used by participants in this study as discussed below.

5.2.4. Technology

Technology plays a role in both maintaining contact with family back in Chile, and language learning. Many participants said that they find DVDs useful to expose their children to language in the home as, in many cases, there is an option to select the language in which it plays and they can choose the Spanish option. Yolanda, Cecilia, Cipriano and Erica all frequently select the Spanish option for children's cartoons. It was also possible to subscribe to Chilean television in Auckland for several years, although unfortunately this is no longer the case:

When they were little, I used to get a lot of DVDs from Chile and things like that, tapes you know. All the little movies in Spanish and English and books. And we had TV, we had Chilean TV until they now it's gone. I don't know what's happened but we used to have UBI so you could connect to, you could get all the channels from Chile.

Cecilia, 40s, line 248

As discussed in the previous chapter, the television programme *Dora the Explorer* has increased the amount of Spanish language available to children in New Zealand. The availability of a Spanish version of *Dora* is an added advantage for parents who want to expose their *Dora*-obsessed children to more Spanish. However, participants also spoke of the increase in Spanish in television shows overall, particularly those from the United States. Even a few words of Spanish can increase the perception of Spanish as a popular and useful language when it happens on a regular basis.

Facebook and email play an important role in communicating with family in Chile. The youngest participants, Federico and Cipriano, talked about keeping in contact with friends and family via Facebook and Marisol also describes this in relation to her son and his friends:

Por Skype o por Facebook tiene una relación familiar tecnológica diaria.

With technology such as Skype and Facebook, they can have daily contact.

Marisol, 30s, line 150

A number of participants mentioned talking to family overseas by Skype. This is more effective for conversations with several people at each end of the line, and for children as they can see the people to whom they are talking.

Facebook is used to maintain contact with family overseas, and there have also been a number of Facebook groups set up which allow the Latin American community to keep in contact and publicise events. These include *Latinos en Nueva Zelanda*, *Bunker Argentino* and *Chilenos en Nueva Zelanda*: the common factor in the groups is that they are run by Latinos, for Latinos, and the dominant language is Spanish. While New Zealanders like myself, who have an interest in Latin American culture and speak Spanish, may join these groups, we are far outnumbered by native Spanish speakers.

5.2.5. Immersion

Many participants identified immersion in a Spanish-speaking country as being key to language maintenance efforts. This ranged from regular visits of a few weeks to living in a Spanish-speaking country for a year.

Cipriano, aged in his early 30s, spoke of his experience of returning to Chile at the age of 20 to discover that, despite a great effort to maintain the language within his family, he had lost the fluency that he had previously enjoyed. He considered this trip the wake-up call that he needed to put more effort into maintaining his Spanish:

There was a time where I thought I almost lost it. It wasn't till I went back to Chile when I was twenty and I realised I wasn't communicating as good as what I should have been you know so I snapped out of it and I started reading a bit more and watching movies and internet really helps you know with that sort of stuff and music and stuff and you know like dance groups and all that sort of stuff that was really important.

Cipriano, 30s, line 95

Following the return to democracy in Chile in 1990, many Chileans who came to New Zealand for political reasons started visiting Chile on a regular basis. Ana and Enrique considered regular visits to Chile important for their children, not only so that they could build relationships with their family there, but so that they could experience using the language in its natural environment. They consider it

essential for their children to know where they come from and to experience the culture and language in their country of origin.

Similarly, Yolanda sent one of her young children to Chile to spend three months with her relatives, with a focus on language immersion and building a relationship with the extended family. Other participants who know Yolanda commented on how brave she was as very few of them would feel comfortable allowing their child to live on the other side of the world for a lengthy period of time. However, many of Yolanda's family members visit her regularly in New Zealand and her children already had a close relationship with their grandparents, meaning that the home environment was not completely foreign to them.

It was fortuitous that this extended visit to Chile came in the middle of data collection for this study and provided me with the opportunity to interview Yolanda both before and after the trip, and also to observe the change in language usage within the family. Prior to the period of immersion, Yolanda's daughter often responded to Yolanda and her husband in English, even when addressed in Spanish. This was particularly noticeable after she had spent time in an English-speaking environment such as kindergarten. However, she now automatically addresses family members in Spanish at all times and is much more confident in her use of the language. Yolanda herself was surprised how significant this change was:

She was so much more fluent [on her return]. I'm still surprised because she comes up with new words that I haven't taught her and that she's just picked up and yeah she's definitely fluent and now she doesn't feel like talking in English to me anymore... Before I had to ask her to reply in Spanish and things like that now and now she immediately switch to Spanish when she addresses to me.

Yolanda, 30s, interview 2, line 18

For children who grew up in New Zealand in the 1980s, speaking a foreign language was considered unusual and they wanted to fit in with their peers. For this reason, Pedro's daughters were resistant to learning Spanish. However, when Pedro and his wife took them to spend a year in a Spanish-speaking country, their language skills developed very rapidly and they were fluent within a matter of months:

They don't want to speak the language, they used to, we never insist so what we did in 1986 we went and lived in [Spanish-speaking country]¹⁵ for a year... and they just like that they got the language straight away because their mind is more agile than ours so it wasn't difficult for them to learn Spanish; they both speak Spanish.

Pedro, 60s, line 128

Similarly, Andrea, whose children had been teased at school for speaking Spanish and so had resisted learning it, found that spending a year in Chile resulted in her children becoming fluent, although they lost some of this fluency once they returned to New Zealand and were once again surrounded by English. While the children still have an understanding of Spanish, they are no longer able to speak it to the extent where they can communicate easily with relatives in Chile.

As a teacher, Carolina has seen different types of language use amongst fellow Latin Americans. She observes that the families that are most successful at passing on the language are those whose children are immersed completely in Spanish in the home, and believes that periods of immersion in a Spanish-speaking country can also be very helpful. For Carolina, immersion in an English-speaking environment was a technique that she used for her own language acquisition and her belief in the benefits of immersion is founded upon both her own experience, and also by seeing it used as a language-teaching tool by friends and acquaintances.

The use of visits to their homeland as language-teaching tools was reflected in comments by participants in Nesteruk's (2010) study of Eastern European immigrants in the United States. One mother described how her children's heritage language would improve on annual visits, but would go backwards on their return home, until their next visit the following year. This reflects Andrea's experience with her children and reinforces the need for other language maintenance techniques to be used on the return home to maintain the improved level of the heritage language.

¹⁵ Country not named to allow for anonymity.

It is clear from the interview data that immersion in a Spanish-speaking country can significantly improve children's fluency in Spanish; however, this needs to be part of a wider programme of language acquisition in order to have a lasting impact. With any language learner, myself included, fluency can decrease on the return to English-dominant New Zealand if other language support mechanisms are not in place,

5.2.6. Language domains

Twenty years ago, it was a novelty to meet someone else of Latin American descent or who spoke Spanish, whereas the population is much bigger now and the language is spoken more widely by people from other ethnic backgrounds. The city centre of Auckland is a magnet for young Latin Americans who are arriving on Working Holiday Visas so Spanish can frequently be overheard when one is walking around town. Enrique describes this change in the number of Spanish speakers:

Nowadays we ignore them because we don't know who they are. There's so many of them all over the place... In the past, it was an amazing thing, and for the kids, the kids used to remember when we used to go out and find somebody in Spanish. We would stop and talk to them and find out who they were.

Enrique, 50s, line 1267

As previously mentioned, the number of venues where Spanish can be heard has also increased substantially. Many of Auckland's Latin American restaurants and bars are run by Latin Americans, and staff members often include young Argentines or Chileans who have travelled to New Zealand on Working Holiday Visas. Often restaurants specifically target this type of employee by posting advertisements on the community Facebook pages previously mentioned. This means that Spanish is spoken more widely in restaurants and bars than it was previously and it is possible to spend an evening out without speaking a word of English: something that would have been unheard of even ten years ago.

There is agreement in the literature that the key domain in maintaining a community language is that of the home (Guardado, 2008; Suarez, 2002; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Participants agreed that using Spanish in the home was a useful tool in passing on the language, and eleven out of fourteen

interviewees had an agreed policy of using only Spanish in the home, or had informally developed this as a practice.

Marisol and her husband have a Spanish-only language policy in the home. Their son has friends who are both Spanish and English speakers. While the Spanish-speaking friends may not necessarily speak Spanish in their own homes, they respect the 'Spanish only' rule in Marisol's house and don't speak English when they visit. Marisol's son is fully bilingual, an achievement of which she is very proud:

En mi casa los amigos que hablan en español en la casa respetan la regla y hablan en español pero cuando salen los he visto salir supongamos a una fiesta ellos hablan inglés pero en mi casa hablan todo en español

In my house, his Spanish-speaking friends respect the rule and speak in Spanish but I imagine that, when they go out to a party, they speak in English. But, in my house, they only speak Spanish.

Porque entienden a regla o porque todo el mundo habla en español entonces ellos se conectan ellos pero los amigos de mi hijo de repente me dicen "en mi casa no hablo español y yo aca tengo que pensar en español y hablarte en español" y a ellos les gusta porque no quieren perder sus raíces

Because they understand the rule or because everyone is speaking Spanish. But my son's friends tell me "in my house, I don't speak Spanish but here I have to think in Spanish and speak to you in Spanish" and they like it because they don't want to lose their connection to their roots.

Marisol, 30s, line 76

Despite speaking almost entirely Spanish in the home, Yolanda noticed that her daughter was inclined to reply in English after attending kindergarten. When her daughter spoke to her husband in English, he would often reply in the same language. Yolanda could see the risk of language shift and was trying to encourage a Spanish-only policy in the home:

At the moment, I'm trying to say that with them [the children] we have to speak more Spanish because I've found that, as I said, after being here in kindy, she tends to use more English. So it's kind of becoming a rule now that I try to make my husband to speak more Spanish to her too because he sometimes speaks to her in English.

Yolanda, 30s, line 94

As mentioned in section 5.2.5, Yolanda and her husband made the difficult decision to send their young daughter to Chile so that she could develop a relationship with her extended family and improve her Spanish-language skills, an extremely successful exercise. Yolanda also uses Spanish in the car. She sees car journeys as an opportunity to teach her children new vocabulary or to chat in Spanish rather than the journeys being wasted time. The car was one of 27 different language domains identified by Kim and Starks (2005). Their finding that 11.5% of participants' language transactions took place in the family vehicle was unanticipated as it had not previously arisen in the literature.

Yolanda's attitude in establishing a foundation in Spanish language prior to a child starting school reflects that of Ana and Enrique who felt that it was crucial for their children to be sufficiently confident in the language prior to starting school to avoid language shift. Their home life focused around the Spanish language and their children were also lucky enough to have Spanish-speaking cousins to play with. They now use Spanish with their grandson when he comes to visit.

While several participants, such as Martín, do not have children themselves, through their jobs and social activities they mix with a number of fellow Chileans and observe the impact of language shift in families. Martín also has family in New Zealand and has seen their children grow up. He observes that the most common way of successfully passing the Spanish language on to children is through a Spanish-only policy in the home:

But the majority of the families, they use the technique of you're not allowed to speak English at home... It sounds cruel. I mean in words. But, when you put it in practice, it's very good because they're going to learn English anyway, anyway they're going to learn, but the Spanish that's the only chance, that's the only chance to practise it at home.

Martín, 40s, line 142

As a result of her teaching and language learning experience, Carolina believes that the home domain is the crucial factor in intergenerational transmission of Spanish:

I think that the main point is immersion and it's because you know that is the way for learning a second language in my personal opinion. And they [some Chileans] don't practise that in their house. They speak half

in Spanish and half in English you know the kids. So, if the kids are surrounded by English, that is the opportunity for them to speak Spanish ten hours a day, you know in their house. They have to speak just Spanish, put only DVDs in Spanish no TV no, but most of them they speak some kind of Spanglish with them. So they open the doors and you miss the opportunity in some.

Carolina, 30s, line 253

The views expressed by participants in this study reflect the findings of previous research: that if Spanish is not spoken in the home domain then language shift is not only likely, but inevitable. Suarez (2002) states that “it is in the daily lives of individuals and families where English hegemony is fought, and linguistic alternatives are sought” (p. 515) and that those families who manage to resist this “English hegemony” do so by maintaining the Spanish language in the home.

5.2.7. Early exposure to the language

A common opinion amongst study participants is that the earlier children learn Spanish, the better. As mentioned by Carolina, providing children with a good base in Spanish language prior to starting in English-language kindergarten or primary school means that they are more likely to avoid language loss. Some people, like Marisol’s friend, speak only Spanish to their children during the first year or two of their lives. Marisol explains that in her friend’s case this has been very successful:

Si mira de hacer bueno cuando chiquititos es hablarles solamente en español. Lo hemos hecho con el hijo de mi amiga. Hicimos el experimento de que hasta los 2 años solamente le hablamos en español y el no escuchaba ingles y aprendio el habla perfecto ingles perdón perfecto español y perfecto ingles porque después de los 2 años el empezó a ir al jardín y ahí hablaba ingles.

Look the best thing to do when they are little is to only speak to them in Spanish. We have done this with the son of my friend. We did an experiment where up until he was two years old we only spoke to him in Spanish and he didn’t hear any English, and he learnt to speak perfect English, sorry Spanish, and perfect English because when he reached two years of age he started at day care and there he spoke English.

Marisol, 30s, line 161

This was a technique which Andrea initially used with her son. Although her husband was a New Zealander and English was the common language of the household, when she and her son were alone she spoke entirely in Spanish to him. This continued for the first two to three years of his life, until an incident (detailed in section 5.3.2) when he was teased at childcare and refused to speak Spanish any more.

5.3. Challenges to language maintenance

While bilingualism is an admirable goal and can bring significant benefits to both individuals and the community, there are challenges involved in bringing children up with fluency in their community languages when they are living in an English-dominant society. When these challenges are overcome, the community language is maintained. When the challenges prove insurmountable, language shift takes place and the community language is lost in favour of the dominant language.

5.3.1. Intermarriage

Intermarriage is identified in both international and New Zealand literature as being an impediment to intergenerational transmission of a community language (Plimmer, 1994; Suarez, 2002). Amongst the fourteen study participants, there were four who had spouses or partners from a non-Spanish-speaking background. Three of these were New Zealanders and one was a New Zealand descendent of another minority-language community, who is fluent in their own community language. The difficulty of maintaining Spanish in a mixed marriage arose not only in interviews with these participants, but also in a number of other interviews. Yolanda and Cecilia are both married to fellow Chileans but have seen language shift take place in the community where children have one parent from a non-Spanish-speaking background. In Cecilia's case, she has seen this happen within her own family where siblings and cousins have married outside the community:

A lot of my cousins have married Kiwis and Samoans so the Spanish has gone. There's no Spanish in the house; only some of us have carried it on. Even my sister, my nieces, don't speak Spanish. They understand it but they don't speak it.

Cecilia, 40s, line 95

Almost all the participants acknowledged the fact that, when a monolingual English speaker marries a bilingual Latin American, it is always the case that English becomes the default language of the home given that it is both the common language of the spouse and also the dominant language in New Zealand:

This is the big problem with mixed marriages. When you've got one person speaks Spanish and the other speaks English, the children tend to go to the side because here is the majority English.

Enrique, 50s, line 1123

As Chileans who married New Zealanders, both Andrea and Silvia shared their experience of language use in their own homes. Andrea spoke English with her husband and, while initially she spoke Spanish to her son, by the time her daughter was born, the house was entirely English speaking as discussed below. And while Silvia's husband speaks Spanish, the primary language in the home is English. Given that Silvia's daughters grew up in another English-speaking country prior to coming to New Zealand, and were already being teased about their accents by their classmates, she did not force the issue of speaking Spanish in the home as she felt that they already had enough to deal with as children with mixed identities. While Cipriano and his partner both speak their own community languages with their son, their common language is English and so this naturally dominates in the home. These findings reflect those of Davis and Starks (2005) who found that Cook Island language proficiency was markedly lower for those children from mixed marriages. They concluded that the main reason for this was that English was the common language in the home because it is either the sole language of a monolingual parent or the common language of parents from two different migrant communities.

5.3.2. Embarrassment

One theme that emerged amongst families with older children was the issue of embarrassment. In the 1980s, it was unusual to be bilingual in New Zealand, and particularly in a little-known language such as Spanish. Children wanted to fit in with their classmates so preferred not to speak Spanish to avoid being

perceived as different. For this reason, Pedro's daughters chose to respond to their parents in English, even when addressed in Spanish:

They used to answer in English... they don't want to be different when they are little... they don't want to speak the language they used to.

Pedro, 60s, line 125

Sometimes a child's avoidance of their community language was not only caused by embarrassment and a fear of being different, but also the result of bullying by their peers. Silvia's children were bullied on arrival in New Zealand because they spoke with an accent and so they tried their best to assimilate, including speaking English rather than Spanish in the home, even though their New Zealand father was also bilingual:

I spoke in Spanish, they answered in English; they didn't want to speak Spanish... it was because they didn't want to be different...

Silvia, 50s, line 199

Similarly, Andrea described her young son refusing to speak Spanish after being teased at child care in an English-speaking country other than New Zealand:

I'm assuming that something happened to him while he was there, because at that point he would spend most of the day with me. I wasn't working at that time. And so his Spanish was actually better than his English, and somebody made fun of him, something like that... So, from that point onwards, he absolutely refused to either speak or hear Spanish. He would actually get into major fits just by the sound of it. So, I stopped talking Spanish with him and, when my daughter was born, I think the house was just English speaking.

Andrea, 50s, line 11

New Zealand has changed considerably since the 1980s. While now it is quite common for children to be exposed to a second language, previously it was very unusual. It appears that this had a considerable impact on children of Chilean birth or descent who grew up in this era. They wanted to avoid the embarrassment of sounding different and so chose to use English rather than Spanish. While one family managed to avoid this shift to English, comments from the majority of participants with children in their 20s and early 30s provided

evidence of a lower level of language proficiency in children who grew up in this era.

5.3.3. Lack of effort

One finding that emerged early in the interviews, was that maintaining a heritage language requires considerable effort and willpower on the part of the parents. Language-learning needs to be incorporated into the daily life of families and parents must resist the temptation to take what might be considered the easy way out, allowing their children to use dominant English in the home, thereby removing the core domain in which they can be exposed to their heritage language.

The time pressures of modern life mean that many families resort to taking the single-language option for ease of communication with their children according to some participants. This was reflected by Cecilia who felt that it was a result of laziness and parents opting for the easy option of monolingualism:

I think we get a bit lazy. Some of my cousins and my sisters get a bit lazy and they'd rather, it's easier to speak English.

Cecilia, 40s, line 114

The effort required to bring a child up bilingually was described by Carolina as a job which requires four years of concerted effort at a time when parents are busy and tired:

It's a job also you know. It's a hard job to spend like four years with a kid just speaking in your home language and your first language and pushing. It's a job... Because you're tired in some ways it's easy to say "come on, get up" instead of "levantate" or whatever in Spanish. It's easier.

Carolina, 30s, line 236

It was clear from participants' comments that passing Spanish on to the next generation needed to be seen as being worth the considerable effort involved. Yolanda expressed a view that language maintenance needs to be seen as desirable in order to encourage more parents to make the effort:

You need to make things appealing for people. Life is so fast nowadays so I think people just don't take the time to do any outside activity...

There is a bit of a laziness in that too, because you need to make an effort if you want your children to actually speak the language, and I've seen lots of people that just don't care so much. They just communicate whatever is easy for them with the kids... If you really want them to speak, you need to be there every day, you know, repeating things and it takes an effort.

Yolanda, 30s, line 306

Given that it is increasingly common for both parents in a family to be working full time, and there are many time pressures, it is perhaps unsurprising that lack of time, or laziness, results in English becoming the default language of the home in some cases. The dedication and level of effort put in by parents who want their children to be fluent in both Spanish and English means that those who do not see bilingualism as a priority may find it easier to allow language shift to take place.

5.3.4. Lack of parental education around bilingualism

Several participants raised their concerns around the lack of parental awareness of the benefits of bilingualism. They felt that many new migrants from Chile were coming to New Zealand because they wanted to improve the economic circumstances of their families, and that they saw only the disadvantages of not speaking English, and not the benefits of retaining Spanish. Some of these migrants rely on their children to translate, according to Marisol, and so it is essential that the children acquire English as quickly as possible:

La gente como te digo viene muy rápido y no quieren perder el tiempo de traer a sus niños que los niños aprendan español. Prefieren tener los niños en otras cosas, en deporte, en otras cosas que puedan interactuar en ingles... El problema que estamos viendo, que ocupan a sus niños como traductores, entonces porque los niños aprenden más rápido el ingles... necesita el dinero y todo entonces no tiene el tiempo para hacer un curso de ingles o para aprender ingles y se aprende el ingles en el trabajo y ocupas el niño para traducir. Para traducir los papeles de inmigraciones, para ir al médico para... entonces tratan de poner al niño en un sistema de ingles perdiendo un poco el español.

Some people, as I have told you, don't want to waste time by bringing their children up so that they can learn Spanish. They prefer to have their children doing other activities, sports, other things where they can interact in English... The problem that we are seeing is that they use their children as interpreters, because children learn English more quickly... They need money, etc. So they don't have time to do an

English course or learn English, and they learn English at work and use their child to translate. To translate immigration papers, to go to the doctor... so they try to put their child into English society, all the while losing a little of their Spanish.

Marisol, 30s, line 192

Marisol goes on to discuss the ramifications beyond those of language loss that affect these children. The reliance of their parents on them to translate information that would normally be privy only to adults such as immigration issues and parental stress can be traumatic for children and lead to psychological harm. While I didn't meet any of these children myself, the concern shown by several key community members leads me to believe that the problem does exist and could have ongoing ramifications for the children involved. However, the impact of these experiences on the children is perhaps another thesis in itself.

Carolina felt that, for many parents, their experience of arriving in New Zealand with very little English has influenced their language priorities for their children:

They arrived here without any English so they suffered the consequences of not understanding the language so they don't want to pass that to their kids.

Carolina, 30s, line 198

Often more importance is placed on immediate and tangible benefits such as earning a living, paying bills and buying consumer items, than on unquantifiable benefits such as speaking a second language. Carolina believes that parents don't understand the long-term advantage of being bilingual and the education and employment opportunities that this can bring:

They don't care about the language because they have to pay rent and they think that is more important, to stay here, pay for all this stuff, instead of keeping their language. Instead of use the opportunity, in my opinion, because to have a kid bilingual is more money for the future than some thing.

Carolina, 30s, line 407

According to Carolina, some parents make a half-hearted attempt to teach their children some Spanish by the use of Spanglish: the mixing of Spanish and

English which, in many cases, includes the insertion of a Spanish word or phrase into an almost-entirely English conversation:

What I have seen is they speak Spanglish. It would be a technique that they think that they are helping, because they say three words in Spanish you know, like in a sentence. But the article is in English and the verb is in English and finally they translate in English so the kid is not going to... they try but they don't do it properly in the process, the whole method, so by the end they were translating in English and the kid was ah easy "I want pan with butter you know" so that is the wrong technique.

Carolina, 30s, line 269

Carolina sees the use of the incorrect article as the first step in language loss and one which is often the result of using Spanglish, as children are unfamiliar with how to identify the appropriate gender for a noun. She believes that this practice is used the most by Chilean migrants who don't understand the value of bilingualism, or the need to teach a language properly if it is to be passed on to their children.

The usefulness of *Dora the Explorer* as a language-learning tool could be drawn into question given that the character Dora speaks a mix of Spanish and English, commonly referred to as Spanglish, rather than pure Spanish. It is possible that the use of the programme on its own might result in children interacting in Spanglish but, in conjunction with other language-teaching tools, it can still play a useful role in popularising the Spanish language and reinforcing the perception that bilingualism is normal.

It is clear that the participants, while relatively conscious of the value of bilingualism themselves, share concerns about this awareness not being universal throughout the community. They worry about the possibility of language shift in sectors of the community and lament the valuable resource that will be lost if this happens. These concerns would benefit from future investigation and the development of a language plan for the community.

5.3.5. Demographics of Auckland

Auckland has a population of some 1,432,200 people spread over 5600m².¹⁶ Anecdotal evidence (there is no statistical evidence available) reports that the Latin American population is spread throughout Auckland with larger populations of Chileans in West and South Auckland.

A number of participants mentioned Auckland's spread as being an impediment to organising events and services for the community. While some Chileans will travel to events, often people will attend events only in their own parts of Auckland or in the central city in order to avoid travelling long distances, and this leads to some Chileans being quite isolated within their own areas.

The distances also act as barriers to some services, such as the Spanish-language playgroup run by ALAC, as there were not enough children in the target age group in the local area and Chileans from further afield were either unaware of the service, or reluctant to travel long distances to attend. Silvia spoke of a friend who would have liked to have taken her child to the playgroup, but was deterred by the inconvenience of a half-hour drive each way.

Carolina discussed the difficulty of organising a small community when the community members live in different parts of Auckland:

We are a small community here so to get to something is a nightmare you know... one Chilean lives in the West, the other in the other point so to do something together is time and nowadays not easy. Life is fast.

Carolina, 30s, line 442

The location of ALAC in the suburb of Onehunga is not always the most convenient for the whole community but, unfortunately, there is not a single location that would be convenient for everyone:

The community lives quite spread out you know. We've got a lot of people living out West, far West you know. A few people living in town and there's a lot of us living out here in South Auckland so you know having it always in one place you know, probably not the best place because it's not that big at ALAC. But you know even having it is good. I really stick by them and support them.

Cipriano, 30s, line 397

¹⁶ Source: National Land Transport Programme 2009–2012, NZ Transport Agency

From discussion with participants, it appears that the most convenient location for events and community agencies would be in the central city, some 20 minutes' drive from the ALAC offices. But then the community would encounter financial barriers due to the cost associated with building or venue hire, and parking, in the city. The suburbs provide better value for money.

5.4. Summary

It is clear that many Chilean parents want to pass the language on in order to ensure that their children can have ongoing relationships with their culture and with their extended families. Many parents are also aware of the benefits of bilingualism in the longer term. While, in the past, some parents faced resistance from their children who didn't want to be seen as different from their monolingual peers, increased multiculturalism in Auckland means that bilingualism and the use of foreign languages is now more acceptable to wider society. The status of Spanish, in particular, has increased in New Zealand, most markedly amongst young children with the popularity of the television series *Dora the Explorer*, which means that it is now seen as a desirable language to speak.

While Spanish is used in a wider number of domains than it was in the past, it is clear that increased institutional support would be greatly appreciated by the community and that, in addition to providing opportunities to use the language, there also needs to be a focus on increasing awareness of the benefits of bilingualism within the community.

However, the crucial factor in language maintenance is the home domain, as identified in the majority of language maintenance research. According to Galindo (1995) "parental decisions regarding language choice for their children is a key factor in the maintenance or the loss of Spanish, or the sole adaptation of English" (p. 97) and this claim has been reinforced by the findings of this study.

Chapter Six:

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1. Chapter overview

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate language maintenance and shift among the Chilean community in Auckland in order to gain an understanding of the importance of the Spanish language to the cultural identity of the community, and to discover whether the language is being maintained or if a shift to English is taking place.

The intention has been to tell the story of a community language from the perspective of the community itself. The selection of an ethnographic approach allowed me not only to do this, but also to draw upon my experience as someone who has had a long-term involvement with the Latin American community. My previous experience with the community had led me to believe that, given that Chilean people are generally very sociable, they would enjoy discussing their language and culture. This was indeed the case and the participants were very willing to share their points of view.

The snowball sampling approach to sourcing participants was an effective manner of utilising my existing range of connections from across different sectors of the Chilean community. While it is almost impossible to gain an entirely representative sample of a community, the participants from this study came from a range of backgrounds and age groups. They included migrants who arrived in New Zealand as adults and those who migrated to New Zealand as young children and have grown up here before, in some cases, going on to have their own families.

This chapter will draw together the findings of the study, before examining the future of the language, with reference to predictions made by the community itself. It will go on to discuss any limitations of the study and identify areas that

would benefit from future research. Finally, it will make recommendations on how the community could address issues arising from the research.

6.2. The state of the language

It is clear that the Chilean migrants and their adult children who were interviewed as part of this study consider language to be core to their identities. Interestingly, this included those migrants who don't necessarily feel strongly about passing the language on to the next generation. Given that languages are more likely to be retained if they are considered core to a person's cultural identity, this finding is encouraging.

Many Chilean parents appear to be aware of the risk of language shift and want to maintain the language for both cultural and family reasons and also because of the advantages that bilingualism brings. As is the case in both local and international literature, language maintenance efforts are focused on the home domain with many parents implementing a Spanish-only policy in their homes. This was seen by participants as being by far the most useful tool in ensuring that their children acquired a fluency in Spanish.

Participants not only showed an awareness of the advantages of speaking more than one language, but also identified Spanish as an important and useful language on the world stage. While there is still a risk of language shift taking place in this community over the usual three to four generations, there does appear to be sufficient awareness and enthusiasm to prevent or at least slow the shift. Some community members disclosed their fears that this awareness was not shared by the whole community which indicates that further research is required to identify both if and why this is the case.

Attitudes of both the Chilean community and wider society towards Hispanic language and culture are largely positive which bodes well for Spanish language maintenance in Auckland. It is clear that the increasing popularity of its culture supports language learning within the community, in particular its presence in popular culture; the most prominent example of this is the screening of *Dora the Explorer* on New Zealand television. It is unlikely that the rediscovery of their culture described by the participants in the Pozo-Gutiérrez (2006) study will be necessary given that the enormous increase in the

popularity of Hispanic culture in New Zealand happened before language shift had had time to take place.

However, anecdotal evidence from participants also shows that there are still members of the community who feel isolated and are lacking support for language-learning initiatives. Support structures are solely community led with very little institutional support at local or central government levels, and the community itself would like to see more formal structures or supports in place; they would particularly like it if the Chilean Embassy were to take a greater part. The main hurdle for intergenerational language transmission, as identified by the participants, is the time and effort needed to bring a child up with fluency in all four language skills – reading, writing, listening and speaking. Greater availability of language support structures such as children's language classes would greatly aid language maintenance attempts by parents.

While there is enthusiasm within the Chilean community to pass the Spanish language on to the next generation, the work involved in intergenerational language transmission and the lack of institutional support mean that this may not be successful beyond the second and third generations.

6.3. The future of Spanish in Auckland

The increase in domains where Spanish can be heard in Auckland provides hope for the future of the language in New Zealand. The popularity of the Working Holiday Visa scheme amongst young Argentines and Chileans appears to be having a significant impact by expanding the outreach of the language in Auckland. Enrique and Ana spoke of how common it had become to hear Spanish in different domains while Cipriano spoke of the benefits of this expansion of the community:

More people are staying you know and it's good for our South American community, our Spanish-speaking community it's great.

Cipriano, 30s, line 204

However, in order to provide the support that the language needs, the increase in domains where the language is spoken needs to be reflected across the whole Auckland region. Attention also needs to be paid to encouraging families

to use Spanish in the home and in other family-related activities such as car travel, which provides an optimum opportunity for language acquisition as the parents have their children's full attention. This also needs to be paired with stronger institutional support as outlined below.

It is clear that institutional support is lacking for Spanish in Auckland and that the community is largely reliant on ALAC and the initiative of community members in organising events themselves. While the availability of the language in schools has increased, language learners and speakers need to have access to the language on a regular basis beyond the classroom.

One participant expressed a hope that an organisation such as ALAC would open an office in West Auckland to cater for the large Chilean population there. She spoke of the isolation of Chileans who speak little English, in particular stay-at-home mothers or older people, who do not go out to work and have limited social interaction. Older people suffer from depression and stress from missing their homeland and don't know where to find support in their own language. While the non-profit support organisation Plunket is available to new mothers, there is a language barrier and so these women would benefit from having Spanish-speaking support.

Cecilia described going out for coffee with some of the Chilean women in West Auckland and, while she would be dressed casually as befits a 'coffee date' with friends, many of them were dressed up in their best clothes because the opportunity to go out and socialise with women who spoke their language was a special occasion for them. Cecilia frequently helped these new Chilean migrants by accompanying them to medical appointments and translating letters for them; the absence of any community support in that part of Auckland was an issue about which she was particularly passionate.

Other participants spoke of their wish for Spanish immersion kindergartens and language classes for older children. Many children do not have access to formal Spanish lessons through the public education system until they reach secondary school at the age of thirteen. Erica spoke of her wish for a Spanish-language kindergarten to which she could send her son:

For me, if there's any kindy in Spanish, if you give me two choice one English, one Spanish, and I can see the Spanish one is good, I move him to Spanish kindy but it's not.

Erica, 30s, line 239

One ALAC member spoke of his hope that, one day, a Spanish-language immersion class/school could be set up by the organisation, possibly as an extension unit to an existing school. He had seen the success of Māori immersion units over recent years and hoped that this could be emulated by the Latin American community.

Cultural and language initiatives organised in Auckland by the Chilean Embassy would also be greatly appreciated by the participants. This would provide them with a formal link to their homeland and would make them feel that their interests were important to their government. It is worth noting that, in the past two years, the Argentine Embassy has successfully reached out to Auckland, not only by funding or sponsoring events in the city, but also by having a travelling team of embassy staff which visits the city, amongst others, every couple of months. They also have a weekly email newsletter to which both Argentines resident in New Zealand and other interested parties can sign up.¹⁷ From the comments made by participants, I believe that similar activities by the Chilean Embassy would be greatly appreciated by the Auckland community and, given that the Argentine community is smaller than that from Chile, the number of Chilean migrants in New Zealand certainly justifies the effort.

There has been a significant increase in trade with Latin America over the past twenty years, including the establishment of: a Latin American division in Fonterra; a Latin America New Zealand Business Association;¹⁸ and KiwiLatino, an organisation for Spanish-speaking professionals and businesses.¹⁹ Increased trade between New Zealand and Latin America is a focus of both the Chilean and Argentine Embassies and trade is likely to continue to increase, meaning that the need for Spanish-English bilinguals will only increase. It would be of great benefit if the Chilean Embassy were to encourage and support

¹⁷ Sourced from www.enzel.mrecic.gob.ar

¹⁸ Sourced from www.lanzbc.co.nz

¹⁹ Sourced from www.kiwilatino.co.nz

language maintenance in the community in order to meet the needs of Chilean companies who wish to trade with New Zealand.

The increase in cross-cultural marriages is inevitable the longer the Chilean community is in New Zealand. When Spanish-English bilinguals marry monolingual English speakers, the common language, being English, will almost always become the language of the home. Increasing recognition of the benefits of bilingualism is one way to encourage intergenerational language transmission, but this needs to be supported with language classes and other initiatives to support language learning by children of mixed marriages.

6.4. Recommendations

A key purpose of this thesis has been to provide data on the state of the Spanish language to the Chilean community in order to assist them in their discussions about language maintenance and the potential for language shift. Therefore, I have made a number of recommendations based on both suggestions made by the participants themselves and my own assessment of the community's language needs.

As is the case with many migrant communities' languages, there is a lack of institutional support for the Spanish language, and the wider Chilean community is not always aware of community-based initiatives such as those run by ALAC. It is suggested that the ALAC could:

- a) Better publicise its range of services
- b) Outreach to West Auckland
- c) Try to hold events such as language classes in a more central location, possibly utilising links with other community organisations and the church to find venues.

The community has indicated that it would value language and cultural support from the Chilean Embassy. It is suggested that the Embassy could:

- a) Make its presence felt in Auckland, perhaps through monthly visits by staff

- b) Publicise events and news that are relevant to the community, in a form such as the weekly Argentine Embassy newsletter
- c) Find a way to show its commitment to its community and culture by publicising and supporting cultural activities
- d) Act as a facilitator to draw together different sections of the community to organise joint events or to lobby government for more support for community languages.

Either organisation may like to consider providing information booklets which outline the benefits of bilingualism and list schools and community classes where Spanish is taught. These could be disseminated at Citizens Advice Bureaux, schools, kindergartens, libraries and cultural festivals.

Both organisations should also pay heed to the example set by the Royal Society of New Zealand (2013) issues paper on languages in New Zealand, and look at how Chileans, as members of a minority-language community, can together play a role in supporting and lobbying for the establishment of a national languages policy. Neither the Royal Society, nor any individual language community or organisation, can influence policy makers into prioritising language on their own. It requires a society-wide approach where individual communities come together to lobby government for change.

6.5. Concluding remarks

The future of minority languages in New Zealand is an area of Government policy which has been neglected for many decades (Human Rights Commission, 2008). This was reiterated in March 2013 by the publication of an issues paper *Languages in Aotearoa New Zealand* by the Royal Society of New Zealand (2013). The paper argues that the increasing ethnic and cultural diversity of New Zealand has not been reflected in the development of policies to support the vast wealth of community languages which are at our disposal. Not only are these languages tools which could be used in foreign affairs and trade, but bilingualism is proven to enhance students' academic abilities and language cognition, and to assist them in the acquisition of intercultural skills, essential in the globalised world in which we now live.

The Royal Society paper argues that the time has come for a comprehensive national language policy in New Zealand and that this cannot be delayed any further if we are to take full advantage of the latent language skills within our community and save minority-language communities from language loss. The completion of this study is particularly timely given that, in order to develop a policy which addresses potential or actual language shift in minority-language communities, there needs to be a comprehensive research base. While research has taken place on some language communities, the Spanish-speaking community has been largely neglected; this means that this thesis has addressed a significant gap in language maintenance research in New Zealand. By investigating this language, it is also focusing on the language needs of the Spanish-speaking population at a time when this community is experiencing considerable growth and when the issue of bi/multilingualism is coming to the fore within the community itself.

While many of the research findings echo those of existing New Zealand literature, the influence of television in promoting a language (whether intentionally or not) provides a fresh perspective on language maintenance. The role of the children's programme *Dora the Explorer*, and the increasing use of Spanish in television programmes originating in the US has increased the exposure of wider New Zealand society to the language. This increased prominence on screen is helping to normalise Spanish-English bilingualism meaning that it is no longer seen as strange to speak Spanish and, in fact, is viewed as having some prestige due to its association with fashionable food, music and dance.

The influence of pop culture on young children from minority-language backgrounds in both promoting their community languages and supporting the concept of bilingualism has enormous potential for community language maintenance efforts. The fact that *Dora the Explorer* is accompanied by DVDs, CDs, computer games and books, all featuring Spanish language to some extent, provides an example of how a single media product can be supplemented by a range of related products. If developed as a language-teaching resource, this type of product range could have enormous potential in the maintenance of community languages in New Zealand.

As a Master of Arts thesis, this has been a relatively small study and further research in the field would be of great benefit to both the Chilean and wider Spanish-speaking communities. It would be useful to undertake a larger study which compared the attitudes of the established Chilean community with those of newer communities to see whether their language goals are the same, and to provide recent migrants with the opportunity to learn from the experience of an established migrant community. A focus on teens and young adults could provide useful insights given that future language maintenance efforts will rest on their shoulders. Additional research not only would add to the overall picture of community languages in New Zealand but would build upon the findings of this study in identifying risk factors and areas for future development and support.

The Chilean community greatly values its language and, in general, would like to see it passed on to future generations. While this study provides hope that the community will succeed in avoiding language shift in the usual three to four generations, preventing a shift to English taking place presents the community with an enormous challenge. It is hoped that this thesis will act as a tool for the community, allowing it to better assess the state of the language by providing it with recommendations that might aid it in language maintenance efforts.

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Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet Folleto de Información para Participantes



Date Information Sheet Produced:

19th March 2011

Fecha del folleto:

19 de marzo de 2011

Project Title

Título del proyecto

Spanish Language maintenance and shift among the Chilean community in Auckland
Mantenimiento y cambio del idioma español en la comunidad chilena en Auckland

An Invitation

Una invitación

My name is Sarah Lee and I would like to invite you to participate in a study which will look at the importance of the Spanish language to the cultural identity of the Auckland Chilean community, and if and how the language is being passed on to New Zealand born generations.

Mi nombre es Sarah Lee y quisiera invitarle a participar en un estudio de investigación acerca la importancia del idioma español para la identidad cultural de la comunidad chilena de Auckland, y si y en que forma se esta transmitiendo a las generaciones de chilenos nacidos en Nueva Zelanda.

What is the purpose of this research?

¿Cuál es el propósito de esta investigación?

I am carrying out this research for my Master of Arts thesis. The purpose of the study is to gain information about the role of language in the cultural identity of the Auckland Chilean community. It is designed to tell the community's story about their language and whether it is important to pass it on to New Zealand born children and grandchildren.

Estoy realizando esta investigación para mi tesis para la Maestría en Letras. El propósito del estudio es obtener la información sobre el rol del idioma en la identidad cultural de la comunidad chilena de Auckland. El estudio esta diseñado para contar la historia de la comunidad sobre su idioma y la importancia de transmitirlo a los niños y a los nietos nacidos en Nueva Zelanda.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

¿Cómo me identificaron y por qué me invitan a participar en esta investigación?

I have identified you because I have met you or a member of the Chilean community has recommended you. I have asked you to participate because you are Chilean born or of Chilean descent and are over the age of 16.

Le he identificado porque lo he conocido personalmente, o porque un miembro de la comunidad chilena lo ha recomendado. Le he pedido que usted participe porque es chileno o de ascendencia chilena y mayor de 16 años.

Who is the researcher?

¿Quién es la investigadora?

I am carrying out this research for my Master of Arts thesis. I have been involved with the Auckland Latin American Community Inc. (ALAC) since 1994 when I was studying Spanish and was invited to join Los Chaskis Latin American dance group. I also served two terms on the ALAC Executive in 2003 and 2005. I am currently a member of Makehue Latin American dance group.

Estoy realizando esta investigación para mi tesis maestría. He participado con la Auckland Latin American Community Inc. (ALAC) desde 1994 cuando empecé a estudiar español y me invitaron participar del grupo latinoamericano de danza "Los Chaskis". También participé dos períodos en la Directura de ALAC en 2003 y 2005. Soy miembro del grupo latinoamericano de danza "Makehue".

You may know me personally as a result of my association with the Chilean community. However, it is your decision whether or not you wish to be involved in the research project and your decision will not affect any personal relationship which you have with me. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any stage up until the completion of data collection.

Usted probablemente me conozca personalmente por mi asociación con la comunidad chilena. Sin embargo, es su decisión personal si desea participar en el proyecto o no, y su decisión no afectará a ninguna relación personal que tenga conmigo. Su participación es voluntaria y usted puede retirarse de la investigación en cualquier momento hasta que toda la información esté completa.

What will happen in this research?

¿Qué sucederá en esta investigación?

The project involves interviews, document analysis and informal observations. If you agree to participate in this study I will interview you either on your own or with other family members (e.g. spouse, children) and interviews can be in English and/or Spanish. Interviews will be audio-recorded and either I or a bilingual professional (who will sign a confidentiality agreement) will transcribe them. I will also be observing which languages you speak in at community events in order to verify interview data. Observations will not be audio-recorded. I will look at ALAC records to provide further information on the background of the community and will take notes in my research journal.

El proyecto incluye entrevistas, análisis de documentos y observaciones informales. Si usted está de acuerdo en participar en esta investigación le entrevistaré solo o con otros miembros de la familia (por ej. esposo, niños) y las entrevistas pueden ser en inglés y/o español. Las entrevistas serán grabadas y yo o un profesional bilingüe (quien firmará un acuerdo de confidencialidad) las transcribirá. También observaré qué idiomas utiliza usted durante los eventos de la comunidad para verificar datos de la entrevista. Las observaciones no serán grabadas. Estudiaré los documentos de ALAC para buscar información adicional sobre la comunidad y tomaré notas en mi diario de investigación.

What are the discomforts and risks?

¿Cuáles son las molestias y los riesgos?

It is possible that issues might arise from questions relating to your cultural identity that you feel uncomfortable discussing, e.g. a difficult migration experience or difficulty in communicating upon arrival.

Es posible que las preguntas referidas a su identidad cultural planteen temas que a usted le produzcan cierta incomodidad, por ejemplo una experiencia difícil de inmigración o las dificultades para comunicarse en el momento de su llegada a este país.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

¿Cómo se aliviarán estas molestias y riesgos?

If you experience any discomfort you may choose to end the interview at any time. I will stop recording the interview and will ask you whether or not you would be comfortable with the material recorded so far being used for the study. You may withdraw from the project at any time prior to completion of data collection without being disadvantaged in any way, and the information which you have provided will be destroyed.

Si le molesta algo usted puede terminar la entrevista en cualquier momento. Pararé la grabación de la entrevista y le preguntaré si está de acuerdo con el uso del material grabado hasta entonces. Usted puede retirarse del proyecto en cualquier momento antes de la finalización de la recolección de datos sin que lo perjudique de ninguna manera, y la información que ha proporcionado será destruida.

What are the benefits?

¿Cuáles son las ventajas?

This research will be useful in helping the Chilean community, and other migrant communities, understand the role of their language in their cultural identity. It may be useful in assisting ALAC to plan and seeking funding for language related activities. It will provide me with data for my Master of Arts thesis and any subsequent academic presentations and publications. The data may also be used as part of a doctoral study if I decide to enrol in a PhD after completing my masters degree.

Esta investigación será de utilidad para la comunidad chilena y otras comunidades de inmigrantes, para que entiendan el papel de su idioma en su identidad cultural. Puede también ayudar a ALAC a planear y conseguir financiamiento para las actividades relacionadas al idioma española. A mí me proporcionará los datos que necesito para mi tesis de maestría y cualesquier presentación y publicaciones académicas subsecuentes. Los datos se pueden también utilizar como parte de un estudio doctoral si decido continuar con un PhD después de terminar mi tesis postgrado.

How will my privacy be protected?

¿Cómo se protegerá mi privacidad?

It may be difficult to guarantee full confidentiality as the Chilean community is a very small one and even using pseudonyms may not be enough to avoid other community members from identifying participants. For this reason I can only offer participants limited confidentiality. However I will use pseudonyms (not your real name) and will not attribute quotes to specific individuals. The only exception to this will be if you specifically request that you are identified by name. In the event that you make this request quotes will be checked with you prior to submission of the thesis.

Puede ser difícil garantizar la total confidencialidad porque la comunidad chilena es muy pequeña e incluso el uso de seudónimos puede no ser suficiente para evitar que otros miembros de la comunidad identifiquen a los participantes. Por esta razón puedo ofrecer solamente a participantes confidencialidad limitada. Sin embargo, utilizaré los seudónimos (no su nombre real) y no atribuiré citas a los individuos específicos. La única excepción a esto será si usted pide específicamente que le identifiquen por

nombre. En este caso las citas serán verificadas con usted antes de la presentación de la tesis.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

¿Cuál es el costo de participar en esta investigación?

The interview will take one hour. You may be asked to participate in a follow-up interview but this is not planned for at this stage. The observation stage will take place at community events which you may already be attending.

La entrevista será de una hora. Se le puede pedir que participe de una entrevista de control pero esto no está contemplado para esta etapa. La etapa de la observación ocurrirá en los eventos de la comunidad en los que usted ya participa.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

¿Qué posibilidad tengo para considera esta invitacion?

Please take some time to consider the invitation to participate and let me know within two weeks of receiving this information sheet whether you would like to participate. I will then contact you in order to arrange a time and a place to meet with you – at your convenience.

Le pido considere la invitación a participar y hágamelo saber dentro de dos semanas de recibir este folleto si usted está de acuerdo en participar. Entonces lo contactaré para arreglar la fecha y el lugar de entravista – cuando le convenga.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

¿Qué pasos tengo que tomar para participar de esta investigación?

Please contact me by telephone or email. My contact details are below. You will be asked to complete a Consent Form to indicate that you would like to participate in the study.

Por favor póngase en contacto conmigo por teléfono o por email. Mis datos de contacto están abajo. Si usted acepta y está dispuesto a participar le pido por favor llene el formulario de consentimiento.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

¿Dónde lo informaremos de los resultados?

You will be invited to a social event at the end of the study where I will tell you about the findings of my research. If you would also like to receive a summary of the findings please tick the appropriate box on the Participant Consent Form.

Usted sera invitado a un evento social al fin del estudio donde hablaré sobre los resultados de mi investigación. Si también desea recibir un resumen de los resultados por favor seleccione la casilla apropiada en el formulario de consentimiento del participante.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

¿Qué hago si tengo dudas por esta investigación?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisors, Professor Allan Bell and Dr Graeme Couper.

Cualquier preocupación con respecto al proyecto se debe notificar en primera instancia a los supervisores del proyecto, Profesor Allan Bell y Dr Graeme Couper.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Las preocupaciones con respecto al proceso de la investigación se deben notificar al secretario ejecutivo, AUTEK, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz , 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

¿A quién puedo contactar para más información sobre esta investigación?

Researcher Contact Details:

Datos de contacto de la investigadora:

Sarah Lee
Auckland University of Technology
Email: sarah.lee@aut.ac.nz
Teléfono: 09 921 9999 extn 8481

Project Supervisors Contact Details:

Datos de contacto de los supervisores del proyecto:

Professor Allan Bell
Institute for Culture, Discourse and Communication

Auckland University of Technology
Email: allan.bell@aut.ac.nz
Teléfono: 09 921 9999 extn 9683

Dr Graeme Couper (Habla español)
School of Languages and Social
Sciences

Auckland University of Technology
Email: graeme.couper@aut.ac.nz
Teléfono: 09 921 9999 extn 6048

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16/6/11.
AUTEK Reference number 11/77**

***Aprobado por el comité de ética de la Universidad Tecnológica de Auckland el
16/6/11.
Número de referencia de AUTEK 11/77.***

Appendix 2: Consent Form

Consent Form Formulario de Consentimiento



Project title: **Spanish Language maintenance and shift among the Chilean community in Auckland**
Título del proyecto: ***Mantenimiento y cambio del idioma español en la comunidad chilena en Auckland***

Project Supervisor: **Professor Allan Bell**
Supervisor del proyecto: ***Profesor Allan Bell***

Researcher: **Sarah Lee**
Investigadora: ***Sarah Lee***

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 19/3/11
He leído y he entendido la información sobre este proyecto de investigación en el folleto con fecha 19/3/11.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
He tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y obtener respuestas.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-recorded and transcribed.
Entiendo que durante las entrevistas se tomarán apuntes, y que serán grabadas y transcritas.
- ☐ I understand that informal observations of language interactions will take place in my home and at community events and that the researcher will take notes about these.
Entiendo que habrá observaciones informales de las interacciones en mi casa y en los eventos de la comunidad y que el investigador tomará notas sobre éstos.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
Entiendo que puedo retirarme cualquier información que haya proporcionado para este proyecto en cualquier momento antes de que se termine de recoger todos los datos, sin ser perjudicado de ninguna manera.
- ☐ I understand that although the researcher will make every effort to maintain confidentiality, this may not be possible given the small size of the community.

Entiendo que aunque la investigadora haga todo lo posible para mantener el carácter confidencial de este estudio, quizás no sea posible dado el tamaño pequeño de la comunidad.

- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including recordings and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

Si me retiro, entiendo que toda la información relevante incluyendo las grabaciones y las transcripciones, o las partes que la componen, será destruida.

- ☐ I understand that the findings of this study will be shared with the Auckland Latin American Community Inc. and that they may be used in academic publications/presentations and as part of a doctoral thesis if the researcher decides to go on to further study.

Entiendo que los resultados de este investigación serán compartidos con el Auckland Latin American Community Inc. y que pueden ser utilizados en publicaciones/presentaciones académicas y como parte de una tesis doctoral si la investigadora decide continuar con los estudios.

- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.

Estoy de acuerdo en participar en esta investigación.

- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one):

Deseo recibir una copia del informe de la investigación (seleccione uno por favor):

Yes ☐ Si

No ☐ No

- ☐ Please identify whether you wish to be identified by name or by pseudonym in the thesis (please tick one):

Por favor indique si desea ser identificado por nombre o por un seudónimo en la tesis (seleccione uno por favor):

Real name ☐ Nombre verdadero

Pseudonym (fake name) ☐ Seudónimo (nombre falso)

Participant's signature:

Firma del participante:

Participant's name:

Nombre y apellido del participante:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

Datos de contacto del participante (cuando sea apropiado):

Date:

Fecha :

Appendix 3: Letter of Support



Auckland Latin American Community

20 March 2011

Ethics Committee
Auckland University of Technology
Auckland

To the Ethics Committee

The Auckland Latin American Committee Inc. (ALAC Inc) wishes to advise that the executive committee and members of the organisation fully support Ms Sarah Lee's application for ethics approval for her thesis entitled: "Spanish language maintenance and shift among the Chilean Community in Auckland".

Ms Lee has met with the executive committee of ALAC to discuss her study and it is supportive of the aim and design of her thesis. They also agree that she will be able to access historical records through ALAC and carry out participant observation at their premises and at ALAC organised events. Furthermore, several ALAC Executive members have indicated that they would be willing to help her to source participants.

The results of this study will be of great interest to the Latin American community in New Zealand and in Auckland in particular and will contribute to the understanding of migrant societies.

If you wish to contact us for further information, please do not hesitate to call me on telephone 09 620 9872.

Yours faithfully

Fiona Taler
President
ALAC Inc.

Appendix 4: Interview Questions

- Where do you speak Spanish? With whom?
- Is the Spanish language important to your perception of your cultural identity?
- Do you have to speak Spanish to be a real member of the community?
- How important is it to you that the language is maintained for future generations?
- Have you or your family actively sought to maintain the Spanish language?
- Have you used any community services or activities to maintain your language skills and/or connection to the community?
- How do you define your identity? Chilean who lives in New Zealand, Kiwi of Chilean descent, Chilean Kiwi, Chiwi?

Fiesta del Sol – 1995



Chile National Day celebrations at La Casa Latina– approximately 1996



Los Chaskis Latin American Dance Group - approximately 1997.



Makehue Latin American Dance Group - Auckland International Carnival 2010.



Macondo Latin American Dance Group - Auckland Multicultural Festival 2012.

