Language and Identity in Exile:

Latvians in Canada

Inauguraldissertation

zur Erlangung des Akademischen Grades

eines Dr. phil.,

vorgelegt dem Fachbereich 05 – Philosophie und Philologie

der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität

Mainz

von

Eleonore Kruse

aus

Paderborn

2022

Contents

Zusammenfassung (German abstract)

Diese Studie untersucht die Identitätsbildung früherer lettischer Displaced Persons (DPs) und deren Kinder in Kanada und analysiert den Erhalt der lettischen Sprache innerhalb der lettischen Diaspora in Kanada. Ziel der Studie ist zu erklären, warum 70 Jahre nach dem Ende der Immigration lettischer DPs nach Kanada die lettische Sprache dort noch immer lebendig ist, sowie die Faktoren zu identifizieren, die zum Erhalt des lettischen kulturellen und sprachlichen Erbes beigetragen haben.

Diese Arbeit basiert sowohl auf quantitativen als auch qualitativen Daten, die zwischen September und November 2018 innerhalb der lettischen Diaspora gesammelt wurden. Die Analyse der quantitativen Umfragedaten zeigt, dass Lett:innen in Kanada noch immer über gute lettische Sprachkenntnisse verfügen, der Spracherhalt aber nichtsdestotrotz akut gefährdet ist. Diese Gefährdung geht primär auf einen Rückgang der lettischen Sprache innerhalb des privaten Umfelds sowie eine sinkende Weitergabe der Sprache an die nächste Generation zurück. Trotz der Gefährdung des Lettischen in Kanada legt die Analyse nahe, dass die Sprechergemeinschaft mit ihrer Situation in Kanada und der dortigen Gesetzgebung zufrieden ist. Sie stellt keine Forderungen nach mehr Unterstützung an politische Entscheidungsträger:innen und betrachtet den Erhalt der lettischen Sprache ihre Aufgabe, die nicht gesetzlich geregelt werden sollte. Die Analyse zeigt darüber hinaus, dass die Gruppe Kanada heute als Heimat betrachtet und keine Absicht hat, nach Lettland zurückzukehren.

Wie aus Kanada eine neue Heimat werden konnte, lässt sich anhand der qualitativen Interviewdaten erklären. Deren Analyse zeigt, dass Lett:innen in Kanada eine eigenständige kanadisch-lettische Identität entwickelt haben, die zum einen auf einem neuen Heimatgefühl der Gruppe und zum anderen auf deren kollektiven Gedächtnis beruht. Die vorliegende Studie zeigt, wie die kanadischen Lett:innen Kanada nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg von einem unbekannten Ort zu ihrer neuen Heimat gemacht haben – ein Prozess, der mit der Replizierung lettischer Strukturen und Organisationen

begann, um diese bis zur Wiedererlangung der lettischen Unabhängigkeit bewahren zu können. Es wird dargelegt, wie der Aufbau der Strukturen und Organisationen die lettischen Einwander:innen in die Lage versetzt hat, in Kanada ein lettisches Leben zu führen und sich dadurch sukzessive in das Aufnahmeland zu integrieren.

Die Analyse zeigt darüber hinaus, wie diese Lebensführung das kollektive Gedächtnis der Gruppe – bestehend aus dem kulturellen und dem kommunikativen Gedächtnis – beeinflusst hat. Das kulturelle Gedächtnis ist lettisch geprägt, und die Interviewteilnehmer:innen empfinden Stolz auf ihr kulturelles Erbe. Gleichzeitig ist das kommunikative Gedächtnis geprägt durch die Erfahrungen in Kanada, die von den Interviewteilnehmer:innen ebenso wertgeschätzt werden. Sie sehen diesen Dualismus aus positiven Errungenschaften beider Kulturen als Stärke und ihre kanadisch-lettische Identität somit als stärker als deren Einzelidentitäten. Die Studie zeigt auf, inwieweit die kanadisch-lettische Identität daher als Beispiel von Integration betrachtet werden kann.

Schlagwörter

Spracherhalt, Identitätsbildung, Integration, Multikulturalismus, Zwangsmigration, Diasporastudien, Soziolinguistik, lettische Diaspora, Lettisch, Kanada

Abstract

This study investigates the identity construction of former Latvian displaced persons (DPs) and their children in Canada, and analyzes the level of Latvian-language maintenance within the Latvian diaspora in Canada. The study aims to explain why 70 years after the DP movement ended, Latvian is still alive in Canada, and to identify the factors that have contributed to the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage.

The study draws on quantitative and qualitative data that were collected within the Latvian diaspora group between September and November 2018. The analysis of the quantitative survey data reveals that Latvians in Canada still have a good command of Latvian, but language maintenance is nevertheless acutely endangered. The endangerment mainly results from a decreasing use of Latvian within private domains and decreasing intergenerational language transmission. Despite the endangerment of Latvian in Canada, the analysis suggests that the respondents are satisfied with their situation, and support Canadian language policies. They do not make demands on policy makers for more support and consider language maintenance a their group responsibility that should not be legislated. The analysis furthermore reveals that the respondents feel at home in Canada and have no intention of remigrating to Latvia.

The analysis of the qualitative interview data shows how Latvians in Canada have developed a distinct Canadian-Latvian identity which is based on their new sense of home and their collective memory. Canadian Latvians have transformed Canada from an unknown place after the Second World War into their new home, a process that started with the attempt to replicate the Latvian structures and institutions in Canada in order to maintain them until Latvia restored its independence. Once those structures were established, Latvians were able to live a Latvian life in Canada and thereby gradually integrate into the new host country.

The analysis furthermore shows how the new life in Canada influenced the group's collective memory, constituted by the cultural and the communicative memory. The cultural memory has been Latvian, and the interviewees of this study show great pride in their cultural heritage. At the same time, the communicative memory has been influenced by experiences in Canada which are highly valued by the interviewees as well. Personally, they see this dualism with positive achievements of both cultures as a strength and the Canadian-Latvian dual identity thereby as stronger as an individual Canadian or Latvian identity. This study illustrates why the Canadian-Latvian dual identity thus serves as an example of integration.

Keywords

List of figures and tables

Figures

Tables

x

1. Introduction

Migration is an expression of the human aspiration for dignity, safety and a better future. It is part of the social fabric, part of our very make-up as a human family.

Ban Ki-moon (8th Secretary-General of the United Nations, 2007-2016)

The aspiration for a better future has been a driving force of global migratory movements, which have been part of human history since its beginnings, and the number of migrants has been increasing ever since. In the past 50 years alone, the number of international migrants has more than tripled to about 272 million in 2019 (McAuliffe 2019: 21), and it can be expected to grow even further. Conflict, poverty and inequality also lead to an increasing number of refugees, accounting for 10% of the international migrants in 2019. Even the history of countries that are part of the European Union has been shaped by conflict and forced migration, such as Latvia and the other Baltic countries. They all suffered from multiple occupations, leading to mass emigration, with its consequences still noticeable even 30 years after the restoration of independence.

Latvia and Latvian migration in the mid-20th century were heavily influenced by the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939, a non-aggression pact between the German Reich and the Soviet Union. It contained an at the time secret protocol that declared Latvia to belong to the Soviet sphere of influence. The Soviet army invaded Latvia in June 1940, and in the following months, Latvians faced expropriation, imprisonments and deportations. The latter reached their tragic peak in the night of June 14 to 15, 1941. More than 15,000 Latvians – mainly politicians and intellectuals – were deported to Siberia (Bleiere 2008: 264). Only two weeks later, the German army crossed the Latvian border. The Germans, however, did not act as liberators but as another occupation power that implemented its colonisation plans. Nevertheless, it was mainly the emerging return of the Soviet forces in 1944 that induced Latvians leave their country.

As a result of the Second World War and the Soviet occupation of Latvia, it is estimated that about 242,000 Latvians left their home country due to different types of forced migration between 1942 and 1945 (Hazans 2019: 40). Most of them fled to Germany, and by the end of 1946, almost 100,000 Latvian displaced persons (DPs) were residing in zones of the Western Allies (Tegeler 2007: 20). The Allies' main aim was to repatriate the DPs. Most of the Latvians, however, were unwilling to return to a now Soviet-occupied Latvia. Many feared being sentenced to prison or even death due to war-time contacts with the Germans or their membership in political organizations during the period of Latvian statehood (Zalkalns 2014: 59). Compared to all DPs that were residing in Germany, Latvians formed the biggest group of those unwilling to return to their home country (Jacobmeyer 1985: 83).

Canada admits DPs to fill labour gaps

Although the Soviet Union demanded the repatriation of its citizens, the Western Allies decided in 1945 not to recognize the Soviet annexation of the Baltic States and thus stopped the involuntary repatriation of Baltic DPs to their now occupied home countries. It was instead decided to resettle the DPs also outside of Germany. In charge of the resettlement program was the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which was created in 1946 to deal with the massive refugee problem the Second World War had created. One of the first countries that admitted DPs was Canada, although immigrant admission was controversial and very restrictive. During the war, Canada had implemented a policy of closed doors on refugees from Nazi Germany (Martin 2014: 685). In the post-war years, however, "the international climate and Canada's domestic interest happened to come together at the right moment" (Gilmour 2009: 229). Canada's economy was under pressure, and the core sectors of their industry (agriculture, mining, lumbering) faced a shortage of workers.

In order to be admitted to Canada, DPs had to convince employers of their abilities as labourers. Moreover, DPs had to pass medical tests as well as personal background

checks before being considered suitable candidates. If selected, DPs were offered 10- to 12-month contracts at specific companies in mainly agriculture, mining and forestry industries. Most of the time, the DPs could only arrange for their families to move to Canada after the fulfilment of the initial contract, as they were required to be able to provide for their families.[1]

Almost 10,000 Latvian DPs arrive in Canada within five years

Under the IRO resettlement program, the first DPs arrived in Halifax (Nova Scotia) in 1947. They were expected not only to fulfil their labour contract but also integrate into society and become Canadian citizens (Gilmour 2009: 197). The IRO resettlement program ended on December 31, 1951. Under its umbrella, almost 10,000 Latvian DPs had arrived in Canada by January 31, 1952. In total, Canada admitted approximately 165,000 displaced persons between 1946 and 1953 (Martin 2014: 678). Still today, Canada is one of the main destinations for resettled refugees. Between 2003 and August 2021, about 12% of the refugees resettled by UNHCR[2] departed for Canada, seeing the country rank second behind the US (60%) and ahead of Australia (8%).[3]

Although the DP movement ended 70 years ago, the Latvian diaspora[4] in Canada is still one of the largest outside of Europe. According to the 2016 census[5], 30,725 people

---

1   The Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration sent a *Welcome Letter* to all newly arrived DPs saying: "After you have become well established you may make application for the admission of your dependents. If your employer endorses your application and if your dependents meet the physical and other requirements of the Canadian Immigration Department, transportation will be arranged by the International Refugee Organization as soon as possible thereafter."
    The letter can be accessed online (https://pier21.ca/content/form-letter-sent-by-the-canadian-department-of-labour-1948, last accessed 2021-01-20).
2   The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is a UN agency that was created in 1950 and later replaced the International Refugee Organization.
3   Data are based on the UNHCR Resettlement Data Finder, https://rsq.unhcr.org.
4   This study follows Sheffer's (1986: 3) definition of diasporas as "ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin". I use the term community when referring to the group of Latvians in Canada that is involved in, for instance, Latvian organizations, structures and institutions such as cultural groups, events or local Latvian centres.
5   Censuses are carried out every five years in Canada. The 2016 census can be accessed online: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/index-eng.cfm (last accessed 2021-03-28).

in Canada report being of Latvian ethnic origin. As shown in Figure 1, most of them live in Ontario, followed by British Columbia and Alberta. The largest local Latvian community is based in the Greater Toronto Area. The GTA is home to the Latvian Canadian Cultural Centre, hosting several cultural groups, a Latvian Saturday school and a branch of the Northern Birch Credit Union, among other things. Other local communities are based, for instance, in Ottawa, Hamilton, Montréal, Edmonton and Vancouver. The dominating language in most Latvian institutions and groups is still Latvian, showing that the language is still being spoken at the group level.

Figure 1: Number of ethnic Latvians by province and territory according to 2016 census data

The DP movement in the post-war years has frequently been investigated within political and historical science, special attention being paid to the situation in the DP camps in Germany (Jacobmeyer 1985; Pletzing and Pletzing 2007; Tegeler 2005). Gilmour (2009) focuses on the immigration of DPs to Canada, pointing out how the DP movement contributed to Canada changing its immigration policies from being based on ra-

cial criteria to the immigrants' possible economic contribution. With reference to Anderson's (2006) concept of nation as imagined community, Hilton (2009: 301) claims the DP camps constructed a cultural nation. The cultural nationalism that emerged out of it, a "process of creating strong, common bonds through education, literature, art, language, folk traditions, religion and history" (Hilton 2009: 281/282), was the foundation for Latvians to preserve their cultural heritage in exile. The preservation of the cultural and linguistic heritage as well as reminding the world about the Soviet occupation of Latvia were the two main goals of the émigré communities (Hinkle 2006: 48/49), which actively participated in Latvia's independence movement (Zake 2010), also because many hoped to be able to remigrate and restore the organizations and structures they maintained abroad in a free and independent Latvia.

In 1991, when Latvia finally restored its independence, return migration was however limited and became a topic that received particular attention. According to the interview-based study by Hinkle (2006), the reasons why Latvians abroad often decided not to remigrate include no family members in Latvia, a feeling of being rejected in Latvia and a "dissonance between the reality of present-day Latvia and the idealized version that some émigrés carried in their hearts throughout the period of exile" (2006: 56). These reasons are also mentioned by Latvians in Canada, as will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Negative net migration threatens Latvian-language maintenance

Even 30 years after the restoration of independence, negative net migration is one of the main challenges Latvia is facing. In combination with negative natural growth, the Latvian population in Latvia has continuously been ageing and declining (Central Statistics Bureau of Latvia 2021), causing a potential threat to the survival of the Latvian language as well. Since the restoration of their independence, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have been facing similar challenges in terms of limited return migration of their diaspora communities and negative net migration. Estonia, however, seems to

have reversed the trend, reporting positive net migration for the sixth year in a row in 2020 (Statistics Estonia 2021), and also Lithuania reported positive net migration for the second time in a row in 2020 (Statistics Lithuania 2021). Nonetheless, the large numbers of emigrating citizens are a major concern in all three countries, threatening the survival of the state languages.

Against the background of negative net migration, the diaspora communities have been gaining importance in terms of Latvian-language maintenance. By providing an in-depth analysis of one of the largest Latvian diaspora communities outside of Europe, my study thus addresses a very current topic of research and discourse. Latvia has been targeting its population abroad since the restoration of independence. In early 2021, the Latvian Foreign Ministry developed a diaspora policy plan targeting the more than 370,000 Latvian citizens living abroad "to strengthen their relationship with Latvia" (Latvian Public Broadcasting 2021). There has furthermore been academic interest in the diaspora communities, including surveys on their (economic) situations, such as Mieriņa's (2019) study on well-being, integration and liquid migration that draws from a large-scale survey among diaspora Latvians. Other surveys conducted by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the University of Latvia in 2020 and 2021 include surveys on educational choices among Latvians, travel experiences of Latvians abroad, views on diaspora camps and summer high schools, and remote working. The Latvian Language Agency furthermore offers language-teaching support and language courses tailored for members of the diaspora.

Although return migration to Latvia has been below expectations, there have been several diaspora Latvians who did return and took on decisive roles in Latvian politics. The most famous example is probably Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, who was a member of the Latvian diaspora in Canada and served as the sixth President of Latvia from 1999 to 2007. Egils Levits (President since 2019) was expelled from Soviet-Latvia and spent almost 30 years in Germany before he returned to Latvia after the restoration of independence. Arturs Krišjānis Kariņš (Prime Minister since 2019) was born and raised

in the US and moved to Latvia in 1997. However, these famous returnees cannot mask the fact that return migration to Latvia is often not permanent. Among returnees, the proportion of those who plan to move abroad again is generally high, with Hazans (2019: 65) finding that one in four returnees plans to leave Latvia again.

Identity and belonging are two of the main foci in studies on the Latvian diaspora

Against the background of the large Latvian diaspora, limited return migration and the continuously high numbers of emigrating citizens, the topics of identity, identity formation and forms of belonging have frequently been investigated in social sciences (Zepa and Klave 2011; Koroļeva 2019; Kaša and Mieriņa 2019). Ķešāne (2011) found that although emigrants feel a belonging to Latvian history, culture and language, "these elements are not enough to strengthen a sense of belonging to Latvia to the point where émigrés become convinced that they must return to the country" (2011: 76) if there are no opportunities to be an economically active citizen in Latvia. These findings are supported by Koroļeva (2019: 84), who also concludes that "a sense of belonging to Latvia is not enough to bring them back". She analyzed survey data and found that the most important reasons for Latvians leaving their country today is the "desire to improve their quality of life" (2019: 84). This desire is usually fulfilled, as most emigrants indicated to be satisfied abroad, which leads to rather limited motivation to remigrate.

Within the different diaspora communities, special attention in research has been paid to the Latvian diaspora in the US (Garoza 2011; Hinkle 2006; Saulītis and Mieriņa 2019; Zake 2010). Similar to Canada, the Latvian diaspora in the US mainly stems from post-war immigration. Given that new immigrants, i.e. Latvians who arrived after 1991, do not necessarily join the institutions established by the "old diaspora", Garoza (2011) and Saulītis and Mieriņa (2019) focus on the different waves of immigration to the US, with Saulītis and Mieriņa concluding that

> the different waves of migration have created different identities. The post-WWII Latvian refugees manifest long-distance nationalism with their engagement in diaspora organizations and cultivation of national iden-

tity through commemorative practices and gatherings. Latvians who have arrived in the United States post 1991 show increasing individualism and cosmopolitism. (Saulītis and Mieriņa 2019: 220)

Similar observations were made by Latvians in Canada, as will be further analyzed in Chapter 5. In general, research on the Canadian-Latvian[6] group is however scarce. While Aun (1985) compiles the immigration history of Estonian DPs in Canada, no such compendium on Latvians in Canada exists. Zariņš (2019) gives a historic overview of Latvian immigrants in Manitoba, starting with the early immigration in the 19th century. Matiss' (1999) interview-based study investigates what their Latvian identity means to Latvian-Canadian[7] women. Based on interviews with active and non-active second-generation Latvian youth in the Canadian-Latvian community, Miezitis' (1990) article gives an overview of the driving forces behind the community engagement and the motivation to become (or not to become) an active community member. Although several of her findings are not surprising as such (e.g. that the parents of active youth are usually active community members themselves), they connect to some of the narratives that emerge in the current study, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

But what has happened to the Latvian language in Canada?

What is however missing in Baltic studies is sociolinguistic research that provides an in-depth analysis of a Latvian diaspora group in terms of both the vitality of the language and the identity construction of its members. My study contributes to closing that research gap by providing an assessment of Latvian-language maintenance in Canada, and an analysis of the group's identity construction. Drawing from quantitative and qualitative data, my study aims to explain why 70 years after the DP movement to Canada ended Latvian is still alive in Canada, and to identify the factors that have contributed to the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage. A particular

---

6   Throughout my study, I use the term *Canadian Latvians*, not *Latvian Canadians*. It is how the group usually refers to itself, and it best corresponds to the Latvian term *Kanādas Latvieši* ('*Canada's Latvians*'). I also decided to adopt the term *Latvian Latvians* from the Canadian-Latvian group when referring to Latvians in Latvia.

7   The choice of the term *Latvian Canadian* refers to the title of Matiss' (1999) doctoral dissertation.

focus lies on the forced exile situation and its impact on the DPs' identity construction and their determination to establish Latvian structures in Canada that even after 70 years still form the foundation of community life. In order to explain this development, my study seeks to answer the following research questions:

(i) How vibrant is the Latvian language in Canada today?

(ii) What are the prospects of Latvian in Canada?

(iii) What is the role of the Latvian language in exile-Latvian identity construction?

(iv) What is the role of Latvian cultural elements in exile-Latvian identity construction?

(v) What other factors contribute to the identity construction of Latvians in Canada?

Deriving from the research aim and questions, my study is embedded in the fields of refugee studies (see Section 2.1), language sociology in terms of language maintenance and shift (see Section 2.2) and identity construction (see Section 2.3). My study is novel in three respects: I have taken the perspective of a former refugee group; I have developed a method which shows how systematically collected survey data can be processed into valid information about the vitality of a migrant language; and my analysis reveals that the main strategies with which Latvians in Canada construct their exile-Latvian identity rely on different forms of belonging, relating to the relation between an individual and a group (see Section 2.3).

In Chapter 3, I summarize the methodology of my study. I explain how I developed the European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages (EuLaViBarMig, Kruse 2021) in order to collect and process quantitative survey data, and how the tool – including the complementary ELDIA Integration Barometer (ELDIA IntBar) – was applied in the Canadian-Latvian context. I furthermore summarize the interview template, its thematic blocks, and the conceptual framework of my thematic interview analysis.

Chapter 4 analyzes the vitality of Latvian in Canada on the basis of the EuLaViBarMig survey questionnaire. I give a detailed account of the level of Latvian-language maintenance and identify the domains of Latvian-language use in Canada. I furthermore analyze the challenges the speech community faces in terms of language use and transmission. Moreover, I offer an explanation for the level of Latvian-language maintenance by connecting the EuLaViBarMig results to the complementary ELDIA IntBar.

In Chapter 5, I analyze how Latvian immigrants in Canada developed a Canadian-Latvian dual identity. I provide an in-depth analysis of how the former DPs built a new home in Canada, a process that was initially guided by the commitment to the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage, but nevertheless resulted in a strong sense of belonging to Canada. Moreover, I analyze how the home-building process in the forced exile situation influenced the collective memory that is based on a Latvian cultural memory and a Canadian-influenced communicative memory. I thereby show that the Canadian-Latvian dual identity ultimately reflects different forms of belonging.

In Chapter 6, I discuss how the Canadian-Latvian dual identity explains the level of language maintenance. Since this study is the first implementation of the novel EuLaViBarMig, I furthermore discuss its applicability and limitations, and suggest how to develop it further for future studies. Based on the results, I make suggestions for Latvian-language maintenance in Canada and compare the situation of Canadian Latvians with other migrant groups. Moreover, I explain why the Canadian-Latvian dual identity serves as an example of integration, but also the limited return migration of diaspora Latvians.

2. Research gaps and study design

This study addresses several research gaps in refugee studies as well as language sociology, such as the still underrepresented refugee perspective on resettlement and integration and the assessment of migrant-language vitality based on large-scale survey data collected within the speech community. This chapter explains how my study contributes to closing these gaps by taking the perspective of a former refugee group (see Section 2.1), offering a tool to systematically analyze the vitality of migrant languages (see Section 2.2), and analyzing the identity construction of Latvians in Canada based on different forms of belonging (see Section 2.3).

2.1 The underrepresented refugee perspective in refugee studies

The number of refugee and forced migration studies has been constantly increasing. As the refugee perspective is however still often underrepresented (van Selm 2014), there is still room to "think with refugees rather than of refugees", as Banko et al. (2021) have outlined in a research field that they call the history of refugeedom. To contribute to a more refugee-focused approach, my study sets out to give a former refugee group a voice, and show that their view and experience need to be taken into account when discussing integration.

Over the past several decades, the nature of migration has changed significantly. Between the 1950s and 1970s, it was mainly characterized by directed movements of migrants, such as the DP movement to Canada in the post-war years. Migration flows today, however, consist of "an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified" migrants (Vertovec 2007: 1024). The number of migrants has been continuously increasing to about 3.5% of the world's population in 2019 (McAuliffe et al. 2019: 21). Also the number of forcibly displaced people has been increasing, having reached 89.3 million worldwide at the end of 2021 (UNHCR 2022), an increase of more than

26% within only three years. The largest group (53.2 million people) comprises internally displaced people, followed by refugees (27.1 million), asylum seekers (4.6 million) and Venezuelans displaced abroad (4.4 million). This growth may be one of the reasons for the growing number of refugee studies, as Scherr (2021) suggests that these are connected to the perception of politics, problems and the topics of current political discourses.

As an area of research, refugee studies saw a rise in the 1980s that was also influenced by the demands of nation states and humanitarian organizations (Banko et al. 2022; Bloch 2020). One of the main topics in refugee studies is integration, identifying state language proficiency as one of its key features (Ager and Strang 2008; Bevelander et al. 2009; Connor 2010; Esser 2006). Linguistics-related topics in refugee studies thus often focus on the acquisition of the state language, and less on the linguistic repertoire and the heritage languages of migrants. Integration serves as one of the main indicators for the success of resettlement programs, defined as the relocation of preselected refugees to a third country (van Selm 2014: 520).

Refugee resettlement is seen as one of the three durable solutions for refugees, alongside voluntary repatriation and local integration, and it is a central part of UNHCR's mandate. The UN refugee agency sees an increasing need for refugee resettlement, with a projected number of almost 1.5 million people in 2022 (UNHCR 2021: 13). Alongside state language proficiency, UNHCR (2002) also identifies other core domains of integration such as housing, employment and health care. It is those domains that also receive the most attention in research on resettlement, often from the point of view of communities and states (van Selm 2014: 513, 522; McAuliffe et al. 2019: 4). The perspective of the resettled, however, still receives less attention in refugee studies even though the field sees a growth in research that seeks to find the refugees' vantage point.[8]

---

8   Recent and ongoing projects include "Histories of Refugeedom in the Nordic Countries" (University of Oulu, 2021-22), "Unlikely Refuge: Refugees and citizens in East-Central Europe in the 20th century" (Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2019-2024), "Reckoning with Refugeedom: refugee voices in modern history" (University of Manchester, 2018-21), "Tracing the Belgian Refugees" (University of Leeds).

Analyzing integration as an acculturation strategy

Whereas the aforementioned domains of integration dominate the discourse in political and social science, Canadian psychologist and migration researcher John W. Berry directs the focus on the contact between cultural groups, and defines integration as an acculturation strategy of the non-dominant group, e.g. immigrants.

> Acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between cultural groups and their individual members. Acculturation follows migration and continues in culturally plural societies among ethnocultural communities. Adaptation to living in culture contact settings takes place over time. (Berry 2004: 27)

Integration, defined as both maintaining one's heritage culture and participating in the larger society (Berry 2005: 705), is however only one out of four strategies, the others being assimilation, separation and marginalization (Figure 2). They are all based "on the presence of three underlying dimensions: cultural maintenance, contact and participation, and the power to decide on how acculturation will take place" (Berry 2005: 706). The underlying questions of all strategies are not only if and to what extent a minority is willing to maintain its heritage and to seek contact with the majority society. The factor of power is decisive and equally important in this process, and it includes the question if and to what extent the majority society allows cultural maintenance and social participation. In order to allow integration, the host society or the dominant group must allow cultural maintenance and relations between the dominant and the non-dominant groups in the country. If both criteria are fulfilled, the host society strives for multiculturalism, according to Berry's model (Figure 2). If multiculturalism is rejected, a society either seeks a melting pot (leading to the assimilation of a minority) or exclusion (leading to the marginalization of a minority, depending on the extent of contact and social participation the society allows). UNHCR (2002: 13) also identifies both parties, the refugees and the host society, as being responsible for the success of integration, defined as a "mutual, dynamic, multifaceted and on-going process".

> From a refugee perspective, integration requires a preparedness to adapt to the lifestyle of the host society without having to lose one's own cultural identity. From the point of view of the host society, it requires a willingness for communities to be welcoming and responsive to refugees and for public institutions to meet the needs of a diverse population. (UNHCR 2002: 13)

Figure 2 shows the acculturation strategies both by the dominant and the non-dominant group. I combined the strategies defined by Berry (2005: 705) in one single figure in order to show that the acculturation strategies of a non-dominant group do not only take place in a societal setting – they depend on it, as integration requires a multicultural setting for example.

With regard to languages and the maintenance of the linguistic heritage, I included the categories of language proficiency based on Esser (2006: 8). Since integration is defined as an inclusion in both the ethnic (non-dominant) group and the host society (dominant group), it is linguistically represented by (competent) bilingualism, i.e. proficiency in both the heritage and the state language. Giving up one's heritage language for the benefit of the state language is described by Esser as monolingual assimilation. In the case of separation from the dominant group, the most likely linguistic outcome is monolingual (i.e. heritage language) segmentation. Marginalization, i.e. no inclusion in either the non-dominant or the dominant group, would linguistically be represented by limited bilingualism.

The model described in Figure 2, however, has no time dimension and thus does not look at processes, but at their outcomes at a particular point in time. It does not describe the possibility that a non-dominant group may change its strategy – consciously or unconsciously. Two of the foci of this study are however the heritage maintenance and identity formation of the former Latvian DPs in Canada. Both cannot be regarded as static, but rather as processes, as will also be pointed out in Section 2.3. Time is thus of fundamental importance, and this study shows that the time Latvians have been spending in Canada and the exposure to the host society have led to a change of the group's acculturation strategy.

Maintenance of Heritage Culture, Language and Identity

+ ← — — — — — — — → **-**

	MULTICULTURALISM	MELTING POT
+	Integration competent bilingualism	Assimilation monolingual assimilation
-	Separation monolingual segmentation	Marginalization limited bilingualism
	SEGREGATION	EXCLUSION

Relationships Sought Among Groups

▩ Acculturation strategies of dominant group
▢ Acculturation strategies of non-dominant group

Figure 2: Acculturation strategies and their linguistic representations

As highlighted in Figure 2, integration – representing the maintenance of the heritage culture, language and identity as well as the adaptation to the new host country/society – requires the host country to seek multiculturalism. However, several studies, including the ELDIA project (Laakso et al. 2016) that contributes to the methodological framework of the current study, found that it needs more than multiculturalism for a language to have a chance to survive, i.e. long-term political and economic support from the dominant group.

Canada adopted multiculturalism as an official policy in 1971, ensuring that "all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging" (Government of Canada 2012). A result of this policy was the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1985 to

recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage.[9]

The country usually highlights its understanding of multiculturalism as a form of cultural pluralism, using the metaphor of the Canadian mosaic rather than the one of a melting pot (Forbes 2019: xviii). Diversity, tolerance, equality, freedom, recognition, authenticity and openness are thus the major values associated with multiculturalism (2019: xvii), which has its foundation in the rights and freedoms protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982. This bill of rights is entrenched in the Constitution of Canada, and in its introduction[10] proudly refers to itself as "one of our country's greatest accomplishments". The country officially celebrates its cultural diversity on the Canadian Multiculturalism Day (June 27), and diversity and tolerance are often regarded as "essential elements of the Canadian dream" (2019: xv). With regard to migrant languages and their preservation, concrete political support is however scarce.

While this represents the official understanding of multiculturalism in Canada, my study sets out to give the former refugees a voice and direct the focus on their experiences of the resettlement and integration as an acculturation strategy. Given that Canada has made a commitment to multiculturalism, and that the aforementioned domains of integration such as employment and housing were formally covered by Canada's participation in the IRO resettlement program, Canadian Latvians form an ideal group to show that the setting and conditions in the host country should not be analyzed without taking into account the group's migration motives and experiences. All factors intertwine and have an impact on a group's identity formation, the maintenance of the cultural and linguistic heritage and, ultimately, on integration.

---

9   Canadian Multiculturalism Act, https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-18.7/page-1.html (last accessed 2021-09-30).
10 The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/csj-sjc/rfc-dlc/ccrf-cc-dl/ (last accessed 2022-07-11).

2.2 The underrepresented migrant-language perspective in language maintenance studies

Different tools and models have been developed in order to assess language maintenance (Edwards 2010; Fishman 1991; Laakso et al. 2016; Lewis and Simons 2010; UNESCO 2003, 2011), but all these have gaps to fill in the migration context. I therefore developed the European Language Diversity Barometer for Migrant Languages (Kruse 2021), and the current study shows how it can be applied in order to systematically collect and process data on the vitality of any migrant language.

According to the 2016 census, about 22% of the Canadian population was born outside of Canada. As noted in Section 2.1, the country generally highlights the multicultural composition of its society, often with a sense of pride. During a speech in November 2015, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau used Toronto's motto "Diversity our strength" to describe Canada as a whole, saying "Diversity is Canada's strength" ("La diversité est la force du Canada"). Multiculturalism brings along multilingualism, as about 21% of the population report having a mother tongue other than the official languages English and French. Eleven percent say their language spoken most often at home is none of the official or Aboriginal languages of Canada. Nonetheless, 98% report having knowledge of at least one of the official languages. These data show that multilingualism is the norm in Canada, as it is from a global perspective (García 2009).

Multilingualism acquired at home is nevertheless not necessarily regarded as a strength or asset. In the 1970s, Adler (1977) identified bilingualism as a burden, both for the society, since a bilingual speaker "can never be completely assimilated" (1977: 39), and for the individual, for whom bilingualism was a potential risk for psychological disorders (1977: 40). In the same decade, more than ten government-funded residential schools were still operating in Canada, isolating Indigenous[11] children from their native culture, religion and language in order to assimilate them into the Canadian majority society

---

11 The Indigenous population in Canada includes the First Nations, Inuit and Métis.

and culture. The last residential school was closed as late as in 1996. The monolingual bias along with the view that the multilingualism of minorities and/or migrants is more a burden than an asset can still be observed in more recent public or political discourses. In 2014, the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (Germany) suggested that immigrant families should speak German at home in order to facilitate integration. With a view to labour market integration, Esser (2006) claims that state language proficiency is the key. Bilingualism, on the other hand, is usually only beneficial if the second language is of regional or global value. Languages are thereby divided according to status: Whereas the major vehicular languages, those of "global value", should be learned and are the target of educational policies, the languages of migrant and minority groups are rather ethnic attributes (Laakso et al. 2016: 3).

Although these attitudes still express subliminal resentments against the multilingualism acquired at home, regional and minority languages have received more protection or even legislative support over the past several decades. Many European regional and minority languages are officially protected by international agreements such as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, adopted in 1992. Section 23 of The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom defines the Minority Language Educational Rights of English and French. Furthermore, in 2019, Canada adopted the Indigenous Languages Act, recognizing the rights related to Indigenous languages.[12] However, only little attention is paid to migrant languages in legislation.

Expanding the European Language Vitality Barometer to the migration context

In order to assess language maintenance, different tools and models have been developed. Prominent examples include Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), offering an eight-point scale of endangerment that focuses on the key role of intergenerational language transmission in language maintenance

---

12   The full text of the *Indigenous Languages Act* can be accessed online: https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/I-7.85/FullText.html (last accessed 2021-09-16).

in which "the higher the GIDS rating the lower the intergenerational continuity and maintenance prospects" (1991: 87). The GIDS furthermore gives recommendations regarding the actions that should be taken in order to reverse language shift. The scale has however been criticized for being too static (Landweer 2012; Lewis and Simons 2010). The latter later created the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), providing a more detailed scale. Lewis and Simons (2010) also addressed other shortcomings they identified within the GIDS framework such as the role of institutions outside of the home environment and a richer set of analytical categories (2010: 106/107). The assessment is based on the answers to five key questions.

The evaluation of language vitality according to UNESCO (2003) is based on six factors, namely intergenerational language transmission, absolute number of speakers, proportion of speakers within the total population, trends in existing language domains, response to new domains and media, and materials for language education and literacy. Drawing from the answers to 33 questions, Edwards' (2010) framework aims to identify the role of different variables in minority-language maintenance. The EU-funded project ELDIA (2010-2013) also targeted minority languages and developed the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar). A major difference compared to the aforementioned tools was the approach to surveying the members of the targeted language community in order to assess the degree of language maintenance (Laakso et al. 2016: 36). ELDIA developed a toolkit that includes "a complete method for processing quantitative survey data into information about what needs to be improved in language policies and practices if a given language is to be rescued" (2016: 33). Within the project, twelve European minority groups with a Finno-Ugric heritage language were surveyed, most of them autochthonous minorities, the exception being Estonian in Finland and Germany. However, the case study on Estonian in Germany revealed some weaknesses that were openly addressed by the researchers in their analysis, and likely to be connected to the use of the EuLaViBar in a different context, i.e. migration (2016: 69, 158).

In order to make the tool applicable for migrant languages, I have sought to develop the EuLaViBar further within the framework of my study on the Latvian language in Germany (Kruse 2021). As a result, I developed the European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Language*s* (EuLaViBarMig), which I then applied in the current study to analyze the vitality of Latvian in Canada. Although the novel tool includes several changes compared to the original EuLaViBar (see Section 3.1.1), its core idea is still the same, which made the tool ideal to measure the vitality of a migrant language.

The original EuLaViBar allows a systematic analysis of the vitality of a given language that focuses entirely on the speakers' perspective, which is decisive also in the design of the current study. The EuLaViBar furthermore positively acknowledges the multilingualism of the target communities, regarding multilingualism as the norm rather than the exception (Laakso et al. 2016: 18):

(i)   When taking the survey, the respondents are free to take it in the majority/state language or in their heritage language.

(ii)   The questionnaire allows respondents to name more than one language as first or native language.

(iii)   The questionnaire acknowledges that even private domains[13] may be diverse in terms of language use, e.g. different languages spoken with parents, grandparents and siblings.

Moreover, the EuLaViBar asks about the existence and demand of certain heritage-language products made available for example by federal or regional governments. Not only does this provide information about the availability of those products, but also about the respondents' knowledge about them. If, for instance, certain products exist, but the speech community is not aware of them, the EuLaViBar identifies areas in which the communication between the provider of those products and the speech community needs to be improved.

---

13 Private domains include, for instance, household and family. Examples of public domains are school education, public institutions, court, local or state administration.

When speaking about the language of a minority group, the EuLaViBar generally uses the term *heritage language* (HL), not *native language* or *mother tongue*. The latter imply native-speaker skills, but many heritage-language speakers are more fluent in the majority language (Laakso et al. 2016: 13). Benmamoun et al. (2013: 133) and Montrul (2012: 4) define HL speakers as bilinguals of the HL and the majority language. As a result of language shift, however, the HL has become the weaker language. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) also claim that HL is often characterized for example by a limited vocabulary, impoverished syntax and a not fully developed register of its speakers, resulting in speaking abilities that "fall within a continuum, from rather fluent speakers, who can sound almost like competent native speakers, to those who can barely speak the home language" (2007: 371).

What these studies have in common is a definition of HL that is related to its speakers' capacity to use it and/or related to the majority language. Although these criteria are true for many many participants in this study, as will be shown in Chapter 4, I have decided to use the term heritage language according to the Canadian definition, as employed by Statistics Canada (StatCan), the national statistical office. HL thereby refers to any language other than the official languages English and French (Harrison 2000) and is not related to the ability of its speakers to use it. HL is the common term in Canada to refer to immigrant languages, which is why Harrison (2000: 14) notes that "except for Aboriginal languages, the heritage languages are an imported phenomenon", a statement that clearly disregards the fact that the official languages are colonial languages and have thus also been "imported".

Given the importance of integration in the migration process (see Section 2.1), the novel European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages furthermore includes the entirely new ELDIA Integration Barometer (ELDIA IntBar), which has no equivalent included in the original toolkit. It addresses the immigrants' attitudes towards their host country. This aspect is typically of minor importance with minority languages, given that the speakers are usually born in the country in question and are

citizens (Kruse 2021: 19/20). Since integration has become "both a key policy objective related to the resettlement of refugees and other migrants, and a matter of significant public discourse" (Ager and Strang 2008: 166), the ELDIA IntBar aims to display how well a speaker community fulfils the preconditions for successful integration. It is a complementary tool that is meant to be used in conjunction with the EuLaViBarMig and contextualization.

The current study is the first implementation of the EuLaViBarMig and shows how the original EuLaViBar had to be changed in order to meet the migration context. It provides a detailed account of the vitality of Latvian in four focus areas and thereby identifies the speakers' capacity to use Latvian as well as their needs and attitudes towards Latvian-language use. Using the example of Latvian in Canada, my study shows how the novel EuLaViBarMig can be applied to systematically collect, process and analyze data on any migrant language in order to measure its vitality and identify its speakers' needs.

2.3 Call for deeper knowledge of dual-identity construction

Language also plays an important role in processes of identity construction, as it has been confirmed by many studies (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Guardado 2018; Norton 2000). Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 382) call language "a fundamental resource for identity production", and with regard to diaspora Latvians, Hinkle (2006: 58) claims that "the Latvian language has been central to their Latvian identity". Moreover, one common result in studies on identity, especially in the context of migration, is that dual identities exist (e.g. Hopkins 2011; Mostofi 2003). In my study I show how they are ultimately constructed through different forms of belonging.

Beginning with the mid-20th century, identity gradually became an analytical category in social science and the humanities. At the beginning of the current century, *identity* had already been well established in many research disciplines, which has also been

criticized, for example by Brubaker and Cooper (2000), since it had caused a "devaluation of meaning" (2000: 3). Depending on the context and point of view, identity can refer for example to notions of the self or of how people are identified by objective measures, identification processes and the construction of collectivities (Anthias 2009: 9).

These references play a key role in the understanding of identity in the current study as well. Identity as the notions of the self, or the "awareness of selfhood" (Assmann 2008: 109), is tied to the memory. "Memory enables us to live in groups and communities, and living in groups and communities enables us to build a memory" (2008: 109). It can hence not be formed and exist without interaction, and identity thereby references to "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world" (Norton 2000: 5). The identity of Latvians in Canada has thus not been formed isolated from the experiences they made as a group with its joint commitment to preserve the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage in a forced exile situation.

Closely related to *identity* is the concept of *belonging*. Whereas *identity* refers to attributions and claims, "belonging as an analytical term can enable us to ask questions about belonging to 'what' rather than, as with identity, who an individual 'is' or who and what they 'identify with'" (Anthias 2013: 7). The question who an individual is may imply a static situation (2013: 5). However, Yuval-Davis (2006: 200) argues that even individual identity categories are characterized by the belonging to different social locations: "To be a woman is different if you are middle-class or working-class, a member of the hegemonic majority or a racialized minority, living in the city or in the country, young or old, straight or gay." She describes social locations as one out of three notions of belonging, the other two being identification and emotional attachments, and ethical and political values (2006: 199). Since they may all change during an individual's lifetime, they may then also change who an individual is or becomes. Identity is therefore a process rather than a static situation. Such changes especially occur in migration, which often causes a radical change of context.

The migration context is furthermore an example of another aspect of belonging, namely the creation and maintenance of boundaries. Decisions are made about who belongs and who does not, i.e. who is a member of a group and who is not, and who is entitled to decide. Belonging is thus always also concerned with politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006). Latvian DPs decided they did not want to return – to belong – to Soviet-occupied Latvia, but to the democratic West. However, it was a Canadian decision to admit DPs from Europe after WWII, letting them obtain citizenship and thereby belong to the Canadian society. Belonging is thus not always a decision that is made by the individuals who want to belong, but is negotiated between the parties involved. And, again, it references to the relation between a person and a community, whether concrete, e.g. by citizenship, to a group of people, or symbolic, e.g. shared values and beliefs.

Although having emigrated (voluntarily or forced), diaspora communities often maintain strong ties to their country and culture of origin. In addition to the studies on the identity and belonging of several Latvian diaspora communities mentioned in Chapter 1, Mostofi's (2003) study on the Iranian-American diaspora, for instance, found that they embraced the American notions of freedom and liberty while still holding on to the Iranian cultural traditions (2003: 682). Hopkins (2011: 1) notes that Muslims in the UK describe themselves as "being British in a Muslim way". These studies show the development of dual identities as one result of migration. What the results of all studies furthermore have in common is the importance of holding on – belonging – to the culture of origin. "Belonging is about emotional attachment, about feeling 'at home'", with *home* being defined not as a domestic place, but as a "symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment" (Antonsich 2010: 646). This space can therefore also be represented by a group an individual feels emotionally attached to, which highlights the interrelation between a group and its place or territory (2010: 649). This relation is also emphasized by Assmann (2011: 25), who claims that "the tendency toward localization applies to every form of community". His concept of the *collective memory* constitutes a major part of the conceptual framework of my the-

matic interview analysis (see Section 3.2.2). Given the close relation between a group and its place/territory, I connect Assmann's concept to the concept of home being constituted by spatial and social elements (Bastian 1995) in order to analyze what other factors – besides language – have contributed to the identity construction of Latvians in Canada. Their migration experience shows how the feeling of belonging to certain places and/or values gradually changed after their resettlement, and how this process contributed to the formation of a dual identity. In this way, this study shows that identity is not static and that it is ultimately created through different forms of belonging, including the creation and maintenance of boundaries to distinguish one's own group from the "other".

3. Methodology

In order to explain why 70 years after the DP movement ended, Latvian is still being spoken at the group level in Canada, I collected quantitative and qualitative data within the Latvian diaspora in Canada. Section 3.1 explains how quantitative data on the vitality of Latvian in Canada were collected using the questionnaire included in the toolkit of the European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages. It furthermore summarizes the interview template that I developed to conduct semi-structured interviews with first- and second-generation Latvian immigrants. Section 3.2 explains the analytical approach and the data analysis tools I applied.

3.1 Data collection

Data on the vitality of Latvian within the Latvian diaspora in Canada were collected by conducting a questionnaire survey within the group. The survey's format and how it was distributed are explained in Section 3.1.1. Section 3.1.2 summarizes the format and the addressed topics of the semi-structured interviews I conducted in order to analyze what other factors – besides language – are important in the identity construction of Latvians in Canada.

3.1.1 Survey

In order to systematically collect and process data on the vitality of the Latvian language in Canada, I developed the European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages (EuLaViBarMig; Kruse 2021), which draws from quantitative survey data. It includes a survey questionnaire and a scaling system in order to process the data into valid information on the vitality of a given language and graphically display them in a radar chart. The original EuLaViBar (Laakso et al. 2016; Spiliopoulou Åkermark et al. 2013) was developed to measure the vitality of regional and minority languages, and my study on the vitality of Latvian in Germany (Kruse 2021) revealed that the EuLaViBar

had to be developed further in order to meet the specific requirements of the migration context. This meant minimizing the influence of the respondents' country of birth (if other than the host country) on the vitality scores and including more precise questions concerning the availability of heritage-language products (2021: 29). With a view to immigration, the novel tool also includes the complementary ELDIA Integration Barometer (ELDIA IntBar). It displays "how well a speaker community scores in domains that support successful integration" (2021: 29).

In order to conduct the survey in Canada, the EuLaViBarMig questionnaire has been adjusted to meet the bilingual context, and questions on the French language have been included. This concerned questions 9, 11-27, 31, 34, 36, 41 and 52 of the questionnaire (Appendix I), i.e. all questions that included indications of the state language(s). The questionnaire was made available in English (Appendix I) and Latvian (Appendix II), and the respondents could freely choose which version to take. Corresponding to the original EuLaViBar questionnaire, the novel EuLaViBarMig questionnaire also consists of seven parts. How they contribute to measuring the vitality of Latvian is explained hereafter.

A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The first part, *Background Information*, consists of questions one to eight and covers the personal information of the respondents: gender (male, female, other), age, place of birth, place of residence, length of residence in Canada, reason for moving to Canada, intended duration of stay, citizenship, level of education, occupational situation, engagement in a Latvian community, and the country where the respondents spent most of their school years (Q8). These questions are first of all meant to get an overview of the composition and sociodemographic characteristics of the group of respondents. Furthermore, Q8 is a key question in the new EuLaViBarMig questionnaire as it divides the respondents into two groups: If the respondents spent most of their school years outside of Canada, they have to answer fewer questions on language use during

childhood, because these answers would then not reflect the situation in Canada (Kruse 2021: 20). If they spent most of their school years in Canada, however, the respondents receive the full set of questions on language use (see part B), except for Q34 (*Did you attend English/French courses in Canada?*).

B. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON LANGUAGE USE

Part B is the largest one of the questionnaire (questions nine to 34), and it focuses on the respondents' language use with family and relatives (grandparents, parents, siblings, spouse, children, grandchildren), and on the respondents' native language(s). Questions nine and 11-27 are meant to gather information on the respondents' capacity and desire to use Latvian. The family plays a key role in language maintenance, and if language transmission decreases, the survival chances of the heritage language are drastically reduced (Pauwels 2016: 91). The aforementioned questions therefore address the topic of language transmission in order to analyze whether Latvian is being passed on to the next generation or a gradual language loss over the generations can be expected, as suggested by several studies that revealed the loss of immigrant languages in three generations (Alba et al. 2002; Rumbaut et al. 2006).

In the new European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages, part B has been extended. The original EuLaViBar questionnaire addresses the language use of the respondents' parents and grandparents with them; however, it does not take into account the possibility that the respondents may use a different language in these conversations (Kruse 2021: 11). Hence, questions on the language use of the respondent with their parents and grandparents have been included.

Although language maintenance starts in the family, the acquisition of literacy is "usually associated with the domain of formal education. […] This is also the case for the majority of community schools: learning to read and write in the heritage or minority language is a desired goal of the learning process" (Pauwels 2016: 132). The

teaching of Latvian is not part of the public educational system in Canada. Community schools, however, exist, and Latvia offers some language-learning support to its diasporic communities. In order to gather data on the (formal) education in Latvian, the respondents are therefore asked if and where they learned Latvian and if they attended Latvian language classes. If they were born outside of Canada, they are also asked if they attended English and French classes. This question, however, only contributes to the ELDIA IntBar, not to the EuLaViBarMig. The questions whether the respondents noticed situations in which they were prevented from using Latvian (Q28/29) aim to show whether opportunities to use Latvian were limited by anyone inside or outside of the speaker community.

C. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

Questions 35 and 36 of the questionnaire ask the respondents to evaluate their knowledge of Latvian as well as of the official state languages English and French. In all languages, the respondents can evaluate their abilities to speak, write, read and understand spoken Latvian separately. Whereas the knowledge of Latvian contributes to the EuLaViBarMig, the language proficiency in the official state languages is part of the ELDIA IntBar.

D. LANGUAGE USE

Part D is the smallest part of the questionnaire. It only consists of question 37 and asks the respondents to indicate how often they use Latvian in certain domains (e.g. at home, with relatives, at work, etc.). The underlying idea is to find out whether there is the desire and the capacity to use Latvian not only in private domains but also in public ones.

E. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND DESIRE TO USE LANGUAGES

Questions 38 to 54 cover the Latvian diaspora's attitude in terms of language use: Were Canadian Latvians encouraged to use Latvian in childhood, do they support their children to use Latvian today? The respondents can also indicate whether they think it is the mother's or the father's responsibility to pass Latvian on to their children and to support them to learn the state languages. In order to gather data on the respondents' attitudes towards speakers of Latvian and local Canadians, they are asked to evaluate how easy it is to get acquainted with speakers of Latvian as well as Canadians. The questionnaire also asks the respondents to indicate if they think Latvian should be used in certain public domains in Canada, to find out if there is a demand for (more) Latvian language products outside of the respondents' family and/or community. Questions 45 and 46 aim to find out whether the speaker community feels disadvantaged by Canadian legislation. The following questions 47-50 then specifically focus on the availability of Canadian legal texts in Latvian. These questions are not only meant to find out about the existence of such texts, but also whether the speaker community is aware of them. Questions 51 and 52 cover the role of Latvian as well as of English and French in the labour market. The respondents are also asked if they know institutions in Canada that cultivate Latvian and if there are attempts being made in Canada to save the Latvian language.

F. PUBLIC LANGUAGE USE

Pauwels (2016: 92) points out that minority-language speakers are often not able to use their language in interaction with public authorities. This is however also the case for speakers of migrant languages, who often face the same challenges in terms of language maintenance as speakers of minority languages (Yagmur 2019: 217). In order to find out if the respondents know of the existence of Latvian language products and services in public domains in Canada, question 55 covers the availability of services in Latvian in terms of Latvian-language use in certain domains (e.g. print media), the availability of

Latvian interpreters at public authorities (e.g. police stations), the availability of Latvian-language versions of political decisions (e.g. those of the House of Commons) as well as the possibility to take the written part of the driving test in Latvian. Compared to the original EuLaViBar, this set of questions has been revised. While the original questionnaire asks about language use in general in those domains, the new EuLaViBarMig differentiates between different types of language use, including the provision of interpreters and the availability of Latvian translations (texts).

G. MEDIA CONSUMPTION AND ACTIVE USE OF LANGUAGE IN (MODERN) MEDIA

Rosa and Trivedi (2017: 334) stress that media (consumption) can influence diasporic identity formation and facilitate – but also constrain – community bonds and relations with the diasporic homeland. With regard to language maintenance, Fishman (2010: 5) sees a globalization of pan-Western pop consumer culture and identifies it as the "motor of language shift". In order to find out if and to what extent Latvian-language media are consumed and produced, the final part of the questionnaire (questions 56 and 57) not only asks the respondents if they have access to Latvian-language media (e.g. newspapers, books), but also if and how often they make use of that access. Additionally, they are asked to indicate if and how often they use Latvian in the active production of text (e.g. blogs, diaries). These questions contribute to both the availability of Latvian language products and the desire to use them.

Distributing of the survey questionnaire

The survey was aimed at all Canadian residents who considered themselves to be of Latvian origin and were at least 18 years of age, regardless of citizenship, length of residence in Canada and Latvian-language proficiency. The questionnaire could be accessed online and was advertised through emails to larger communities (e.g. Toronto, Montréal), their mailing lists, through social media (especially Facebook) as well as

through mailing lists by the Canadian-Latvian newspaper *Latvija Amerikā*, the Latvian National Federation in Canada (*Latviešu Nacionālā Apvienība Kanadā*, LNAK) and the Latvian Canadian Cultural Centre (LCCC).

Due to the way the survey was advertised and distributed, it allowed for broad access. With the exception of the Greater Toronto Area, Latvians are scattered all over Canada, which made online access to the survey crucial in order to reach as many respondents as possible. Nevertheless, the survey does not fulfil all criteria of a representative study. The survey was advertised by Latvian institutions and communities in Canada, so it is likely that many respondents have a certain affiliation to those institutions.[14] Furthermore, participation required Internet access and the use of specific platforms or websites to learn about the existence of the survey. In order to provide alternative access to the survey, paper versions were distributed at the LCCC. The final sample consists of 261 respondents.

3.1.2 Interviews

In order to investigate the factors that contribute to the identity formation of the Latvian émigrés in Canada, I conducted semi-structured interviews with former DPs and their children, and performed a thematic interview analysis. The interviews were conducted in Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener (all Ontario) and Montréal (Québec) in September and October 2018. All participants were interviewed individually either at their homes, the Latvian community centres or libraries. The locations were suggested by the interviewees depending on what was most convenient for them. Before the interviews started, participants signed a consent form informing them about the purpose of the study, the university department where the study was carried out, that their participation was voluntary, i.e. they could withdraw their consent any time, and that the interviews were going to be recorded, transcribed and anonymized. Furthermore, only the

---

14 Seventy-five percent of the survey respondents indicated to be actively involved in a Latvian community in Canada.

anonymized transcripts were to be used for the current study, and the recordings and transcripts were going to be stored on the university repository without public access.

When approaching possible interviewees, the applied selection criteria were that the interviewees either had to be first-generation immigrants who arrived as DPs or their children who were born up until 1955. I decided not to apply any other criteria, such as gender, community involvement, leading positions within the community or Latvian-language proficiency. Firstly, I wanted to be able to reach as many interviewees as possible who would reflect a broad variety of experiences. Secondly, I relied on the help of several members of local communities who established contact with possible interviewees. Giving them too many criteria and information on the content of the study could have led to a preselection of interviewees based on their opinion of who could be an interesting or suitable participant in my study. Since a certain amount of preselection could nonetheless not be avoided, I contacted interviewees with the help of not only one but several contact persons, and I furthermore also approached potential interviewees directly. Moreover, some took the initiative and got in touch with me when they heard about the project. Although this approach allowed for a broader group of interviewees, who were also based in different cities, it nevertheless led to a pool of interviewees that had a certain connection to the community. Although not everybody was actively involved in the community at the time, it needs to be stated that former DPs who completely assimilated and/or are no longer connected to the community are not represented in the data set.

The interview data set consists of 25 interviews. The interviewees were born between 1927 and 1954. The majority were born in Latvia, followed by Canada, Germany and Sweden. Fourteen interviewees are male, 11 are female. As mentioned above, gender was not a criterion for selection. Given that the DP movement in the post-war years was characterized by the selection of mostly male DPs who could then arrange for their families to come to the new host country after the fulfilment of their inital work contract (see Chapter 1), the DP movement was experienced differently by male and female

DPs at the time. However, my study focuses on the years after the arrival in Canada and specifically on the collective memory of Canadian Latvians and their joint efforts to maintain their Latvian heritage abroad. I have therefore decided to analyze all themes that emerge in the interviews with regard to the group as a collective, and not to focus on gender-specific aspects.

The majority of the interviewees hold both Canadian and Latvian passports and have post-secondary education. All 25 have been to Latvia at least once after their and/or their parents' immigration to Canada. All seem to be at peace with their past as well as how their life in Canada developed, and – except for one interviewee – no one has spent more than a few months in Latvia.

Table 1 gives an overview of the interviewees in terms of their immigration generation, applying the concepts of the first, 1.5 and second generation. First-generation immigrants include those who were born abroad and came to the host country when they were older than twelve. The 1.5 generation comprises immigrants who were born abroad but came to the host country up to the age of twelve. The second generation is formed by the children of first- or 1.5-generation immigrants who were born in the host country. In order to protect the anonymity of the interviewees, their names have been changed in this study. Given that the Latvian diaspora in Canada is rather small and interviewees could nevertheless be identified by further information such as year of birth, country of origin and year of immigration, this information is not linked to the interviewees' pseudonyms in Table 1.

Table 1: The interviewees and their immigration generation

First-generation immigrants (born in the 1920s and 1940s)
Ilze, Inga, Linda, Pēteris
1.5-generation immigrants (born in the 1930s and 1940s)
Anete, Dace, Egils, Eriks, Eva, Ilmars, Kārlis, Kristaps, Mareks, Raimonds, Renāte, Talis, Vaira, Zenta
Second-generation immigrants (born in the first half of the 1950s)
Arnis, Arvils, Enija, Juris, Mārtinš, Oskars, Iveta

Design of the interview template

The interview template (Appendix VII) consists of a set of background questions and four thematic blocks that arise from the research question:

(i)   Latvian culture

(ii)   Image of Latvia

(iii)   Identity

(iv)   Home

The first thematic block, *Latvian culture*, consists of five questions that are meant to find out if and to what extent the Latvian heritage was maintained in the interviewees' families. The thematic block aims to display who was the driving force to maintain the Latvian heritage during the interviewees' youth and how important the maintenance has been to the interviewees themselves. This covers Latvian festivities and traditions they attended during adolescence, but also what they later decided to pass on to their own children. Fishman (2007: 74) points out that for some people, language loss can mean to "lose a member of the family, an article of faith, and a commitment in life. Those are not little things for people to lose or for a culture to lose." This thematic block therefore also seeks to investigate the importance of the language for the maintenance of the Latvian heritage.

Building up an exile community that aims at the preservation of the Latvian culture and institutions (Hilton 2009; Hinkle 2006) means that there must be an underlying idea of Latvia as it should be, and to pass this idea on to the next generation. Therefore, *Image of Latvia* comprises five questions that cover the image of Latvia from two perspectives:

(i)   the image the interviewees had during adolescence, i.e. from a distance without ever having been to Latvia;

(ii)   the experiences they made during their first visit to Latvia, i.e. when they had the opportunity to reconcile their image with the reality they found in Latvia.

In order to analyze the identity formation of a group, it is essential to find out what identity means to the people that are under investigation. The third thematic block, *Identity*, therefore comprises five questions that are on the one hand meant to find out what the interviewees think contributes to a person's identity and on the other hand how the interviewees see themselves. The latter specifically aims at the influence of two cultures or societies, the Latvian and the Canadian one. The rather general question of how the interviewees describe their own identity is therefore followed by questions on the belonging to the Latvian society, the motivation why they have (not) taken out dual citizenship, and how important the interviewees consider contact with other Latvians in Canada.

Being in exile by definition means that there must be a home that has been left. When Latvia restored its independence, the exile of Latvians in Canada officially ended. Eckersley states that

> in order to understand what it might mean for people to 'feel at home' or to 'belong' we need to recognise that there must be some*thing*, some*one* or some*where* to belong *to*: a representation of 'home' with which the individual can form an attachment. (Eckersley 2017b: 1)

Home as a thematic block therefore seeks to identify what home means to the interviewees today, whether and why they considered moving (back) to Latvia, and how their feelings towards Canada differ from their feelings towards Latvia today.

3.2 Data analysis: methods and tools

This section summarizes how the EuLaViBarMig was applied to process the survey data into valid information on the maintenance of Latvian in Canada. It furthermore explains the conceptual framework of the thematic interview analysis.

3.2.1 The European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages

Applying the EuLaViBarMig processes the quantitative survey data into information on the vitality of Latvian in four focus areas: *Capacity*, *Language Products*, *Desire* and *Opportunity*. *Capacity* refers to the speakers' ability and willingness to use Latvian. The availability of material or immaterial Latvian language products and services is reflected by the focus area *Language Products*. *Desire* covers the speakers' wish to use Latvian, and *Opportunity* refers to the institutional arrangements that allow, support or prohibit the use of Latvian.

As in the original EuLaViBar, each focus area of the new EuLaViBarMig consists of up to four dimensions: *Language Use*, *Education*, *Legislation* and *Media*. Every relevant question of the survey questionnaire contributes to one or more focus areas.[15] Following the EuLaViBarMig Scaling System (Attachment IV), the answers are given a value from 0 to 4 on the language maintenance scale, which is the same as in the original EuLaViBar (Laakso et al. 2016: 40/41):

---

15 An overview of which questions contribute to each focus area and dimension can be found in Appendix III.

0 Language maintenance is severely and critically endangered.

1 Language maintenance is acutely endangered.

2 Language maintenance is threatened.

3 Language maintenance is achieved to some extent.

4 The language is maintained at the moment.

Figure 3 is an example taken from the EuLaViBarMig Scaling System to demonstrate how the values are given to each answer. The example shows question 9 (*What is/are your native language(s)?*) of the survey questionnaire. It contributes to the dimension *Language Use* in the focus areas *Capacity* and *Desire*. If the respondents do not mention Latvian as their native language or one of their native languages, the value 0 is assigned because this answer represents a severe and critical endangerment of Latvian. If the respondents say Latvian is one of several native languages, the value 3 is given. If Latvian is the only native language of the respondents, the highest value 4 is given because having only Latvian as their native language represents language maintenance.

Question 9: What is/are your native language(s)?

Q09: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Figure 3: Example of the EuLaViBarMig Scaling System

The answers to all relevant questions are coded accordingly. On the basis of these values, a mean score can then be calculated for each question. Since all questions contribute to one or more focus areas, mean scores for these focus areas and ultimately for each dimension can be calculated. The scores can then be graphically displayed by a radar chart.[16] Its four colours blue, green, yellow and purple represent the four dimensions.

---

16 See Figure 7 in Chapter 4 for the EuLaViBarMig for Latvian in Canada.

The intensity of the colours represents the values 0 to 4 on the language maintenance scale and thus the degree of language maintenance: the lighter the colour, the higher the value and degree of language maintenance, as illustrated by Figure 4:

			language use
			education
			legislation
			media
0	1	2	3	4
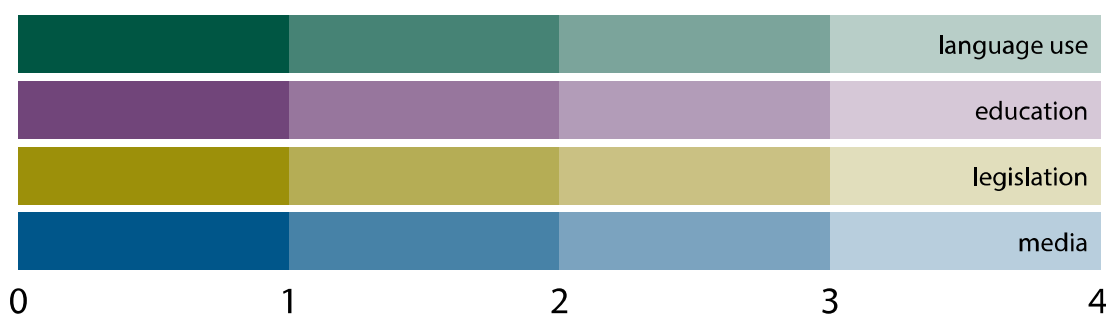
Figure 4: Explanation of the radar chart colours and their intensity based on the language maintenance scale

In addition to the questions that contribute to the EuLaViBarMig, the survey questionnaire employed in the data collection of this study included a set of questions that contribute to the complementary ELDIA Integration Barometer (ELDIA IntBar). The aim of the ELDIA IntBar is to show "to what extent a certain migrant group fulfils the preconditions for successful integration" (Kruse 2021: 24).

Similar to the EuLaViBarMig, the ELDIA IntBar consists of three focus areas: *Ability*, *Commitment* and *Accessibility*. The immigrants' educational background, state language proficiency and employment situation are reflected by the focus area *Ability*. *Commitment* refers to the immigrants' commitment to the host country represented by citizenship, length of residence, and intended duration of stay. *Accessibility* covers the experienced openness of the host society and the labour market (Kruse 2021: 25-28).

The scaling system with values from 0 to 4 is similar to the EuLaViBarMig.[17] On the basis of these values, the mean score for each focus area is calculated, corresponding to the following levels:

---

17 The overview of which questions contribute to each focus area of the ELDIA IntBar can be found in Appendix V.

0   Extremely limited

1   Limited

2   Good

3   High

4   Optimal

The scores can then be graphically displayed by a radar chart.[18]

As explained in Section 3.1.1, the questionnaire has been adjusted to cover the official bilingualism in Canada. Questions on the French language have been included, and hence changes in the scaling system had to be made. Since the EuLaViBarMig refers to Latvian only and the vitality scores do not include any values representing the state language(s), the changes only affected the calculation of the ELDIA IntBar score for *Ability*. In questions 36 (state language proficiency) and 41 (parents' support to learn the state languages) I have however decided not to value English and French equally. Despite the official bilingualism on the federal level, most Canadian provinces are officially unilingual. Two provinces stand out: New Brunswick as the only officially bilingual province and Québec as the only unilingual French one. Most survey respondents are however from English-speaking provinces, especially from Ontario.

In order to reduce the influence of French on the ELDIA IntBar score for *Ability*, I applied the principle of weighted average. Whereas the values for English still fully contribute to the calculation of the score, the values for French have been reduced to 50%. As a consequence, the respondents' rather low proficiency in French (compared to their excellent knowledge of English) still contributes to the ELDIA IntBar score for *Ability*, but it does not result in a misleadingly low score.

---

18 See Figure 12 for the ELDIA Integration Barometer for Latvians in Canada.

3.2.2 Conceptual framework of the thematic interview analysis

The interviews with first- and second-generation Latvian immigrants on the basis of the interview template (Section 3.1.2) reveal that a sense of home as well as memories and experiences comprised by the group's collective memory are important factors in the identity formation of Latvians in Canada. In the narratives, *home* has spatial and social features, which reflects the concept of *home* described by Bastian (1995). She concludes that *home* is constituted by a spatial and a social category that inextricably belong together.

The collective memory of the group comprises both Latvian and Canadian influences and experiences, which reflects Assmann's (2011) model of the collective memory formed by the cultural and the communicative memory.

HOME

In the Anglo-American context, the term *home* often refers to a domestic place, e.g. property, family home (Bruns and Münderlein 2019: 101; Duyvendak 2011: 3). The current study, however, employs *home* as a broader concept referring to a place or region that people strongly identify with (Weber et al. 2019: 9). This can also be – but is not limited to – the family home. *Home* is multifaceted phenomenon, but nevertheless has the notion of being unique: "There is no place like home. What is home? It is the old homestead, the old neighborhood, home-town, or motherland" (Tuan 1977: 3). The reason to feel emotionally attached to a certain place is however usually not the place as a geographic location, but its social components: the people, experiences, memories and emotions an individual associates with that place (Bilecen 2017: 80; Eckersley 2017a: 12; Weber et al. 2019: 12). They are the reason Seibt (2018) calls home "das Paradies der Erinnerung" (*'The paradise of memory'*) – just like it is expressed in the German song "Heimat" ('*Home*') by Herbert Grönemeyer: "Heimat ist kein Ort, Heimat ist ein Gefühl" ('*Home is not a place, home is a feeling*'). The feelings and emotions that are

usually associated with home are comfort, familiarity and security (Bastian 1995; Bruns and Münderlein 2019; Duyvendak 2011; Hage 2010; Lähdesmäki et al. 2016).

In their study on the sense of home of migrants in the United States, Cuba and Hummon (1993: 556) grouped their respondents' answers into eight different categories, of which three included social relations (friends, family, participation in organization/community/work). This highlights the importance social elements have in order to make people feel at home, and it is supported by the result that the majority of the respondents feel a place affiliation that is friend-related (e.g. meeting people, getting to know neighbours). This also corresponds to the findings of a study among residents in the German state of Saarland (Kühne and Spellerberg 2010: 109): Almost three quarters of the respondents say home is where their friends are. And the majority (77%; multiple answers were possible) say a feeling of comfort is the most distinct feature of home.

Bastian (1995) investigated the concept of German *Heimat*. This translates to *home*, although the German term is more emotionally loaded (Eckersley 2017a: 8; Eigler 2012: 27), which makes it difficult to translate into other languages.[19] According to Bastian (1995), *home* is constituted by a spatial and a social category that inextricably belong together, as displayed in Figure 5. The spatial category is represented by a place such as a city, a region or a landscape. The social category includes human relations (e.g. family and friends), habits, customs and traditions, and the way to celebrate festivities. The social elements breathe life into the spatial category; hence it is the interplay of the two categories that constitutes the concept of *home*. This leads to the assumption that people can only feel at home where the elements of both categories intertwine, i.e. a place that an individual associates with social elements that are subjectively perceived as important and emotional and thereby create comfort, familiarity and security.

---

19 See the article by Bruns and Münderlein (2019), which gives an overview of how German *Heimat* can be translated into other languages.
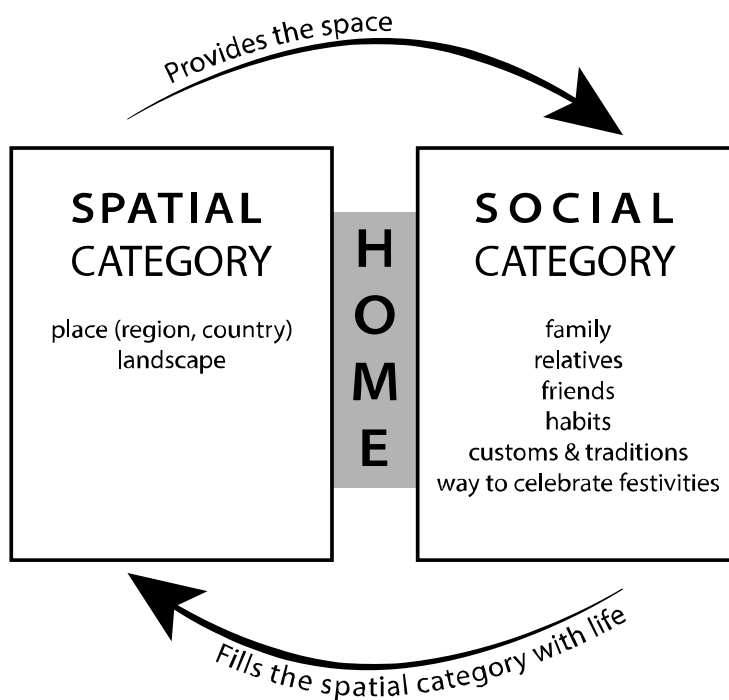
Figure 5: Construction analysis of Heimat based on Bastian (1995)

Bastian shows how *home* is constructed and what elements – spatial, social, emotional – are needed in order for people to feel at home and thus to develop a feeling of belonging. The latter is usually positively associated and regarded as a goal that is to be achieved (Lähdesmäki et al. 2016: 238/239). With a view to migration, a feeling of belonging to the host country represents a form of adoption to the new environment and can thus be regarded as a condition for integration, representing both the adaption of values of the host society and the retention of the cultural heritage (Berry 2005: 708). In the current study, Bastian's concept is therefore ideal not only to explain how Latvians have built a new home in Canada, but also how the social category of *home* has contributed to the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage and thus to the integration of Latvians in Canada.

Although Bastian investigated the concept of German *Heimat* ('*home*') and did not specifically focus on migration, my study shows how the concept can be applied in a broader, international context. Looking at *home* from both a spatial and a social per-

spective is crucial in order to show if and how the notions of home and belonging can change during a person's lifetime. This can be of particular importance within the context of international migration and/or displacement (Eckersley 2017b: 1), which has been gaining political relevance due to the growing number of international migrants.

COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The *collective memory* is a concept developed by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs († 1945), who coined the term in his book *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925). Although the memory as such belongs to the individual, it is created collectively.

> A person's memory forms itself through his or her participation in communicative processes. It is a function of their involvement in a variety of social groups – ranging from family through religion to nation. Memory lives and survives through communication, and if this is broken off, or if the referential frames of the communicated reality disappear or change, then the consequence is forgetting. (Assmann 2011: 23)

On the basis of Halbwachs' *mémoire collective*, Aleida and Jan Assmann introduced the term *cultural memory* towards the end of the 1980s. I will employ this continuation of Halbwachs' concept in my analysis and show the impact of living abroad, building a new home, and preserving the cultural heritage of the DPs on the collective memory – and ultimately the identity – of Canadian Latvians.

For Assmann (2011: 31), *collective memory* still serves as a "general heading". However, he then distinguishes between the communicative and the cultural memory, as displayed in Figure 6.
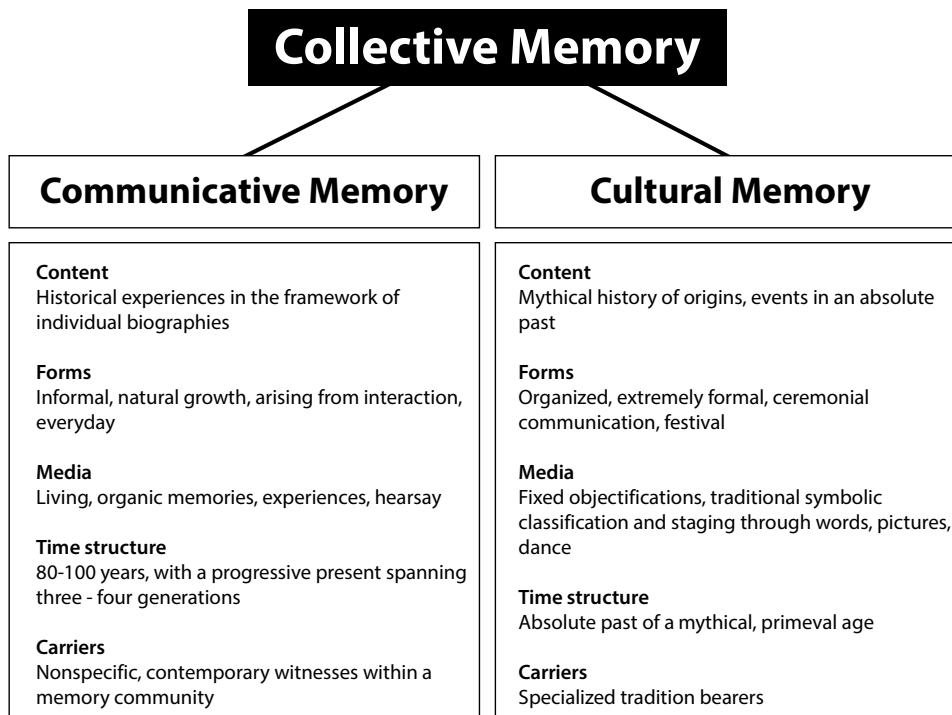
Figure 6: The collective memory according to Assmann (2011)

Whereas "the communicative memory comprises memories related to the recent past […] (that) the individual shares with his contemporaries" (Assmann 2011: 36), the "cultural memory is a kind of institution. It is exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms" (Assmann 2008: 111). It refers to fixed points in the past, to the knowledge of history on which a group bases its consciousness of unity and distinctiveness. It is the interplay of both records of the past that forms the collective memory of a group.

Remembering, however, is not only a process to recall the past, it is a realization of belonging to a group (Assmann 2008: 114). The past is therefore an important resource for the construction of culture and community (Cohen 1998: 99). With regard to diaspora communities, remembering the events and circumstances that led to the displacement are central features of their collective memory. Memories are thus "socially constructed and culturally specific" (Sigona 2014: 376).

The cultural memory, and thus also the identity, are kept alive through communication, ensured by regular festivals and rituals.

> By recalling its history and reenacting its special events, the group constantly reaffirms its own image; but this is not an everyday identity. The collective identity needs ceremony – something to take it out of the daily routine. To a degree, it is larger than life. The ceremony as a means of communication is itself a forming influence, as it shapes memory by means of texts, dances, images, rituals, and so on. (Assmann 2011: 38)

Assmann's concept well illustrates that the collective memory of a group comprises cultural and more contemporary memories, and it is thus an ideal concept to investigate the DP movement and its impact on the people involved. Given that returning to an at the time occupied Latvia was not an option for the majority of Latvian DPs after the Second World War, Canada became a new base for many. Latvia and the Latvian culture – stored in the cultural memory – remained important for the émigrés however, and it was the cultural memory that they shared with their counterparts who stayed in Latvia.

The paths of resettled Latvian DPs and Latvian Latvians diverged after WWII. For more than 70 years, the former DPs have been living outside of Latvia – in this case Canada. Seventy years is a time span captured by the communicative memory. Latvians are therefore a good example to show how a group that used to have a similar collective memory develops differently over the years, and Chapter 5 will show that the differences are well visible to the group members. The collective memory shows how a new identity that is based on different influences and memories develops, and it connects well to the concept of *home*, because "a place is considered important because of the memory (whether individual or collective) of what happened there" (Eckersley 2017a: 12).

Such a development, however, is not specifically Latvian. My study shows how Latvians serve as an example of how the concept of the collective memory can be applied in the migration context and how it helps explain integration. The integration process ultim-

ately represents the gradual development of a new identity – integrating elements of the old and the new culture into a whole new (Andersson and Thelander 1994: 79/80).

4. Accepted language endangerment

In order to analyze the vitality of Latvian within the Latvian diaspora in Canada and its prospects, I developed and applied the European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages (EuLaViBarMig). The analysis of the barometer results reveals that the maintenance of Latvian is acutely endangered in Canada. The overall vitality score, i.e. the mean score of all 14 scores of the EuLaViBarMig (Figure 7), is 1.68. According to the language maintenance scale, this score indicates that "the use of the language can be expected to cease completely in the foreseeable future" (Laakso et al. 2016: 41). This endangerment, however, seems to be accepted by the speaker community.
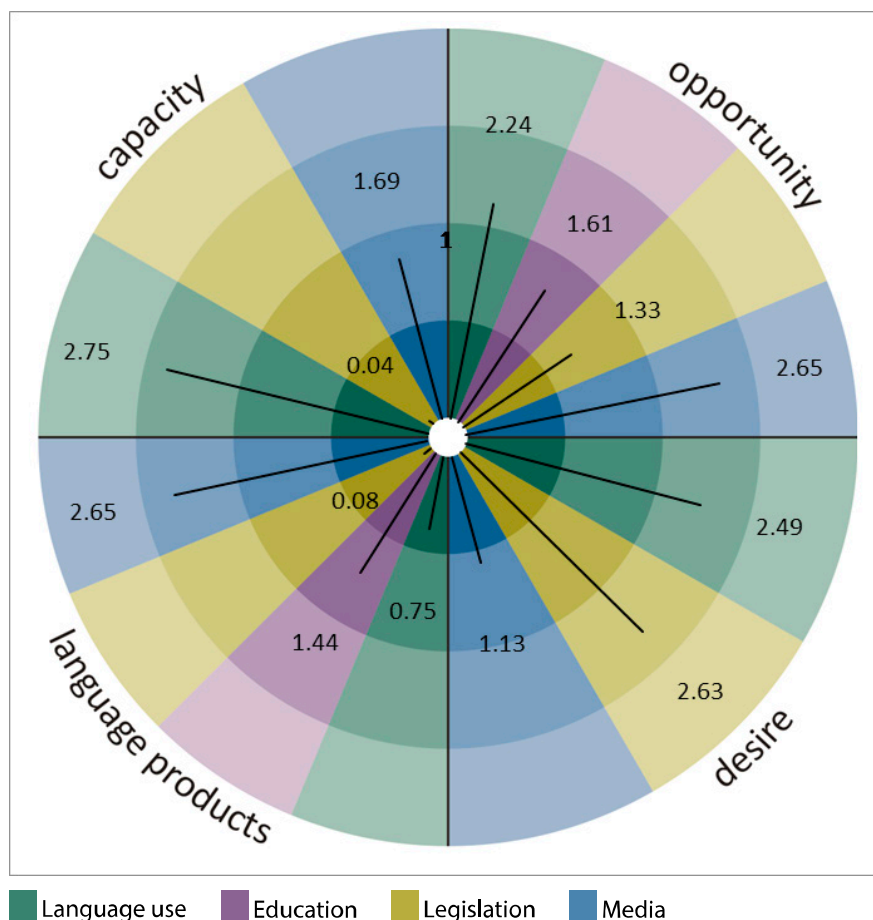

Figure 7: The vitality of Latvian in Canada according to the European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages

Figure 7 shows all 14 scores in the four focus areas *Capacity, Opportunity, Language Products* and *Desire.* My analysis focuses on the most striking scores. This includes the in general good Latvian language proficiency of the respondents, which contributes to the vitality score of 2.75 in the dimension *Language Use* (focus area *Capacity)*, the highest of all EuLaViBarMig vitality scores (Figure 7). Latvian is nevertheless endangered in Canada because the opportunities to use the language are limited to private domains, where language use and intergenerational transmission are decreasing (see Section 4.1). The dimension *Media* in the focus areas *Language Products* and *Opportunity* reaches the second highest vitality score, which is 2.65. This indicates the general availability of Latvian-language media. Also, the respondents are aware of them. Their use, however, does not seem to be prioritized by the respondents, and the desire for more Latvian language products is rather limited (see Section 4.2). The dimension *Legislation* in the focus areas *Capacity* and *Language Products* reach the lowest scores in the barometer, showing that Canadian legislation (e.g. the Constitution, language laws) is - to the knowledge of the survey respondents - not available in Latvian, and the language does not receive concrete legislative support. Nonetheless, the respondents seem in general satisfied with their situation and make no demands on policy makers for more support. One explanation for this may be that they evaluate Canada positively, agree with the language policies and feel at home there (Section 4.3).

In order to get a better understanding of the results of the survey, it is important to read them against the background of the composition of the group of respondents. As shown by Figure 8, the majority of the respondents are seniors aged 60 years and older.
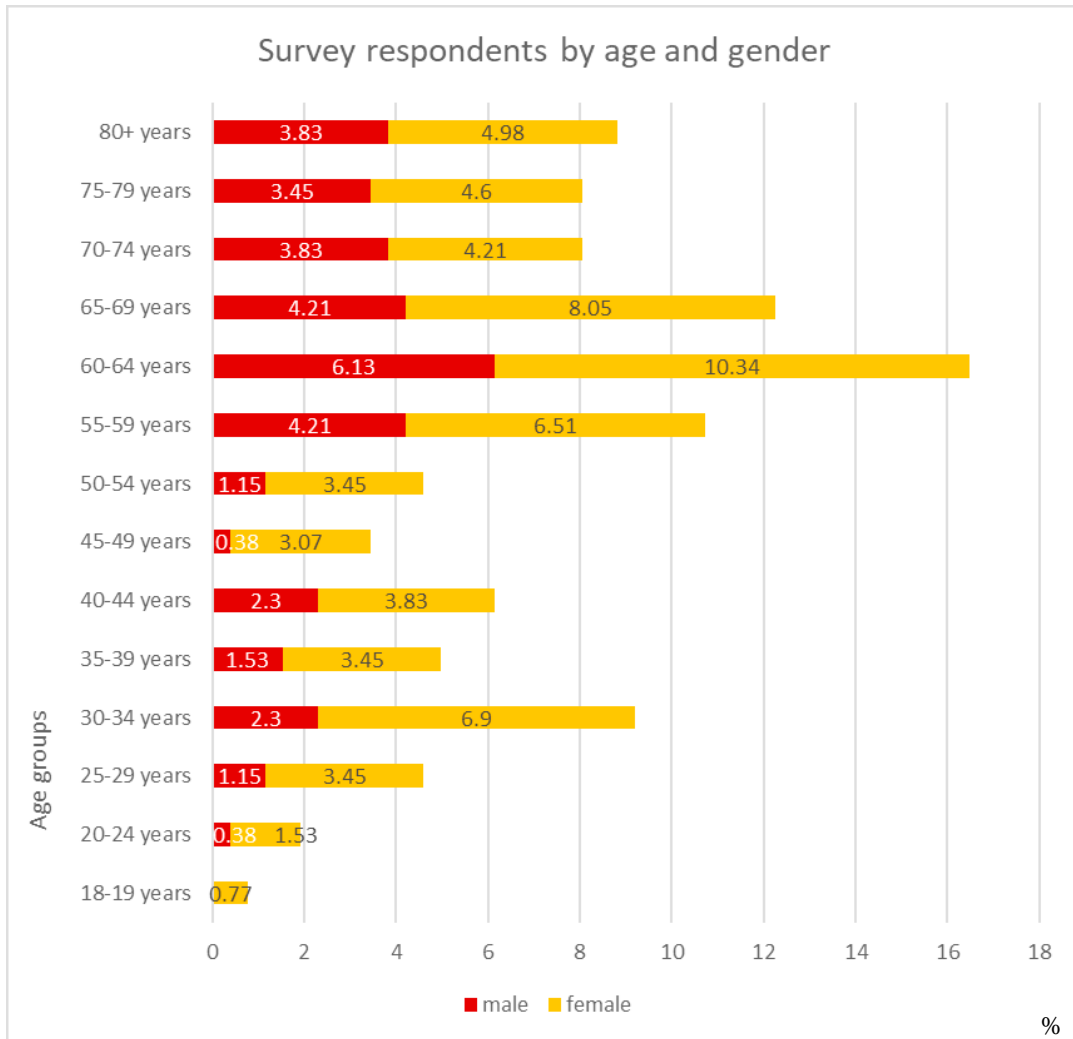
Figure 8: Survey respondents by age and gender

Furthermore, 45% of the respondents were already born in Canada, and of the 55% that were born abroad, almost 55% have been living in Canada for more than 40 years. It is thus a group of respondents that is rather rooted in Canada by now, with more than 87% of them having Canadian citizenship (see Section 4.3).

4.1 Existing language skills are only partially employed

The survey respondents have in general a good command of Latvian, but language use is nevertheless diminishing. Although more than 90% say Latvian is their native language, only about 77% report speaking Latvian very well or well today. This indicates

a loss of language competence over the years, and the question arises how sustainable Latvian is within the group.

An important indicator for the sustainability of a language is its transmission to the next generation. In general, the survey results do not reveal major differences between male and female respondents. The questions on the actual support and transmission of Latvian, however, shows some attitudinal differences. Although more than 61% of the respondents say it is rather Latvian women who can be expected to support their children to learn Latvian – and only 56% say so about Latvian men – the same percentage of male and female respondents (more than 80%) report supporting their own children. When it comes to the actual use of Latvian in conversation with their children, however, more men (37.5%) than women (32.5%) report speaking only Latvian with them. These results indicate a language shift towards English. The loss of the active use of Latvian that happens across the generations is illustrated by Figure 9: The majority of respondents spoke or still speak Latvian with their parents and grandparents. When the respondents are themselves in the role of the parent or grandparent, however, Latvian loses its status as the dominant language in conversation for the benefit of English.
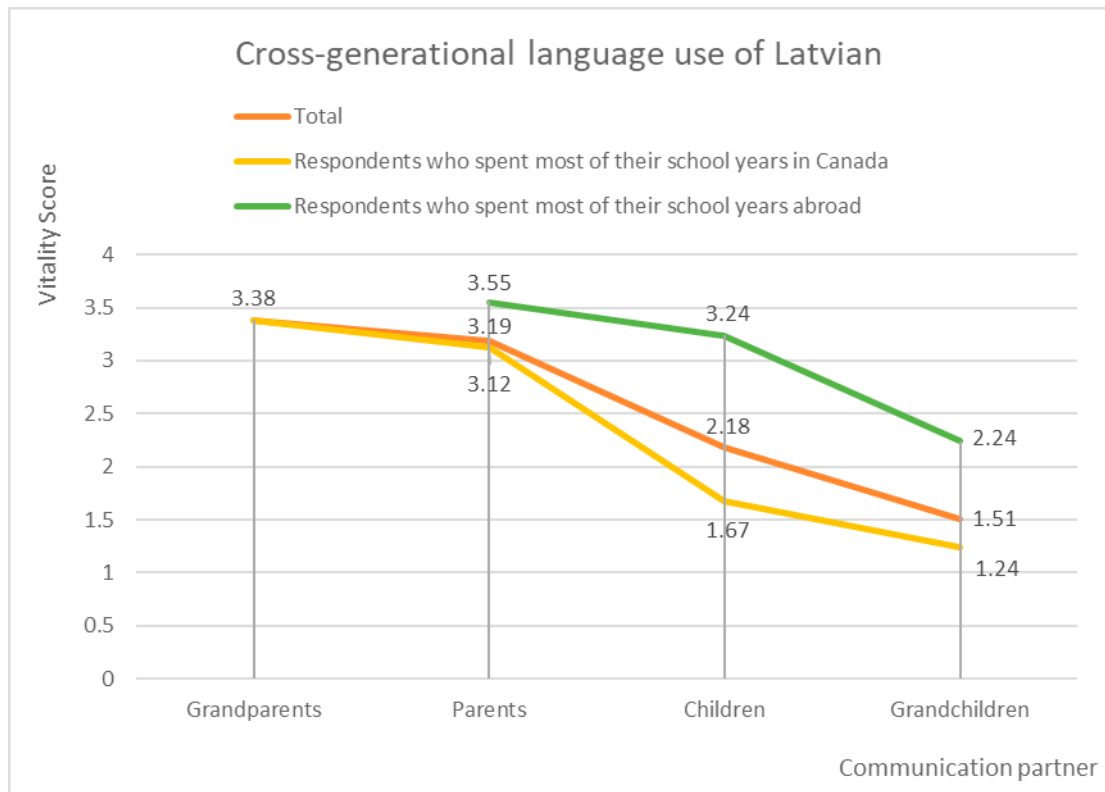
Figure 9: Cross-generational use of Latvian in Canada

The use of Latvian is restricted to private domains

Possible explanations for the decreasing use of Latvian in conversations with children and grandchildren are the individual language capacity of the respondents and relationships/marriages of Latvian speakers and Canadians with a different cultural and/or ethnic background. The survey results cannot prove these assumptions. There are however indicators. Figure 9 shows that it is especially Canadian Latvians who spent most of their school years in Canada who are likely not to pass Latvian on to their children. Of those respondents, only about 36% report speaking Latvian very well. English skills are however evaluated much higher, as more than 93% say they speak it very well. Hence, decreasing Latvian-language proficiency could be one explanation for the decreasing transmission of Latvian.

An indicator for exogamy – interethnic relationships/marriages – is the respondents' language use with their spouse/partner. Already in the 1970s, Kalniņš (1979) identified mixed marriages as one of the biggest threats to Latvian-language maintenance in Canada. In the EuLaViBarMig survey, more than half of the respondents report not speaking Latvian with their spouse/partner at all, which suggests relationships with non-Latvian speakers. This assumption is supported by some interviewees who say that their families have become more international over the past years, which makes it harder, if not impossible, to speak Latvian at home. It furthermore has consequences for the maintenance of the Latvian culture, as will be discussed in Chapter 5. The individual perspectives of families having become more international corresponds to the general composition of the Canadian society. According to the latest census[20], over 7.5 million individuals in Canada are foreign-born (accounting for more than one fifth of the total population), and only 6.5 million report being of Canadian ethnic origin only. Furthermore, an analysis of the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey by Lee (2018) found that marriages to partners of the same ethnic background decreased over the generations. While more than 47% of the first-generation immigrants in Canada are married to a partner of the same ethnic background, only 16% of the third generation (and beyond) are. Along with this comes an increase in the use of the official languages English and French at home: While only about 53% of the first-generation immigrants report speaking only the official languages at home, almost 99% of the third+ generations do so (Lee 2018: 881).

Exogamous family situations and their impact on language shift have frequently been analyzed, generally concluding that they promote language shift towards the majority language (e.g. Pauwels 1985; Yamamoto 2001). The EuLaViBarMig results support this conclusion, as almost 70% of the respondents who indicate not to speak Latvian to their spouse/partner do not speak any Latvian to their children either, as Table 2 indicates:

20 The results of the 2016 census are available online: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/index-eng.cfm (last accessed 2021-02-24).

Table 2: Latvian-language use with spouse/partner and children

Language use with spouse/partner	Language use with children			Total
	No Latvian	Latvian and other	Latvian only	
No Latvian	69.0%	16.9%	14.1%	100%
Latvian and other	27.6%	62.1%	10.3%	100%
Latvian only	1.9%	20.8%	77.4%	100%

Despite the decreasing use of Latvian in private domains, these form the most important environment for Latvian in Canada. The respondents cannot apply their Latvian-language competence in public domains. And the respondents do not think their knowledge of Latvian is beneficial in for example the labour market, which corresponds to Esser (2006: 91), who points out that bilingualism is usually only beneficial in the labour market if the second language is of a special regional or global value. In other words, the use of Latvian in Canada is undeniably limited to private domains and the community level, where it is in both cases mainly up to the speakers to maintain the language and pass it on to the next generation.

Latvian-language media is used irregularly

The decline of Latvian-language use can also be observed in the EuLaViBarMig dimension *Media*. The results reveal that the consumption of Latvian-language media does not seem to be a priority for the group. The majority of the respondents are aware of Latvian-language media and have access to them, which is represented by the vitality score of 2.65 in the dimension *Media* in the focus areas *Language Products* and *Opportunity*. However, the respondents make only irregular use of their access. In most cases, between 20 and 25% of the respondents report not consuming Latvian-language media at all. Fishman (2010: 6) identifies "the globalisation of pan-Western culture (and pop consumer culture in particular) [as] the motor of language shift", and the survey results support that view as it is not only the consumption of Latvian-language media that does not seem to be prioritized by the respondents. The active production of Latvian

texts such as text messages, diaries but also the use of Latvian in online gaming for example is even less common.

To sum up, although the group has in general a good command of Latvian, language skills are only partially employed. Language use and transmission are decreasing even in private domains. This causes a serious threat to the maintenance of Latvian in Canada because private domains play a decisive role in heritage-language maintenance. It starts with the family as "the stronghold for the use of the […] heritage language" (Pauwels 2016: 90) and the "central collective that facilitates socialization and maintenance processes" (Guardado 2018: 125). The family, however, cannot act alone as a child "usually gets its mother tongue at home in the community, in the neighborhood, among the loved ones – the ones shaping the identity of a child" (Fishman 2007: 78). It therefore "takes a village to maintain a minority language" (Guardado 2018: 125). Latvian DPs built such "villages" in Canada after the Second World War, including community centres and schools. Those were a representation, if not a replication, of the Latvia the DPs had left behind, as will be analyzed in Chapter 5. The community centres also provided the social space that is needed for a language to survive (Fishman 2007: 79) and thereby laid the foundation for language maintenance and the good command of Latvian that can be observed in the group today. If Latvian however loses its role as the predominant language in private domains – which the results of the current study suggest – language loss might even be accelerated because there are no external support mechanisms that would promote and maintain Latvian-language use outside of private domains and the community level. Latvian is not part of the public educational system in Canada, and language classes as part of native-language instruction programs are a provincial responsibility and usually depend on sufficient enrolment as well as on the availability of language teachers. Both requirements make it difficult for small migrant groups, such as the Latvians, to benefit from these programs.

4.2 No demand for language products or more support

Although Latvian cannot be used in public domains and the language does not enjoy any particular rights in Canada, the respondents do not seem to feel disadvantaged by that situation. The EuLaViBarMig results suggest that the respondents support language legislation in Canada.

The country's language legislation towards immigrant languages resembles what Kloss (1977) called toleration-oriented language rights (in contrast to promotion-oriented): "Governments do not interfere with efforts on the parts of the minority to make use of the ethnic tongue in the private domain" (Kloss 1977: 2). Minority groups are hence not prevented "from using and championing the use and maintenance of their languages in non-official domains" (Skrandies 2016: 121).

In 1969, Canada's Official Languages Act came into force (amended in 1988) with the purpose to

> ensure respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and ensure equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all federal institutions, in particular with respect to their use in parliamentary proceedings, in legislative and other instruments, in the administration of justice, in communicating with or providing services to the public and in carrying out the work of federal institutions.[21]

And although the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (see Section 2.1) is meant to "recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society", the Act also highlights in its section 3.1.j that multiculturalism in Canada should be advanced "in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages". This tolerance-oriented approach with only little concrete societal and/or legislative support of (small) migrant languages leaves language main-

---

21 Official Languages Act, https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/o-3.01/FullText.html (last accessed 2021-09-30).

tenance to the speakers and expresses a certain degree of indifference to migrant-language preservation.

With regard to legislation, this approach can be described as "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" (Haque 2005), and the EuLaViBarMig survey results suggest that the respondents' evaluation of Canadian language legislation reflects the Canadian approach, or even the Canadian indifference to migrant-language preservation: Although about 41% of the respondents do not think Canadian legislation supports the use of Latvian, more than 91% do not think it is prevented either. These results indicate that respondents may support language legislation in Canada and think that the maintenance of Latvian is a private and/or community responsibility that should not be legislated.

This finding is supported by the respondents' limited demand for Latvian language products and services in public domains, including the availability of interpreters at public authorities. Figure 10 shows that there is little demand for such services. Except for interpretation in court and Latvian-language use on the Internet, the majority of the respondents seem rather sceptical about the necessity of certain services made available in Latvian or the use of Latvian in public domains.
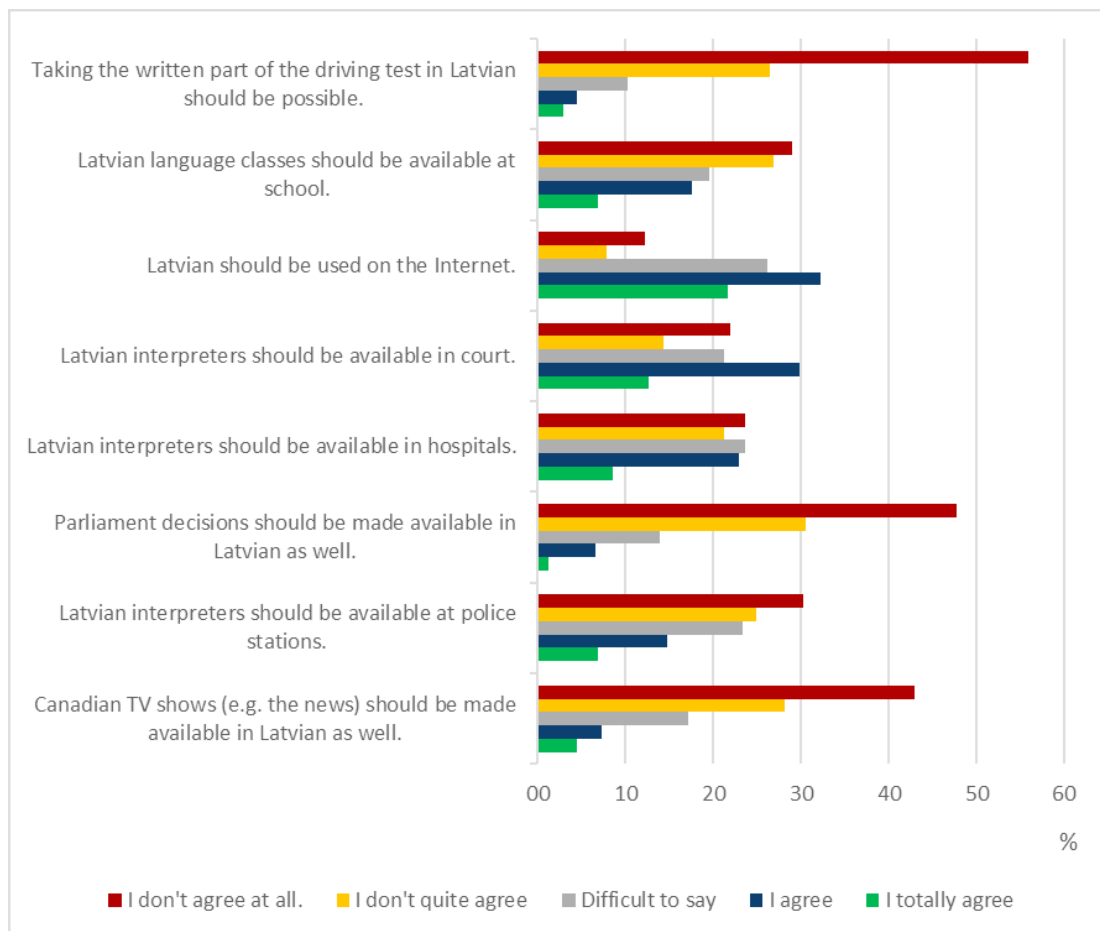
Figure 10: Demand for Latvian language products and services

In addition to the limited demand for more Latvian language products and services in Canada, which is displayed by Figure 10, the survey results furthermore reveal that many respondents actually do not know whether these products and services exist or not. Almost 50% of the respondents say, for instance, they do not know whether Latvian interpreters are available in court or at police stations. The limited wish – or need – for the existence of Latvian language products and not knowing about their existence might interact and at least partly result from the respondents' language proficiency. The respondents report having very good English skills that actually exceed their knowledge of Latvian, as shown in Figure 11.

Self-evaluated language proficiency
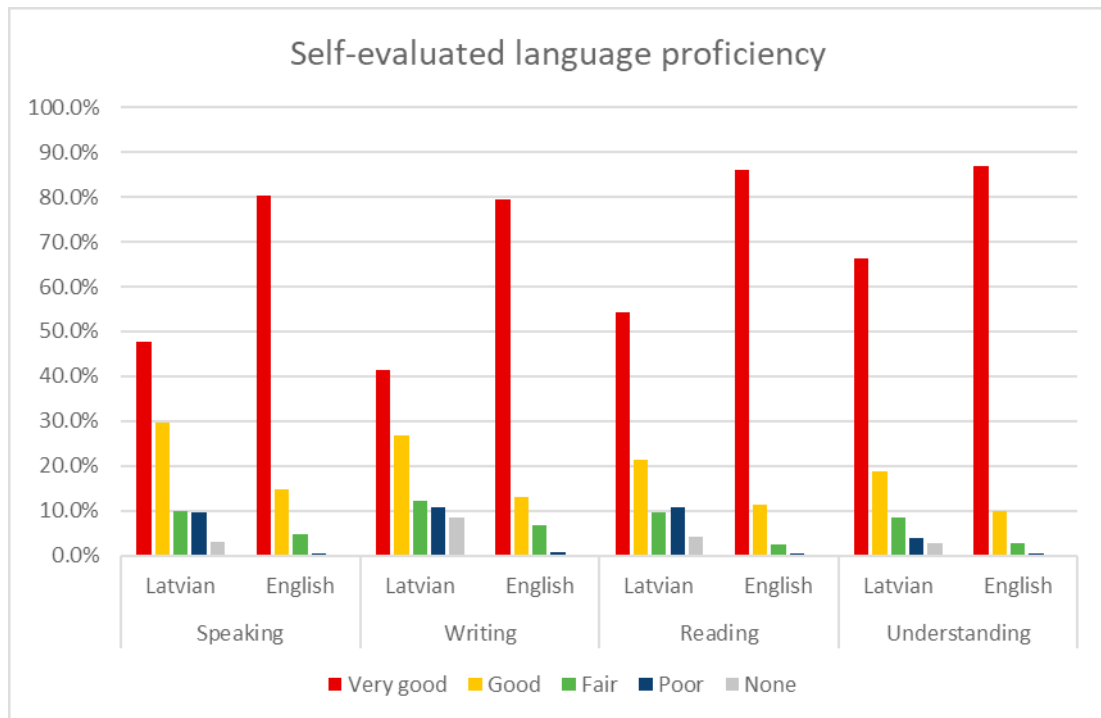
Figure 11: Self-evaluated language proficiency in Latvian and English

Having these English skills, there is most probably no need for the respondents to make use of services in Latvian. And if people do not need certain products, it is likely that they do not put effort into obtaining information about their availability.

The self-evaluation of Latvian-language proficiency furthermore reveals huge differences between the respondents who spent most of their school years in Latvia and those who attended school mainly in Canada. Whereas almost 100% of the first group reports good or very good skills in speaking, writing, reading and understanding Latvian, the second group reports lower Latvian language proficiency. About 70% say they can speak Latvian well or very well, 80% say so about understanding spoken Latvian. When it comes to reading and writing skills, almost 69% say they can read Latvian well or very well, 61% report good or very good writing skills.

The teaching of Latvian is a community responsibility

Although there are no opportunities to use Latvian within public domains in Canada, Latvians capitalize on tolerance-oriented legislation and the positive atmosphere and attitudes towards foreign language use. About 83% of the respondents think it is socially accepted in Canada to use Latvian in public, and the majority (92.1%) have not noticed any situations in which Latvian-language use is prohibited. This societal setting allows the community to create opportunities to use and learn Latvian: More than 80% of the respondents report knowing of institutions in Canada that cultivate (develop, promote) the Latvian language. More than 70% say that attempts are being made in Canada to save Latvian. Since Latvian does not enjoy any particular rights in Canada, those institutions and attempts have been created within the community. Also, the teaching of Latvian is not part of the public educational system. It is left entirely in the hands of the speaker community. However, the survey results show that the community has successfully been creating learning opportunities within its capacity: About 73% of the respondents report having attended Latvian language classes offered by the community centres.

It is however important to read this number against the background of the availability of Latvian language classes today. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, more than 50% of the survey respondents are over 60 years old and therefore had many more opportunities during their adolescence to attend Latvian school.[22] By 1950, there were nine Latvian schools in Canada, and the number reached its peak in 1952/53 when 21 schools were operating. Most of them, however, had already been closed again by the mid-1970s. Today, there are community-operated schools only in the provinces of Ontario and Québec, namely in Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa and Montréal, all of which offer weekly classes on Friday evenings or Saturday. As a result of the decline of Latvian schools, children have fewer opportunities today to learn Latvian in school.

---

22 Latvian schools were established and operated by the immigrant group to offer language and culture classes mainly in the form of Saturday schools.

Limited schooling also contributes to the endangerment of Latvian in Canada. The EuLaViBarMig results show that it is second- and third-generation Latvian immigrants whose language proficiency in English is much better than in Latvian. Hence it is likely – but cannot be proven by this study – that the vitality of Latvian in Canada will decrease even more when former DPs and their children no longer form the majority of the group. This assumption is supported by numerous studies (e.g. Alba et al. 2002; Rumbaut et al. 2006) that describe language loss after three generations. With regard to the Canadian context, Sabourin et al. (2015) analyzed the censuses of 1991 to 2006 and described the timing and intensity of language shift towards the official language(s) among allophone immigrants[23] regardless of their ethnicity and native language. The study found

> that language persistence is lower in native-born allophones than in the total allophone population. In the former group, after age 50, it reached a steady level of around 0.2 [on a scale from 0 to 1], versus 0.5 in the latter group. (Sabourin et al. 2015: 733)

Furthermore, the "probability of shifting languages […] for a child who arrived in Canada before age 10 […] is practically identical to that of an allophone who was born in Canada" (Sabourin et al. 2015: 736). Although the methodological approaches differ, the findings correspond to the EuLaViBarMig results in terms of the lower Latvian-language proficiency (compared to English) of Canadian Latvians who spent most of their school years in Canada and their low rate of Latvian-language transmission to their own children (see Section 4.1). The EuLaViBarMig results furthermore suggest decreasing language persistence even in families where both parents are of Latvian origin: Although the majority of the respondents say their parents speak or spoke Latvian between themselves (represented by a EuLaViBarMig vitality score of 3.21), the respondents behave differently in conversations with their siblings and tend(ed) not to speak Latvian, shown by a vitality score of 1.93.

---

23 Allophone immigrants are defined as persons whose native language is none of the official languages in Canada, i.e. English and French.

Toronto is the Latvian cultural centre

The opportunities to use and learn a language within a community always depend on its size and the commitment of its members. Most of the former DPs settled in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and still today, the city hosts the largest Latvian community as well as the largest community centre, all of which have helped maintain a rich cultural life. Other larger communities are in Hamilton, Ottawa, Montréal, Edmonton and Vancouver (see Chapter 1). The role of the community for the maintenance of Latvian in Canada but also for the identity construction of its members will be further analyzed in Chapter 5.

According to the 2016 census, 30,725 people in Canada report being of Latvian ethnic origin, and Ontario hosts the largest population. The Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (Toronto CMA) is home to more than 30% of the population that reports being of Latvian ethnic origin, but only to 17% of the total Canadian population, as shown by Table 3.

Table 3: Proportion of ethnic Latvians living in Ontario, the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, and the City of Toronto

	Ontario	Toronto CMA	City of Toronto
Ethnic Latvians	58.9%	31.5%	18.6%
Total population	38.4%	17.0%	7.8%

Compared to the total immigrant population in Canada, these proportions are however not surprising as such. Toronto is the most popular Canadian city for immigrants, followed by Vancouver and Montréal. The three cities are home to half of all immigrants in Canada and can all "generally be identified as cities based on immigration" (Stoicheva 2016: 91). According to the 2016 census, 49% of the Toronto CMA population is foreign-born (44.7% in Vancouver, 26.6% in Montréal). Nonetheless, all three cities are officially unilingual, with Montréal being the exception as a unilingual French city.

Multilingualism is however a social reality in these cities. In 2006, Montréal adopted The Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities (City of Montréal 2021) to "highlight values serving to unite and engage citizens, as well as define their rights within the city" (2021: 4). The charter defines Montréal as a "French-speaking city" that nevertheless has a "cosmopolitan character" (2021: 9). Similar to Canada as a whole, the city acknowledges its multicultural heritage, but in this case within a French framework. Toronto also highlights multiculturalism, and "with its motto, 'Diversity Our Strength,' Toronto turns its multicultural nature into a selling point and source of pride" (Ellyson et al. 2015: 4). The city hosts numerous community groups and centres, and the growing Latvian population that settled in the GTA and the institutions they established also created a pull factor for Latvians from other parts of Canada to move to Toronto in order to be able to maintain contact with the community and preserve the cultural and linguistic heritage. This is not only reflected by the aforementioned census data but also by several interviews with community members (see Section 5.1).

The proportions of ethnic Latvians in the Ontarian cities of Ottawa (3.47%) and Hamilton (3.16%) are significantly lower. Nevertheless, they are higher than the ones of the total Canadian population residing in the two cities. This may again have to do with the fact that both cities host active Latvian communities that even operate schools and therefore attract Latvians who are interested in maintaining a link to a community and sending their children to a Latvian school.

4.3 Feeling at home in Canada explains the loss of interest in language endangerment

The EuLaViBarMig results draw a picture of a language that is endangered, whose speakers are nevertheless satisfied with the status and support of Latvian in Canada. These findings are supported by the results of the ELDIA Integration Barometer (Figure 12). The mean score of all three IntBar focus areas (*Ability*, *Accessibility* and *Commitment*) is 2.55, suggesting that the preconditions for successful integration are well

fulfilled (Kruse 2021: 25), and the results do not indicate dissatisfaction with Canadian policies or with the societal atmosphere. On the contrary: The results suggest that Canada has become home.
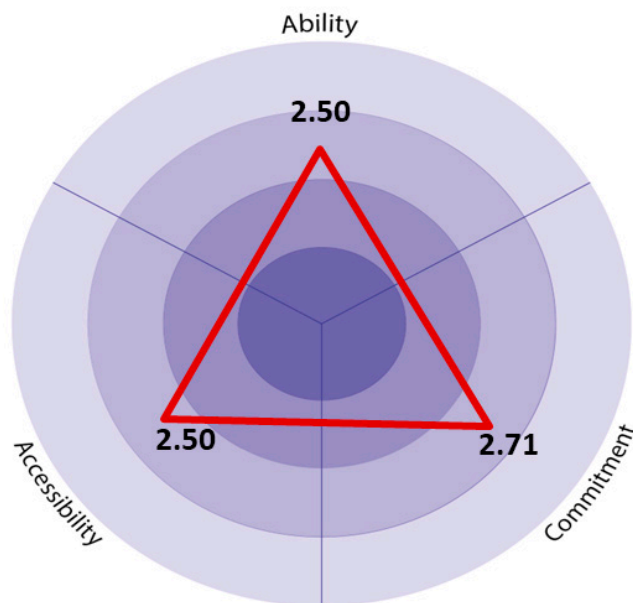
Figure 12: The ELDIA Integration Barometer for Latvians in Canada

Canadian society is evaluated positively by the respondents, which is reflected by the ELDIA IntBar score of 2.5 for *Accessibility*. As a focus area, "*Accessibility* reflects the immigrants' opinion on how open the host society and the labour market there are" (Kruse 2021: 28). The results reveal a clear split between the experienced openness of society and the experienced openness of the labour market towards foreign languages. The respondents evaluate the societal atmosphere in Canada positively: The approachability of Canadian citizens achieves a single score of 3.10 – a result that is actually more positive than the evaluation of fellow Latvians. The latter corresponds to the feeling that the exile experience of Latvians in Canada on the one hand and the years under Soviet occupation on the other have split the Latvian communities in Canada and Latvia, which was mentioned by several interviewees of this study and will be further

discussed in Chapter 5. The acceptance of Latvian-language use in public is evaluated even higher (3.64).

Despite the positive evaluation of the societal atmosphere, the majority of the respondents do not think it is possible to advance in the labour market without English skills. French language skills are however less important according to the respondents. The evaluation of the need to have English skills in order to advance in the labour market, however, should not be interpreted as criticism of the circumstances. On the one hand the group has a very good command of English that actually exceeds their knowledge of Latvian (see Section 4.2), and on the other hand the EuLaViBarMig results reveal that the respondents do not feel disadvantaged by not being able to use Latvian outside of private domains. In fact, the respondents do not demand more opportunities to use Latvian outside of these domains. Furthermore, their own educational background is very good as two thirds of the respondents report having higher academic education, which contributes significantly to the focus area *Ability* (score 2.5). Nevertheless, their educational background can no longer be used to full capacity, as more than 50% of the respondents are aged 60 and older, which leads to a high proportion of pensioners.

As shown by the barometer results, the respondents not only seem to be satisfied with their situation in Canada, but they are also rooted there now, which leads to an ELDIA IntBar score of 2.71 for the focus area *Commitment*. More than 87% of the respondents are Canadian citizens; 45% were actually born in Canada. More than 55% of those who immigrated have been living in the country for more than 41 years, and they do not intend to move.

In terms of average age and length of residence, the Canadian-Latvian group differs from other Latvian diaspora groups, especially in European countries, where the proportions of former DPs and their descendants are generally lower, e.g. Germany and the United Kingdom. Although Germany played a decisive role in DP history, the Lat-

vian diaspora of today is rather young. In 2020, 40,480 Latvian citizens were residing in Germany, with an average age of 35.7 years and an average length of residence of 8.2 years (Destatis 2021). Statistics only include Latvian citizens (no German-Latvian dual citizens), so the numbers cannot easily be compared with the survey respondents in the current study. My study on Latvian in Germany (Kruse 2021) however revealed similar results. Unlike the group in Canada, the group in Germany mainly includes first-generation immigrants who came after Latvia restored its independence, and especially after the country joined the EU in 2004 and Latvians gained unrestricted access to the German labour market in 2011. Data on the United Kingdom, hosting the largest Latvian diaspora group in Europe, suggest similar migration patterns[24], the difference being, however, that there were no labour market restrictions in the UK between 2004 and 2011. That made the country a popular destination also during and after the 2008 Great Recession (McCollum et al. 2016: 1509).

Given the high proportion of relatively young first-generation immigrants, the Latvian-language proficiency of Latvians in Germany is much higher compared to their Canadian counterparts (Kruse 2021: 15), and Latvian is more dominant in private domains. Despite the different composition of the groups, some studies nevertheless reveal similarities between Canadian Latvians and Latvians living in more recent diaspora communities such as in Germany or the UK. In the latter, the actual Latvian-language proficiency may be on a higher level, but language transmission is nevertheless decreasing (Kaprāns 2019: 127; Kruse 2021: 16), and Latvians in the UK do not express much concern about that decrease (Kaprāns 2019: 127). Even more evident are however the attitudinal similarities: Like in Canada, Latvians in Germany seem satisfied with their situation and language rights, consider language maintenance a private responsibility, and do not demand more state support (Kruse 2021: 15). Kaprāns' study, which solely focuses on Latvians who immigrated to the UK after 1991, states that the group

---

24 From 2010 to 2017, the Latvian population in the UK (Latvian nationals without British nationality) grew to 117,000 people from 49,000 people, representing an increase of 139%. Between 2017 and 2021, the years after the Brexit referendum, the number decreased to 92,000 (Office for National Statistics 2021).

finds great pride in originating from a country that has a long history and unique traditions, which may also offer stability and security in an otherwise multicultural British environment (Kaprāns 2019: 125, 145). This pride leads to efforts to keep the ties to Latvia while nevertheless adapting to British values (2019: 129). Kaprāns thus describes a development that is similar to Latvians in Canada, as analyzed in the following chapter.

5. The development of a distinct Canadian-Latvian identity

The analyses of the EuLaViBarMig for Latvian in Canada and the ELDIA Integration Barometer (see Chapter 4) showed that Latvians in Canada have in general a good command of Latvian, and the respondents think it is their own responsibility to maintain that. The survey results neither suggest the respondents feel disadvantaged by not being able to use Latvian in public domains, nor does there seem to be a demand for more state support. The majority of the respondents feel at home in Canada and have no intention to leave.

The EuLaViBarMig results reflect the current situation of the Latvian language in Canada. Its foundation was however laid by the first- and second-generation Latvian immigrants after the Second World War. Thus, the question arises how the immigrants could transform Canada from an unknown country into the place the majority call home today. This chapter shows how the home-building process that was initiated after WWII and the experience of living in an exile community with its joint aim to preserve the Latvian heritage abroad contributed to the development of a distinct Canadian-Latvian identity. This dual identity is constituted by a new sense of home (see Section 5.1) and the group's collective memory, which is different from both Canadians and Latvians in Latvia (see Section 5.2). Both constituents are furthermore constructed through different forms of belonging.

5.1 Building a new home abroad

For most of the Latvian DPs, returning to Soviet-occupied Latvia after WWII was not an option. Nevertheless, there was a huge desire to maintain the Latvian heritage. One of the reasons was the aim to retransplant the cultural institutions back to Latvia once the country restored its independence. According to Hilton (2009: 298), Latvian DPs also "believed they could claim moral victory over the Communists by continuing their cultural traditions and by refusing to return, which drew international attention to

their anti-Communist stance". Assmann (2011: 25) suggests that "any group that wants to consolidate itself will make an effort to find and establish a base for itself", and one of these new bases Latvian DPs opted for was Canada. This section analyzes how the immigrants built a new home in Canada. The interviews reveal that the home-building process can be divided into three stages (Table 4). The process started with the attempt to replicate Latvia (see Section 5.1.1). The successful replication then created the opportunity to live a Latvian life (see Section 5.1.2) and thereby maintain the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage. Being able to still be Latvian in Canada helped transform the country into the place the majority call home today (see Section 5.1.3), although Latvia remains the cultural home for many. Table 4 shows the themes that emerged in the narratives and that are analyzed in the following sections.

Table 4: The home-building process of Latvians in Canada

Stage	Theme
Replicating Latvia	Creation of a spatial and a social replication
Living a Latvian life in Canada	Latvian language is the key to the community and the culture
	Active Latvian community is a pull factor
	Latvia as an idealized and fairy-tale-like place
Canada has become home	Canada is home
	Latvia as a geographic location is a place to visit
	Latvia is the cultural home

5.1.1 Creating a spatial and social replication of Latvia

Before their immigration, most Latvian DPs had never been to Canada. The country was new to them, and many did not even know anybody, because most of the time, young Latvians were offered a job in Canada and could only arrange for their families to move to Canada in the following year when the initial, mostly 10- to 12-month work

contract was fulfilled. The interviews show that there was a huge desire by the immigrants to create the emotional elements that researchers (e.g. Bastian 1995; Duyvendak 2011) generally link to home: security, comfort, familiarity. Canada offered jobs to the DPs and was democratic, which represented social and political security. The other emotional elements had to be created by the DPs themselves. One theme that emerges in the interviews is the attempt to replicate Latvia, i.e. replicate the home the interviewees left behind, in order to create comfort and familiarity. Within the narratives of replication, *home* emerges both as a spatial and a social category.

Spatially, many DPs saw a resemblance between Canada and Latvia in terms of climate and therefore preferred Canada over other countries that participated in the IRO resettlement program and that the DPs could have immigrated to.

> **Example 1**
> *At the end of the war, there were so many refugees in Germany that the Allies had to […] send them to various countries: Australia, France, Belgium, of course Canada, and England, and the US. And my mum decided for Canada because the climate was similar to Latvia's climate.*
>
> (Anete: pos. 7)

The quoted Example 1 clearly shows that the interviewees and/or their families tried to minimize geographical differences, represented by climate in this case, between Latvia and their new home in order to create familiarity that would then help them settle in. Similar climate as a driving force is reported by several interviewees. Once in Canada, the Latvian churches furthermore "quickly purchased properties for summer camps and summer projects" (Mārtiņš: pos. 15), which shows the attempt to build a geographic place for the community that would then allow social gatherings and a Latvian community life. These properties hence also represent what Assmann (2011: 25) calls a base that communities seek to establish. Moreover, ethnic churches can have an important role in migration and help immigrants integrate into the new host country (e.g. Tsang 2015). The importance of the Latvian churches in Canada especially during the first years after immigration is also reported by some interviewees. Vaira (pos: 16/17),

for instance, says it was a Latvian pastor who helped her family find accommodation and work. The congregation meetings she later attended were important for her as she could be among people who spoke her language.

"We live in a part of Latvia called Canada"

Besides reconstructing the lost homeland spatially, the DPs also started to build a social replication of Latvia. One could almost say they created an alternative Latvia by filling the empty space with Latvian life – a process that can be referred to as *place-making*, the individual or joint creation of meaningful places in space (Bruns and Münderlein 2019: 105): "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (Tuan 1977: 6). The social replication can furthermore be regarded as a representation of Latvian nationalism in the sense that it provided not only for the maintenance of the distinct Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage but also for maintaining the view that Latvians form a distinct nation whose country was illegally occupied.

The social category of *home* includes elements such as work, family and community life. Jobs were provided within the resettlement program, and the DPs could arrange for their families to move to Canada once their initial work contract was fulfilled. Community life was established by the immigrants almost immediately after they had arrived. Hage (2010: 420) describes the yearning for communal life as part of a home-building process that is guided by nostalgia and homely feelings experienced in the past. Thus, reconstructing what has been left behind can be regarded as an attempt to build the conditions that created those feelings. As for the Latvians in Canada, Mārtiņš describes the community-building as follows:

> **Example 2**
> *Within a few years, from what I have seen of documents, somewhere between 1950 and 1955, essentially it was almost like another small country was set up very far apart, but it was all there. If you wanted to be part of a chess club, you had a chess club. Basketball was really big. Teams played. I have memories of being taken to big basketball*

games within the Latvians. It was very developed. Mum and dad would go to balls, and they would have various awards, and the fraternities and sororities they would have their big events. So, it was a great attempt to duplicate what they had known back home.

<div align="right">(Mārtinš: pos. 15)</div>

There was a strong commitment to maintaining the Latvian heritage abroad because "the original group of refugees and immigrants were always hoping that Latvia would regain its independence. So, they were under the wish that after five, ten, fifteen years they might be returning to Latvia" (Juris: pos. 7). Maintaining the Latvian institutions by setting up an alternative Latvia, as described in Example 2, would have allowed the Latvians to retransplant those institutions once their homeland restored its independence. The successful replication makes it furthermore possible for Eriks (before his interview started) to say that today "we live in a part of Latvia called Canada", showing that the formerly unknown Canadian space has been "latvianized" to the extent that it has symbolically become part of the old homeland.

Sense of belonging as driving force behind home-building process

To sum up, the first step on the rather long journey of Latvian immigrants building a new home abroad was the attempt to create the best possible replication of Latvia in terms of both the spatial and the social category of *home* and to endow the unknown Canadian space with value. The initial plan of the immigrants, however, was not necessarily to integrate into Canadian society, but to maintain the cultural and linguistic heritage until Latvia was independent again. One can therefore say that the basis not only for the unwillingness to return to Soviet-occupied Latvia but also for the home-building process in Canada was the interviewees' strong sense of belonging to the Latvian nation in its free and independent state of the interwar period. And the structures and organisations the DPs established in Canada were not only a representation of social elements but also of nationalism in the sense that "each state should have its nation and each nation its state" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 536). It was the image and achievements of the independent Latvia that were to be saved from the Soviets and

maintained abroad until the nation was able to restore its independent state. The free Latvian nation can hence be considered as what Yuval-Davis (2006) calls a social location that constructs the sense of belonging and identity of individuals.

By fleeing Latvia, the group of DPs became another social location the interviewees and/or their parents belonged to. As Latvians, they furthermore belonged to the "subgroup" of Baltic DPs, which could even have been advantageous for them to some extent. When Canada started to admit DPs from Europe, the public discourse revealed that not all DPs were considered "suitable" (Gilmour 2009: 71). Restrictions against immigrants from eastern and southern Europe were in place. The reputation of northern and western Europeans was however relatively positive in Canada because they were considered to be groups "with a proven track record for assimilation" (Troper 1993: 260), and Baltic DPs were seen by many as being rather "hard-working 'Nordic types'" (1993: 261), which shows that social locations can be constructed along axes of difference (Yuval-Davis 2006: 199/200) that have concrete consequences for the positioning of a person or a group in society if the status of a social location is enhanced (or devaluated) by, for instance, the hegemonic majority.

In order to maintain the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage in Canada, the DPs also wanted to maintain the ties to Latvia, and the Latvian structures the DPs established – or replicated – after their immigration were a representation of those ties. Hilton (2009: 300) claims that "maintaining cultural ties to their homeland was a way to normalize conditions, to relieve DPs from monotonous daily life, and to assuage feelings of homesickness". The cultural structures can however also be identified as carriers of the emotional elements of *home*: They were *familiar* to the DPs, and they also created *comfort* (Pēteris: pos. 28) and a sense of *security* because the community members were among like-minded people. Anete (pos. 9), for instance, reports she did not feel welcome in Canada at the time because of her Latvian accent and therefore preferred staying in a safe environment with other Latvians. These emotional elements the

community represents are also strongly connected to the role it can play as mediator between the minority group and the broader society:

> Since the village – the community – is embedded in the broader society, or the 'national culture', it can play a buffer role between the minority family and the larger society. This relationship and embracement gives the family and its members a sense of community that validates their place in society and proves sources of support and belonging. (Guardado 2018: 125)

The need to feel accepted or recognized by other people strongly relates to identity, as does a desire for affiliation, security and safety (Jaspal and Cinnirella 2012: 505; Norton 1997: 410). The community satisfies those needs and in this way not only offers a safe place – a home – for its members, but also plays a major role in their identity formation.

To this day, the local communities that were established in the post-war years have formed the basis for the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage in Canada. They provided a space where the view that Latvians form a distinct nation could be maintained. Furthermore, they successfully provided a social space where the language could/can be used – a necessary precondition for a language to survive as vernacular (Fishman 2007: 79).

5.1.2 Living a Latvian life in Canada

Once the replication of the Latvian institutions and structures was created in Canada, an active community life emerged in various Canadian cities and regions and allowed the interviewees to basically live a Latvian life outside of the work and school environment. When they speak about their Latvian life in Canada, three main themes emerge: The interviewees describe

  (i)   the Latvian language as the key to the culture;

  (ii)   the active community as a pull factor for Latvians in other regions in Canada;

  (iii)   the Latvia they learned about as an idealized and fairy-tale-like place.

Language is the key to the culture

Zenta (pos. 7), who came to Canada as a small child, remembers her youth as being divided into "an English-Canadian life Monday to Friday, and then a Latvian life from Friday night to Sunday night". This split into a Latvian private life and a Canadian professional/school life is a very common theme in the interviewees' life stories. This connects to Miezitis (1990: 271), who described the active Latvian youth in Canada as almost exclusively Latvian in terms of how they spent their leisure time. The Latvian community established basically every element that represents the social category of *home*, as illustrated in Figure 13 displaying the nine interconnected elements of the social category of *home* that arose recurrently in the interviews.
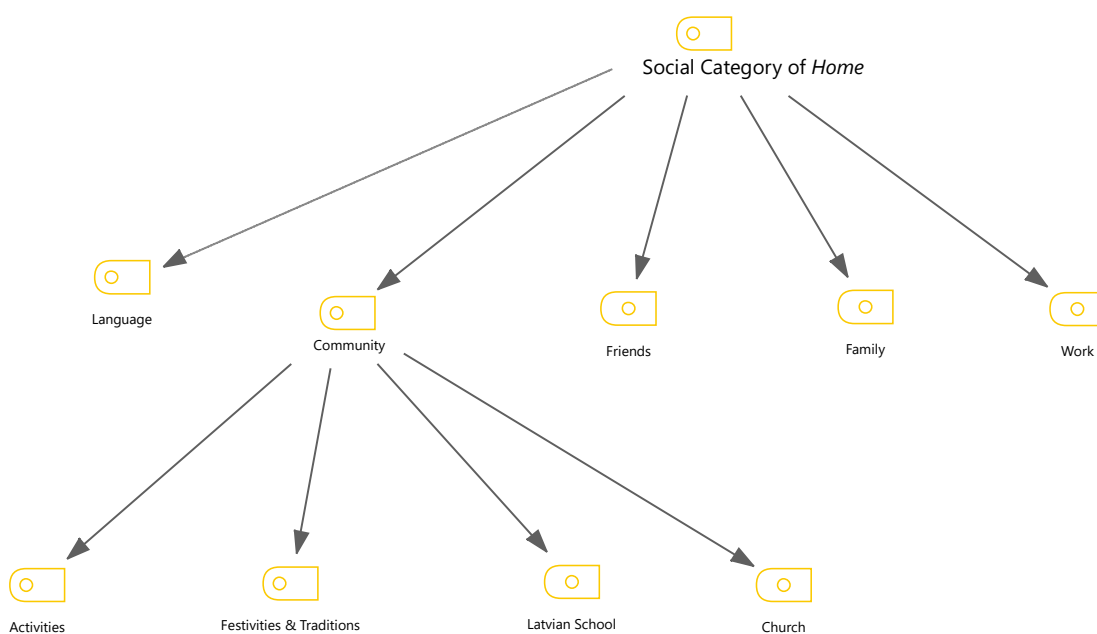
Figure 13: The elements of the social category of *home* mentioned by the interviewees

According to Bastian (1995), language is not part of the social category of *home*, but the sound of one's native language can trigger the feeling of home. Since the interviewees see the Latvian language as one of the key elements in their lives, I have however chosen to incorporate language alongside other elements. The DPs founded communities in order to maintain their cultural heritage. The Latvian language, however, was not only

the medium of communication within the various elements of the social category and hence the medium to achieve heritage maintenance. The interviews reveal that:

(i)   the Latvian language kept the community together;

(ii) the Latvian language is the main expression of the culture that was to be maintained.

When the interviewees speak about their language, they do it most often in the context of the social category of *home*: activities in Latvian offered by the community, family language, communication with Latvian friends, and Latvian school. Hence, Latvian is the interviewees' main language. The active community life helped maintain it, and at the same time, Latvian-language proficiency was the key to the community, where all events were held in Latvian. It thus becomes evident that belonging is also about creating and maintaining boundaries, as described in Section 2.3, because language proficiency was in this case necessary in order to be able to join – to belong to – the community.

Moreover, Guardado (2018: 34) identifies language as "the chief tool that members of the social group use in order to transmit their values and beliefs […]. At the same time, the language itself codifies many social and cultural elements." The interviewees describe the Latvian language similarly as it is not only seen as a key element in and to their social life but also as the main expression of the culture they wanted to maintain. This can be seen in two different patterns. Firstly, when asked about how the Latvian heritage was maintained in their families, it is not festivities and traditions the interviewees mention first. Instead, most think of language first and mention right away that their family language was Latvian. Some did not even learn English until they were exposed to Canadian society, i.e. when they started at kindergarten or school.

All 25 interviewees name Latvian as their native language. There are on the one hand the interviewees who say they grew up with Latvian as the family language. Some parents who were born and raised in Latvia and had small children in the 1950s and 1960s re-

port having insisted on speaking Latvian at home. The importance of Latvian in private domains of the interviewees corresponds to the results of the survey (see Chapter 4), as more than 90% of the respondents say Latvian is their native language. Although Latvian-language maintenance is endangered in Canada, the group's proficiency in Latvian is still at a good level, and it is private domains as well as the community that has helped maintain that level.

Secondly, the interviewees think that language and culture inextricably belong together. "Language is the culture. Without language, there is no culture" (Anete: pos. 55). And Inga (pos. 51) thinks "it's hard to understand a culture if you don't know the language". Language is described as the key to understanding a culture in its entirety. It can thus also be regarded as a key that is needed in order to belong to a cultural group. Losing that key does not only mean losing access to that group, it is also the first step to losing the culture, as Juris describes:

> **Example 3**
> *Once you lose the thread of the language, you're strictly teaching heritage, heritage things: tradition, culture, perhaps some of the diet, the baking, the foods, the traditions. But you really don't have the contact anymore with the literature, the culture, the dances, the songs, which are the anchors of the Latvian culture.*
> (Juris: pos. 25)

Example 3 is almost a quotation of Fishman, who says that if you

> take it [language] away from the culture, […] you take away its greeting, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. (Fishman 2007: 72)

If language is however regarded as the main expression of the Latvian culture and as the key to it as well as to the community, the question arises what consequences the decreasing capacity of Canadian Latvians to speak Latvian will have on the maintenance of the Latvian heritage in Canada and the community. The survey revealed not only decreasing language capacity but also diminishing language transmission to the next

generation. At the same time, the number of Latvian schools in Canada has decreased over the past decades, so there are fewer opportunities to learn Latvian in Canada today (see Chapter 4).

Given that the active Latvian community in Canada is shrinking, this question is also a topic among its members:

Example 4

We've been put in a situation now where we have to sort of rethink how important it [=language] is if we wanna keep our culture, simply because there's so many mixed marriages, and if you want the whole family to participate, you have to not just rely on the language, you have to sort of, you know, put English in there so that, you know, the whole family feels included. And in that way then you can keep the culture alive. You can get the kids and the family coming to our functions, participating in the boy scouts, girl guides, choir, dancing, schools. And I've actually found that the parent or the partner that is not Latvian sometimes will be more involved in the community. And they will make an effort to learn the language. So, that makes it quite interesting, but the language is important. But we have to not be so blind or just sort of, you know, too stern in saying <OK, we'll only do everything in Latvian.> Because if we do, we are gonna lose our community, and if we don't have the community, then the culture is not gonna last either. So, it has to work that way.

(Iveta: pos. 31)

Whereas in the early years of the community, it was the Latvian language that brought the DPs together, Iveta expresses in Example 4 the fear that sticking to Latvian could result in the opposite: losing the community. And according to Example 4, it is rather the loss of the community which could lead to a loss of the Latvian culture, not necessarily a gradual loss of the Latvian language. Latvian would be substituted by English, a development Fishman describes as follows:

When languages die, people do not stop talking. Cultures do not fold up and silently steal off into the night. They go on and they talk the new language. They go on in the other language; they work out a new relationship between language and culture. (Fishman 2007: 76)

With regard to Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (see Section 2.2), however, the scenario described in Example 4, which is a representation of the general developments in the Canadian-Latvian group with an increasing number of mixed marriages and decreasing language proficiency and transmission, refers to stage 8, the lowest one on the scale. It represents language attrition, as even the last remaining speakers would have no one to talk to in Latvian (Fishman 1991: 88). Moreover, it is highly questionable if English could replace Latvian as the medium that helps maintain the Latvian cultural heritage in Canada, as also believed by Iveta in Example 4. There is very little evidence in research supporting this scenario, as researchers usually highlight the interdependence of language and culture in heritage-culture maintenance and cultural identity formation (e.g. Colla 2018; Guardado 2018; Norton 2000).

Latvian community as pull factor

The active Latvian community of today is shrinking. It was however growing during the interviewees' youth and became part of every interviewee's life and a pull factor for Latvians that sometimes influenced their choice of residence.

The interviewees spoke Latvian at home, and most of them attended Latvian school during adolescence. The majority report that Latvian festivities and traditions have been important to them. They "continued throughout our whole lives" (Arvils: pos. 19). And when Juris (pos. 9) remembers his childhood and youth, he goes even further and says the festivities and traditions "dominated" their lives. Similar findings were made by Miezitis (1990: 271), who described some of the active Latvian youth as "'automatic' Latvians": They were so immersed in the Latvian culture that it became a "part of [their] existence" (Iveta: pos. 15). Not only does this emphasize the importance of the Latvian culture in the interviewees' leisure time, but even more importantly in the identity formation of Canadian Latvians, which will be further analyzed in Section 5.2.

It is furthermore a common pattern in the data set that the interviewees say that when they were young, they were more active in the Latvian community than in the local Canadian one. Many say this is still the case, especially now that they are retired and there is no work environment anymore, which is typically a Canadian domain.

Example 5

Over the years I've really lost my long-term contact with Canadian society, non-Latvian society I should say. When I was working, I was in the work environment with the Canadian groups. When I was in school, again, but those are things that sort of (…) after they had passed, they sort of declined, whereas the Latvian society has been a constant throughout.

(Egils: pos. 57)

This example shows the strong bonds that growing up and belonging to the exile community created over the years, whereas the membership in Canadian groups is limited to the professional life. This ends when people retire; the ties to the Latvian community, however, remain. "I maintained closer contact with Latvian friends that I grew up with than my old high school colleagues or my university colleagues" (Juris: pos. 37). And Ilze (pos: 45), although she visited Latvia only once after she moved to Canada and was no longer able to identify with the place, nevertheless feels closer to fellow Latvians than local Canadians because with the latter there is "none of the connectivity" she feels with Latvians.

The Latvian friendship networks that have been maintained may also be a reason for the maintenance of the Latvian language among the older generation (see Chapter 4). The domain of friendship is "commonly associated with regular use of the minority and heritage language" (Pauwels 2016: 93). The regular use is generally positively influenced if friendship/community networks are concentrated in specific areas or neighbourhoods. This is a situation which can be observed in the Canadian-Latvian context as well, as many interviewees describe an active Latvian community as a pull factor for Latvians who want to be with like-minded people. Ilze reports she was not even aware

of the large number of Latvians in Canada and the community life they established in Toronto:

> **Example 6**
>
> *Once we came to visit some friends of ours who were in Toronto, and we went to a church service, and it was a revelation. I didn't realize that there were that many Latvians in Canada! Never mind just Toronto. The church was full, and it was such an experience. And then, gradually, we came to the conclusion that we had to move where there were more Latvians.*
>
> (Ilze: pos. 23)

Moreover, an active community is also a pull factor for those who explicitly want to maintain their Latvian heritage and see better opportunities for that in an active community. When asked who had the biggest influence on him maintaining the Latvian language and culture, Kristaps (pos. 17) says it was his mother, "because she insisted that we come to Toronto rather than settling down in some remote part of the province". And after living abroad for some years, Mareks and his wife chose to come back to Toronto for the same reason:

> **Example 7**
>
> *We both said we have to live in the city of Toronto, not suburban, not in the country which would be beautiful, which we almost would like to live. But if you want to maintain that cultural heritage, let's stay in the city. So, that's what we ended up doing because we said well, then it's only 20 minutes to Latvian school, any events, Latvian events you go to.*
>
> (Mareks: pos. 47)

Examples 6 and 7 both show the strong sense of belonging that the interviewees feel to the community of fellow Latvians, which can also create a home in terms of the social space – and thereby the familiarity, comfort and security – it provides. Toronto plays a key role in this context as it is the most popular city for immigrants, also hosting the largest Latvian community in Canada. Furthermore, "immigrants in Toronto tend to live in areas where 50% of residents are immigrants, whereas this is not the case for other cities in Canada (Montreal and Vancouver)" (Stoicheva 2016: 108/109). Although

the Latvian group in Toronto is small compared to other groups and less visible to outsiders, areas with a certain density of people of Latvian descent do exist, as Mareks (pos. 50) reports living in a neighbourhood that many Latvians in Toronto chose – a situation that positively influenced him moving there as well.

A Latvian fairy tale

The forced exile situation in which the community was strongly committed to maintaining the Latvian culture led to a focus on the positives and on the achievements of the nation state, meaning the free Latvia of the interwar period. Those were to be promoted and maintained in order to have them restored in an independent Latvia. In the interviews, we can therefore see what Bastian (1995: 198) calls *Heimatbegriff des Exils* ('*the exile's concept of home*'): The experienced loss of the homeland and the exile situation do not only lead to a critical view on the country, they can also result in transfigured memories that create a romanticized image of the lost fatherland. The sense of belonging to the country of origin may become more significant when it is no longer reachable to the individual (Eckersley 2017a: 12). The memories are then "nostalgic ones, with positive experiences standing out while negative aspects have receded from memory" (Gmelch 1980: 145).

In Latvian schools in Canada, students mainly learned about the free Latvia between the world wars and what had been achieved during the interwar period. "What was taught stopped in 1945. Nothing after that. So, it was sort of frozen in time" (Egils: pos. 31). National and nationalist educational curricula as well as the promotion of standardized languages are two methods of how "the nation, or people, are made one with their state" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 537), in this case the Latvian nation state of the 1920s and 1930s. The Latvian schools the DPs established can thus be regarded as a representation and institutionalization of their nationalism, as a school's "officially sanctioned curricula, conveniently packaged in textbooks, displayed in national emblems and performed in ritual practices, inculcate the students with the values, myths

and norms of the nation" (2008: 550). The interviewees realize, at least today, that the teaching may have been one-sided and/or selective – "whitewashed" (Mārtinš: pos. 23) – due to the focus on the positive aspects during the period of independence:

Example 8

But as time went on, the memory of those who taught us was very selective as well. And that was that it was God's country. And you just cannot imagine how beautiful and how wonderful the people were et cetera, et cetera. So, we started to have this feeling of that we were higher than anyone else. There was never any crime in Latvia before the war. And none of the books would talk about the judicial system and courts. There was no idea that, you know, they had jails. #laughing# There were Latvians in jail, and there were murders. […]

(Mārtinš: pos. 23)

The combination of the teaching in Latvian schools in Canada and the stories from their parents created in general a "rosy" (Arvils: pos. 27) image of Latvia for those who had never been there. The image of Latvia that emerges in the interviews is characterized by positive unreality: *fairy tale*, *dream*, *utopia*, *God's country* and *storybook land* are terms the interviewees use when they describe what they thought Latvia was like.

Example 9

The way that my dad described it, it was utopia. This place was the world's greatest place, and I remember him telling his kids, you know, <Oh, when I was young, everything was beautiful. And it was all great.> So, for me […] it was this beautiful, beautiful, beautiful countryside, beautiful people.

(Oskars: pos. 21)

In this example, Oskars refers to Latvia as "utopia", i.e. a dreamland that possesses a perfect sociopolitical system, and he emphasizes that his image of Latvia was first and foremost characterized by beauty and greatness. Ilmars (pos. 25) remembers his image of Latvia as "beautiful and also very, very bad". The beauty refers, like in Example 9, to the country. The bad on the other hand to the crimes committed by the Soviets.

Fairy tale meets reality

An image of Latvia that is characterized by beauty representing the country and its inhabitants and by cruelty referring to actions by the Soviet Union repeatedly emerges in the narratives. Being able to identify the Soviets, and thus a non-Latvian force, as being responsible for cruelty and also for possible differences between the reality the interviewees found in Latvia and the "rosy" image they had, helped them experience their first visit to Latvia positively. So did the presence of several social elements of *home*.

The country did not necessarily match the stories the interviewees had heard before, and the lower standards in Latvia compared to Canada were among the reasons for Canadian Latvians not to move (back) to Latvia (see Section 5.1.3). However, the visit did not change their feelings towards the culture and its maintenance, as "the expectations […] are not anything real. So, it's your belief. So, what the reality is like doesn't really change your beliefs in any major way" (Arnis: pos. 25). It is rather the contrary: The interviewees mainly blamed the Soviet occupation for negative changes, as Gilbert (2002: 288) also found for Latvians in the UK who visited their homeland. And their view that something wrong had been done to them or their parents and that this story needed to be told was reinforced by what they saw and experienced.

Some interviewees say the ongoing Soviet occupation had created a "feeling of despondency" (Juris: pos. 15) during their adolescence and they did not see any point in, for example, continuing learning the language (Talis: pos. 19) because Latvia would never be free again. Visiting Latvia and Latvian congresses then strengthened their beliefs and even nationalism (Talis: pos. 27) again. It encouraged them to do more in the community, for example (Eva: pos. 33). Miezitis (1990: 271) describes those community members as "rediscoverers". They "appear to experience their ethnicity at a more symbolic level and are more likely to seek a creative expression to their commitment". The process of "rediscovering" one's ethnicity was also observed by Kelly and Nagel (2002) among Lithuanian Americans. They describe it as a form of ethnic re-identification in

the sense that after a period of despondency which led to a temporary non-identification with one's ethnic identity, it was finally adopted and strengthened again by visits and community contacts.

> After homeland visitations, individuals […] carry back to transplanted ethnic communities […] the cultural material and personal knowledge that contribute to ethnic renewal. Such individuals then often become leaders and activists in ethnic diasporas. It is in this way that individual ethnic re-identification leads to the reconstruction of ethnic traditions and communities and expands the base of ethnic re-identification. (Kelly and Nagel 2002: 277)

The ways the interviewees describe their first visit have a certain pattern in common: A critical reaction to what they saw in Latvia, but nevertheless a positive description of their overall experience because for most, the main purpose of their visit was to meet family members, and the memories of these meetings evoke positive feelings.

The interviewees who grew up in Canada and saw Latvia for the first time were first of all excited to see the country they had learned about. "I cried crocodile tears [sic!] as we landed. Well, before we landed as we crossed over the Baltic, and it was like this is the country that I learned about" (Zenta: pos. 25). Being able to travel to Latvia allowed Canadian Latvians to finally connect the stories they had heard, and that were characterized by a certain unreality, to a concrete place. Moreover, they could see that the language they maintained within their exile community was still being spoken.

Example 10

It was a bit of a dream to actually be in the plane. I remember looking out the window at the territory and thinking that it's more massive than I ever thought. I always thought of a small country, but then I realized no, it's farms and fields, and Riga, the main city, travelling over the Gulf of Riga, travelling over some of the river valleys and realizing <Yes, indeed, it's a physical country.> And coming into Riga, which was at that time in 1986 quite run-down from the years of the Soviet experience, but there was a feeling of euphoria that you (…) Still the Latvian language is being spoken, it's on TV, it's on the radio, you could hear the language on the streets, we met our relatives. So, I said the place really does have a physical existence.

(Juris: pos. 21)

The shape not only of Riga, which Juris describes as "run-down" in Example 10, but of the whole country came as a shock to some, especially because they were used to Canadian standards, which is described exemplarily by Arnis and Enija as follows:

> **Example 11**
> *Well, very, very much different from Canada. Especially the rural areas where it was extremely backward (…) century-old buildings with clay floors and old barns. It stank and, you know, as a city boy, it were [sic] not very pleasant. And, so, I could feel my parents', you know, sense of loss, and something had been done terribly wrong to them.*
>
> (Arnis: pos. 23)

> **Example 12**
> *I thought with all that neglect that the Russians had inflicted on it, it was pretty primitive, and, you know, things like the bathrooms were sometimes holes in the ground, and it was interesting, and it (…) I really enjoyed seeing the place that I heard and read about, but at that time it was sort of like going to sort of small-town Ontario 200 years ago #laughing#. Well, I found it very interesting. My mother, who went with me, spent most of her time walking around crying and pointing out how horrible everything looked compared to what it used to look like.*
>
> (Enija: pos. 33)

Both examples again show that two Canada-born interviewees identify the Soviet occupation as being responsible for the lower standards in Latvia and the fact that the country did not resemble Canada. Before going, Enija (pos. 21), for instance, had thought Latvia "looked a lot like Canada". Knowing who was responsible, however, also helped not to question the positive stories the interviewees had heard about Latvia during their childhood. And their image or beliefs did not necessarily change.

Example 12 also shows that the reaction of those who went to Latvia for the first time differed from the reaction of their parents, who actively remembered the free and independent Latvia. They were not surprised or shocked by the different standards in Latvia compared to Canada as their children were. They saw that their home had been destroyed (Anete: pos. 19) and how the country had in general changed under Soviet

occupation – sometimes to the extent that they were no longer able to recognize the place:

Example 13

No, there was nothing there that I remembered. I went back to where our farm had been, and I couldn't even find the place. […] So, when I went back to where I knew the farm had been (…) from the roads, and from the old (…) there was a pond there, so I stayed there, and I looked around, and I couldn't recognize anything. There were just some kind of casting which had been or could have been part of the root cellar. And I just sort of sat down there, and I said goodbye. That was it. I knew I wasn't going to go back again. That was it.

(Ilze: pos. 29)

Example 13 shows that the feeling of familiarity was gone when Ilze went back to the place where her family's farm had been, and this loss made her realize that she no longer felt a sense of belonging to Latvia as a place, or – in other words – she realized that the familiar pre-war and independent Latvia to which she felt she belonged no longer existed.

Despite the differences the interviewees saw – either to Canada or to the Latvia they remembered – the overall experience was positive for most of them. Unlike Ilze in Example 13, for whom Latvia no longer felt familiar, they could connect to the place. And for them, even more important than feeling a place affiliation was the existence of social elements of *home*, e.g. the opportunity to meet family members – ranging from immediate family, like the father who stayed in Latvia, to grandparents and more distant family.

Example 14

It was terrific, it was terrific. Because I met (…) I really met an awful lot of my relatives. And I discussed that we'll be coming with my kids and grandkids. And they were so receptive to that, and they were glad that we were coming. And when I went with the kids and grandkids, my grandson says <You're like the godfather. They're coming out from the bushes for your arrival.> Yeah, we met. Each time I went with the grandkids, we met over 30 relatives, and they were really impressed.

(Linda: pos. 43)

Example 15

It was incredible because I saw my grandmother, my father's mother, for the first and last time. She was in her 90s, and I met my father's family. My mother just had a cousin and her family. She didn't have any more family. And it was just (…) I just felt like I belong there, like I met these people that I had never met in my life. You know, we had exchanged some letters but I felt like I had known them all my life when I met them, you know.

(Eva: pos. 29)

The previous three examples all reveal that even within the descriptions of the first visit to Latvia and the experiences the interviewees had, the spatial and the social category of *home* became visible: The loss of the geographic place that feels familiar made Ilze (Example 13) realize she no longer belonged to Latvia. Examples 14 and 15 show the importance of social elements, represented by family in these cases, in order to give a place a unique character, to create the emotional elements of *home*, i.e. comfort, familiarity and security, and hence to make people feel at home or that they belong.

5.1.3 Canada has become home

The hope to be able to return to Latvia was the DPs' driving force to build an active exile community in Canada. By the time Latvia was able to restore its independence, however, moving was no longer an option. After more than 40 years in Canada, the country had become home, and the reason lies in the well-established social category of *home* and the feeling of belonging that the social category created. When the interviewees describe their feelings towards Latvia, two main themes emerge. In contrast to Canada as home, Latvia is described as a place to visit. Nevertheless, the interviewees see the country as their cultural home.

Ilze (pos. 31), who was unable to recognize her former home when she visited Latvia, says "Canada is home now", and she describes home as "the place where I belong" (pos. 33). This rather short explanation serves as a precise summary of what most of the interviewees say: The majority explicitly call Canada their home. And the reason is the

feeling of belonging, mainly represented by social elements, e.g. family. "My children are here, so I wouldn't move there" (Arnis: pos. 31) is an explanation that most interviewees who have children or grandchildren give.

Example 16

As much as I would have wanted to maybe stick my toe in the water, I said I have two young children and a job that doesn't translate from North America to a renewed Latvia. So, for me it was simply out of the question [to move to Latvia].

(Juris: pos. 44)

Example 16 names not only family as a reason to stay in Canada, but also another element of the social category of *home*: work. Most of the interviewees are today pensioners, but at the time of Latvia's restored independence they were mid-career. These rather practical reasons are also mentioned by Hinkle (2006: 56) with regard to the American-Latvian group, pointing out that "the potential return migration of Latvian-Americans […] has not materialized in anywhere near the volume that either the government of Latvia or the leaders of the émigré community had hoped for or anticipated" (Hinkle 2006: 49), and also most first-generation Latvian DPs from the UK did not return to Latvia permanently, as they were "too rooted to move – they have family, houses and a life in England" (Gilbert 2002: 293), i.e. both spatial and social elements of home have been established.

Return migration from Canada has been limited as well. Dace (pos. 47), for instance, reports she never considered moving to Latvia because her life is in Canada. She was born in Germany and never lived in Latvia, but there are other interviewees who were either born in Latvia (and have active memories) or have lived in Latvia for a while, but nevertheless report they belong more to Canada. Latvia-born Ilmars (pos. 47) describes himself as "Canadian first. And Latvian second." Mārtinš (pos. 37), who lived in Latvia for several years, says that "as much as I respect and I know the Latvian culture, I'm not hysteric about it. I'm happy to accept it, I'm curious about it. But this is home, this is home."

Canada is home today, Latvia on the other hand is a place that the interviewees still strongly feel connected to, but more on a spiritual and/or cultural level. It is where they – or their parents – come from, and it is where the culture originated that has been dominating their lives. However, now that all elements of the social category have been transplanted to Canada, Latvia is no longer home, it is a place to visit – a place that many feel emotionally strongly affiliated to, but the reason for the affiliation also lies in the presence of certain social elements, mainly family members. If the interviewees still have family in Latvia, they tend to visit more often. If they do not – or only very distant family – they barely go. Dace (pos. 41) reports having been to Latvia twice – both times she received family wedding invitations she did not want to refuse. And at the same time, she thinks if she had not received those invitations, she would have never visited Latvia. Pēteris (pos. 51), who was born and raised in Latvia, explains he never considered moving back to Latvia because he does not have any close relatives there, and hence he calls himself "a tourist" (pos. 55) in Latvia. Renāte (pos. 39) gives a similar explanation: She does not want to go back to Latvia anymore because she has "seen most of it already now". The interviewees were interested in going to Latvia, seeing the place where they come from and exploring family history. All interviewees report having done that. However, only those who maintained or established stronger social ties feel the desire to (regularly) go back. This attitude towards the country of origin is the reason Weingrod and Levi (2006) differentiate between a diaspora's homeland and its centre. Whereas homeland is the place where returning and living is considered to be necessary, "centers are places where one might visit and enjoy, but they are not conceived of as the Ancient Home where one should Return and where one truly belongs" (Weingrod and Levi 2006: 711).

Yet Latvia remains the cultural home

Although some interviewees have been to Latvia only once, it is nevertheless important to differentiate between the sense of belonging to Latvia as a geographic location – or place affiliation – and the sense of belonging to the Latvian culture, or cultural

affiliation. Not visiting Latvia on a regular basis does not say anything about the interviewees' commitment to the Latvian culture and the Latvian community in Canada. The majority do not feel at home in Latvia as such, but they do feel rooted and at home in the Latvian culture and in the Latvian exile community – a community they helped establish and/or maintain. Both are important parts of their lives. Kristaps (pos. 51), for instance, differentiates between his physical home, Toronto, and his psychological one, Latvia. Enija (pos. 55) gives a similar explanation: "Spiritually I identify more with Latvia, but physically I'm here."

Celebrating the Latvian culture or living a Latvian life, as I put it in this chapter, has been possible in Canada from the beginning. Although there has been limited active support by Canadian legislation for migrant groups and the maintenance of their cultural and linguistic heritage, the Latvian DPs were not forced to give up their Latvian heritage when they were admitted to Canada after WWII. They have enjoyed cultural freedom and were able to establish a Latvian home, i.e. their familiar Latvian institutions, to the extent that Anete (pos. 45) calls the Latvian environment that has been created her "little Latvia here in Toronto".

The interviewees feel they belong to the Latvian culture still today, and they are strongly committed to its maintenance. Talis (pos: 19) calls this commitment a "built-in tradition of patriotism and nationalism" he wanted to carry on and also instil in his children. "It's like our responsibility, responsibility to your parents, to your culture, to your country to be that way." Nonetheless, Canada is the place they call home, as the interviews show that only in Canada does the spatial and the social category of *home* intertwine. Over the years, Canadian Latvians have filled the socially empty space with Latvian life. They have established basically every element of the social category, and at the same time the social category in Latvia has become empty for many because, for example, they no longer have family there, no community life, no work environment. As a consequence, the emotional elements of *home* (security, comfort, familiarity) also moved from Latvia to Canada. This does not mean that none of these elements (either emotional elements

or elements from the spatial/social categories) are no longer present in Latvia. Quite the contrary: The presence of certain spatial and/or social elements (e.g. property, family) is the reason or motivation for people to go. However, Canada is the place where *all* elements are present and intertwine. Hence it is the place the majority call home today and the reason why they do not intend to leave.

5.2 Something old and something new: The collective memory of Canadian Latvians

The life in two cultures has naturally influenced the collective memory (formed by the cultural and the communicative memory) and hence the group identity of Latvians in Canada. The Latvian cultural memory and the émigrés' commitment to its mainten-ance created a distinction from local Canadians (see Section 5.2.1). At the same time, the Canadian-influenced communicative memory differentiates Canadian Latvians from Latvian Latvians (see Section 5.2.2). Table 5 summarizes the collective memory of Canadian Latvians and the themes that emerged in their narratives.

Table 5: The collective memory of Latvians in Canada

Memory	Theme
Cultural	Latvian culture defines Latvian identity
	Cultural memory as enrichment and distinguishing feature from Canadian majority society
Communicative	Defines Canadian identity
	Communicative memory as enrichment and distinguishing feature from Latvian Latvians

In addition to the new sense of home (see Section 5.1), the collective memory is hence the second constituent of a distinct Canadian-Latvian identity.

5.2.1 Preserving the cultural memory abroad

It was the "important mandate" (Matiss 1999: 9) of Latvian DPs to maintain the Latvian culture – the cultural memory – abroad. The joint mission defined the group identity of Latvian DPs in Canada internally and externally. The Latvian cultural memory has been highly valued by the group. They see it as a distinguishing feature from the Canadian majority society and perceive originating from Latvia with its long history and century-old traditions as an enrichment. Hilton (2009: 295) points out that

> given that the liberation of Latvia from Communist control was not feasible, Latvian DPs drew upon elements of cultural nationalism to construct a common, binding identity. This identity was grounded in traditional cultural artifacts, rejection of foreign oppression, and commitment to democracy, all of which combined to create an exile mission to preserve Latvian-ness until their nation could be free once more.

Hilton's view is reflected in the interviews as well because the interviewees describe the Latvian cultural memory and the commitment to its maintenance as the main constituent of their identity as Latvians in Canada.

> 'Memory culture' is concerned with a social obligation and is firmly linked to the group. The question here is 'What must we not forget?' This question is generally a more or less explicit and a relatively central element of any group. (Assmann 2011: 16).

In the case of Latvians in Canada, the interviews show it was the Latvian heritage on the one hand and the unlawful Soviet occupation of Latvia on the other that were not to be forgotten. "We were always taught even in Latvian school that because of the situation in Latvia, it was important to us to keep our culture and the language alive" (Iveta: pos. 29).

The knowledge of the Latvian language and culture, the commitment to their maintenance, and the view that the occupation of Latvia was unlawful internally defined the group. These values, commitments and beliefs the interviewees identify with again

show that belonging is also about the creation and maintenance of boundaries. By leaving Latvia, the DPs created a boundary to the USSR and to Latvians who stayed. These are not only geographical boundaries expressed by the distance between Canada and Latvia; the values and beliefs also created boundaries to groups, including those who acknowledged the occupation as lawful. Even within Canada, the commitment to the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage created a boundary to Latvians who decided to assimilate and/or did not pass on the Latvian language to their children, which not all interviewees can easily understand, as expressed by Zenta:

> **Example 17**
> *A lot of immigrants came to Canada and said <We want to completely integrate.> And this is beyond my understanding, but they had very little knowledge of English, and yet they insisted to speak English at home with their children, because they were in Canada now. And those people, if at all, don't come to any Latvian (…) you know, any social activities, or they may show up at the Independence Day celebrations. Maybe the first wave that immigrated do that, you know, maybe once in a while, but their children no.*
>
> (Zenta: pos. 7)

The duration of the Soviet occupation and hence its consequences may not have been foreseeable when the DPs immigrated to Canada. Retrospectively, however, it can be considered as a cultural trauma[25] that tied the DPs together. This group memory is intrinsically tied to the group identity of Latvian DPs in Canada.

> The social group that forms a memory community preserves its past mainly through two factors: its peculiarity and its durability. Through the image that it creates for itself, it emphasizes externally the difference that it plays down internally. (Assmann 2011: 26)

Weichart (2019: 54) suggests that the link to a common home creates group cohesion, solidarity and loyalty, which makes home play a decisive role in identity formation.

---

25 "Cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (Alexander et al. 2004: 1).

The orientation to a kin state furthermore "prompts and reinforces the sense of long distance belonging" (Kaprāns 2019: 121).

Maintaining the Latvian heritage by living a Latvian life, as I put it in the previous section, also externally defined the group because this way of life created a distinction – a boundary – from the Canadian majority society. Especially during the early years after their immigration, the interviewees as members of the Latvian community were well aware of the differences. Some report having been bullied in school, and Dace (pos. 21) says she was ashamed of her heritage and did not tell anybody she was going to Latvian school and was participating in Latvian activities even though she actually enjoyed them.

Cultural memory as enrichment

Despite the difficulties with schoolmates for example, the majority of the interviewees report having been proud of their Latvian heritage, and thus their cultural memory, ever since.

> **Example 18**
> *Even though we were picked on in school as kids for being sort of DP, you know, you got a weird name, <Where are you from?> and so on, we actually had a place that we were from, there was some heritage.*
>
> (Arvils: pos. 29)

By emphasizing having a place of origin and "some heritage", Arvils puts Latvians culture-wise in a higher position than the local Canadian society and expresses pride. This connects to Hinkle's (2006) study on the American-Latvian community which shows that the

> traditional [Latvian] culture remained throughout the exile period not only as a powerful tool for maintaining one's Latvian identity, but also as a means of saying to the surrounding American community that here is our culture, all that is specific and dear to us. (Hinkle 2006: 60)

Moreover, the interviewees also express a certain feeling of being personally richer than other Canadians. As kids and teenagers, the interviewees primarily saw the number and the diversity of the activities they pursued within the Latvian community and compared them to what their Canadian schoolmates and friends were doing:

Example 19

When I was going to school I couldn't believe how confined, like just call them Canadians or locals, like how confined they are and how closed-minded they are on things, you know. We were doing all of this kind of stuff, you know. It was a lot broader, a lot broader, like whether it was going to rivers and lakes to swim, you know, or learning how to sit in a canoe and paddle and stuff, like I can't believe that people haven't experienced this. It's all available here. There's rivers, lakes, there's a world out there. What are you doing in here? #laughing#

(Arvils: pos. 29)

The view that activities offered by the Latvian community are broader than those offered by the Canadian majority society is still there at root, but it is expressed differently today: All the activities are seen in a broader context as a representation of culture and history – and the existence of both is clearly linked to Latvia, not to Canada.

"I think Latvia is more culturally inclined [than Canada], you know, in terms of song festivals, in terms of all that" (Raimonds: pos. 38). According to the interviewees, culture is mainly represented by a common language (see Section 5.1.2), literature, songs and history. The interviewees think these elements are all present in Latvia – and hence in the Latvian community in Canada they helped establish and/or maintain – but not in Canada as such. Arvils (pos. 35) remembers that when he went to Latvia for the first time "everything was a bit smaller, and everything is a lot older. You see that's where like Canada is so young. Canada is so young #laughing#, like we're nothing. There, there is history, like that's real history […]."

In contrast to Latvia with its long history and culture, Canada is described as a "country of immigrants" (Linda: pos. 67). Canada had no culture and traditions the whole

population shared because "everybody is from somewhere else" (Ilze: pos. 45). These statements show support of the Canadian narrative of the nation state in its current form – but formed as federal dominion of at the time four provinces only in 1867[26] – with its multicultural society, but with only little attention being paid to the land's long history before European colonisation, and its Indigenous population. Consequently, many interviewees think that having a centuries-old culture and history makes them personally richer than the typical Canadian, as, for instance, Iveta describes as follows:

Example 20

I remember our tutorial teacher [at university] was saying that she figures hyphenated Canadians are snobs. And I agreed with her. Because I'm sort of thinking that well, yeah, because I think we have more going for us than the typical Canadian. Then I'm not talking about like the indigenous or the aboriginals. They have a lot of culture and what not. But to say that hockey and curling is part of your culture, I'm going <mmmmmm>, you know #laughing#, poutine? I don't know #laughing#.

(Iveta: pos. 47)

Although Example 20 recognizes the culture of the Indigenous peoples in Canada, it nevertheless represents the Canadian nation-state narrative because Iveta differentiates between three groups of people in Canada: the "typical Canadian", the Indigenous population and hyphenated Canadians, i.e. those who maintain and/or emphasize their heritage culture by identifying as for example Canadian-Latvian or Irish-Canadian. Although the Indigenous – the First Nations, Inuit and Métis – have the longest history, they are not seen as typical Canadians. Following Iveta's categories in Example 20, these would be Canadians who do not belong to the Indigenous population and solely identify as Canadian in the sense that they do not maintain their heritage culture(s), although they or their ancestors must have immigrated at some point. Symbols of that cultural unit like sports (hockey and curling) or food (poutine), however, do not fall under Iveta's definition of culture. Both can however be regarded as typical expressions

---

26 Today, Canada has ten provinces (Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, Québec, Saskatchewan) and three territories (Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Yukon).

of everyday nationalism (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008; Kivimäki et al. 2021) by which people identify with a certain nation and consume nationalism.

Cultural memory defines Latvian identity

According to the interviewees, the elements that represent culture are present in Latvia and the Latvian community in Canada. Moreover, many interviewees say it is these elements that define their Latvian identity, as the following two examples show:

> **Example 21**
> *Part of what makes me Latvian, definitely, is that I speak the language probably not much different from how I speak English. I know the culture, I identify with it.*
>
> (Egils: pos. 51)

> **Example 22**
> *I mean, Canadian, what is (…) you don't have the culture, a thousand-year culture that Latvia has, that I don't feel Canadians have. […] So, I think that's what makes me, I guess, a Latvian. The songs, the dainas, all the teikas[27] and so on.*
>
> (Inga: pos. 49)

Maintaining the culture that is seen as wealth and enrichment has been a dominant part in many Canadian Latvians' lives, and this joint task – or exile mission – was the foundation of their community. The initial reason for this mission was the Soviet occupation of Latvia. Latvians in exile actively participated in Latvia's independence movement in the 1980s and promoted Latvian nationalism. Several interviewees report having been politically active, e.g. to keep "alive the idea that […] it was an illegal occupation" (Arnis: pos. 45). Some interviewees participated in the Baltic Way[28] on August 23, 1989. However, "by helping to establish and strengthen Latvia's independence, they were inescapably undermining their own political identity and purpose for mobilizing" (Zake 2010: 161). With regard to American Latvians – but it can be extended to

---

27 Latvian folksongs and poetry.
28 The Baltic Way was a human chain of approximately two million people spanning across the three Baltic countries.

Canadian Latvians – Zake (2010: 161) says "the end of exile was also the end of the […] community's political mission and raison d'être". The émigrés' activism "was a gradual pulling of the carpet from under their feet" (2010: 161), although durability can be identified as one of the main reasons for a group to preserve its past:

> The moment a group becomes aware of a radical change, it ceases to be a group and makes way for another constellation. But because every group strives for durability, it tends to block out change as far as possible and to perceive history as an unchanging continuance. (Assmann 2011: 26)

Although Latvians in exile were working towards Latvia's independence and were hence undermining their own purpose, the interviews nevertheless show an attempt to block out radical changes: "There are people in the community today; even though many have died off (…) the war has not ended. The war is continuing. And even though Latvia is independent, the war is still on" (Mārtiņš: pos. 15). Even 30 years after Latvia's restored independence, many Canadian Latvians still feel the need to help Latvia or are even still politically engaged:

Example 23

After the independence, then it was still important to work within the Canadian community to make sure that Canadians support it, the new state, you know, to regain its independence, they needed the support, economic, military. So, it's important to work there. And it's important to work within the community just to have more people who, again, support Latvia. We can always contribute in some small way, just by visiting and talking to people there and conveying our Western ideas which is still an uphill battle.

(Arnis: pos. 45)

This example clearly shows that although Latvia's independence has been successfully achieved, a new goal has been set in order for the émigrés to still have a purpose that is close to the original one during the occupation: convey Western ideas in an independent Latvia. By calling it an "uphill battle", Arnis not only emphasizes the difficulty of this task, but also implies this battle will take a long time, which ultimately means that the task of Latvian émigrés is still as important as it was before independence, and their raison d'être has not changed.

Example 23 is only one indicator of the wish for the group's durability. Blocking out change can also be observed with the Canadian-Latvian newspaper *Latvija Amerikā*, which still applies the Latvian orthography of the interwar period, showing the DPs' "distinct feeling of obligation […] to maintain a pure and correct Latvian language because it was being distorted and suppressed in Soviet Latvia" (Hinkle 2006: 58). Kelly and Nagel (2002: 281) also found this attitude in the Lithuanian-American group, which is similar in terms of its DP history.

The wish for durability can furthermore be observed in the Canadian-Latvian community's attempt to archive its history and make documents and artefacts accessible for future generations. After several decades in Canada, it is no longer only the Latvian heritage that needs to be preserved. The community feels the need to preserve its own history, work and commitment as a distinct Canadian-Latvian group.

The interviews show that the life in Canada has been defined by being Latvian and maintaining the heritage. Cultural influence, however, is not a one-way street. After more than 70 years, the Latvian identity of the former DPs has also been influenced by the Canadian way of life. The interviewees describe Canada as a country of immigrants without a culture shared by the entire population. This view, however, does not express a negative attitude towards Canada as such. There may not be a culture that the population shares, but the next section shows that the interviewees think it shares certain values and benefits that are of great importance to them and therefore contribute to their identity as well.

5.2.2 Canadian-influenced communicative memory

So far, I have shown how important and dominant the Latvian part of the interviewees' lives has been and how much their cultural memory and its maintenance have influenced their lives as exile Latvians in Canada. However, 70 years in Canada have had an impact on the former DPs as well. This is the time span captured by the communica-

tive memory, and during this time span, Canadian Latvians and Latvian Latvians have lived different lives. Although Latvians in Canada have been strongly committed to the maintenance of their cultural heritage, the interviews also reveal that the Canadian influence is not only appreciated by the interviewees, it has also immensely contributed to their identity – but it has also created a boundary to Latvian Latvians that is noticeable today.

Canadian Latvians have mainly been influenced by two cultures and societies, the Latvian and the Canadian one, and the interviews reveal that the interplay of both influences is perceived positively. The interviewees are happy to accept both and see them as an enrichment.

Example 24

There is a schizophrenia involved having a Latvian background and having grown and [been] born in Canada. And this question came up especially when we were offered dual citizenship. Canada allows dual citizenship, many of my friends reclaimed citizenship, my children have dual citizenship, so does my wife. But if you don't take the positives of both experiences, there is a certain schizophrenia where you want to raise one and diminish the other. So, I think it's a constant battle to be able to take the positives from both sides and diminish the negatives.

(Juris: pos. 29)

Juris describes having a dual background not only positively, it could be "schizophrenia" and a "battle". His way out of this cultural conflict is to reconcile the positive aspects of both cultures in order to create something new. Section 5.2.1 showed that, for the interviewees, the positives to be taken from the Latvian side are the history and the culture, i.e. the cultural memory. It makes them personally feel richer than typical Canadians. The interviews reveal, however, that the dual background also leads to the feeling of personally being richer than Latvian Latvians – and this feeling is based on the positives the interviewees take from the Canadian side: values and benefits that can be enjoyed in Canada.

"We have everything"

During the Soviet occupation of Latvia, Canada offered security represented by democracy and freedom, including the freedom to maintain the Latvian heritage, all of which are protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and seem to be supported by the interviewees. "I like the notion of Canada as a place where it encourages people to keep their culture. I'm a firm believer of that. I don't believe that culture should be legislated" (Oskars: pos. 37). The interviewees express a strong feeling of belonging to Western values such as democracy and freedom, all of which stood in opposition to Latvia under Soviet rule. The security Canada represents was not to be found in occupied Latvia, and some interviewees still feel a certain insecurity in Latvia today. This feeling is mainly based on the geographical closeness to Russia. "If Putin wasn't so close, I probably would even consider going back to Latvia now" (Linda: pos. 35), and also Eriks does not feel as safe in Latvia as he does in Canada:

> **Example 25**
> *I feel close to Latvia, but I feel more comfortable in Canada [...] because I know the culture, I know the languages, I know what to expect. In Latvia, when I rent a car [...] I don't feel comfortable, because I'm watching all the time for the police. And I consider the police to be corrupt. And they are corrupt. And in that sense I don't feel comfortable.*
> *In my opinion, most of the police in Riga are Russian influenced. Even if they are not all Russians, but large part of them are Russian. And if there was some problem, those police of Riga, they are big enough (...) It could be a military force, you know. And considering the Russian party got a very good turnout, and also the mayor is Russian who has ties with Putin's party.*
> (Eriks: pos. 55-58)

Not only does Example 25 support the findings in Section 5.1 and highlight once again that comfort and security are emotional elements that are intrinsically tied to the concept *home*, it also shows that Eriks makes Russia responsible for the corruption and the insecurity he feels in Latvia. Thereby he indirectly compares the situation in Latvia today with the situation during the occupation. He continues:

Example 26

Latvia is not the Latvia we were working towards. It's not. And we're only lucky now that the Canadian troops, the NATO, are in there.

(Eriks: pos. 68)

This example is not only an expression of dissatisfaction with the situation in Latvia today, it also reveals once again the group's attempt to block out changes in order to remain a group with its distinct identity and memory (see Section 5.2.1): Just as much as it was the Latvian DPs in Canada whose mission it was to maintain and protect the Latvian culture, promote Latvian nationalism and thus work towards Latvia's independence, it is now still the Canadians – as part of the NATO forces in the Baltics – that are to protect the integrity of the Latvian borders and hence Latvia's independence.

Canada is seen as the guard that represents security, democracy and freedom – values that have had great influence on the interviewees' identity. Inga (pos. 47) even says it is "the values the Canadians have, the democracy" that make her Canadian whereas it is the culture that makes her Latvian (pos. 49). That is how she describes her dual identity. It supports the idea of taking the positive aspects of both cultures, and it is a very precise summary of a general concept that emerges in the narratives: There are individual differences, but in general the interviewees link Canada to freedom, democracy, stability, security and wealth, whereas Latvia represents culture, history and tradition. As Latvians in Canada, the interviewees do not have to choose, they can enjoy the achievements of both cultures, and they do. Renāte, who was born in Latvia and has been involved in the Latvian community in Canada since her arrival, explains she would nevertheless not want to live in Latvia because "we're now used to Canadian ways, and we have everything" (pos. 35).

The cultural dualism is also represented by citizenship(s). Most interviewees (n=19) hold both Canadian and Latvian passports,[29] which can be seen as an enrichment as well, because it also means having an EU passport, which is an expression of even more

---

29 The other six interviewees are Canadian citizens only.

freedom: Many interviewees highlight dual citizenship makes travel easier, but it also allows the holder to reside in any EU country. Having two passports means individual privileges and the free choice where to live. And the interviewees chose Canada.

Section 5.1 revealed how the decision to stay in Canada and not to move (back) to Latvia was influenced by the social elements of *home* that have been transferred from Latvia to Canada over the years. As shown in this section, this transfer has been complemented by the Canadian values the interviewees identify with. Furthermore, they think that certain benefits that can be enjoyed in Canada would not be available in Latvia, e.g. a good-quality health care system.

> **Example 27**
> *We said we don't believe in the health care of our children in Latvia in the early 1990s. And that was the real big reason [not to move to Latvia]. And my wife had a great job, too. And we just didn't feel strong enough that it would be some value to moving there. The benefits would not exceed the costs of moving to Latvia.*
>
> (Mareks: pos. 68)

Although Example 27 describes a decision that was taken on the conditions in Latvia in the early 1990s, it nonetheless represents the feeling of being better off in Canada. And even 30 years later, this opinion is still there. Ilmars (pos: 52) thinks for him as a pensioner, Canada is the safer and better place to be because of the "reasonably good health care" that he, as an 83-year-old, would not want to jeopardize.

Embracing multiculturalism

In addition to the practical benefits, there is also the aspect of societal atmosphere that has influenced the interviewees. The survey results revealed already that the atmosphere in Canada is perceived positively (see Section 4.3). The interviews do not only support these findings, they also create an even bigger contrast to the Latvian society because some interviewees highlight that they cannot – or only partially – identify with it. Kaprāns (2019: 121) points out that emigrants often develop categorical and/

or radical positions towards their countries of origin, "because when individuals are away from their country, they do not have to accept the everyday compromises that are important for the residents of the country of origin".

Ilmars (pos. 47) says he feels "quite comfortable with what's happening in Canada"; he has however "a few questions what's happening in Latvia politically and economically". Mārtiņš (pos. 34), who was born in Canada, draws a very clear line between Canada, which he describes as "a truly […] multicultural environment", and the Latvian society that he thinks is also characterized by "anger", "distrust", "chauvinism" and "hatred". Furthermore, his "sense of justice here [Canada] is far more developed and far more believing (…) there was no justice. The system is very kind of hierarchical (…) political connections" (pos. 35).

To sum up, the values the interviewees link to Canada (freedom, democracy, stability, security and wealth) have created a society the interviewees can identify with and they feel they belong to. Multiculturalism is seen as one of the society's strengths, and the interviewees represent multiculturalism themselves: They have adapted to the Canadian way of life, respect and appreciate the societal values, but they have nevertheless not given up their cultural heritage. Moreover, they personally see their multiculturalism as a strength and as an enrichment in the sense that the values and the benefits they enjoy as Canadians make them in a way richer than Latvian Latvians. The Latvian culture, traditions and history they have maintained is on the other hand a personal richness Canadians do not possess. By embracing both cultural influences and taking the positives of both, a new dual identity has been created.

Not just one Latvian society

The immigration of Latvian DPs to Canada was a journey into an uncertain future with the hope to be able to return to Latvia sooner rather than later. The Soviet occupation of Latvia, however, lasted over 40 years. Nevertheless, the future in Canada turned out to

be positive for most. At the same time, however, the years spent abroad – the time span of the communicative memory – diverged Canadian Latvians from Latvian Latvians. And the interviewees do see differences themselves.

During the interviews it became obvious that most interviewees state there is not one single Latvian society. This opinion, however, was expressed in different ways. When asked about whether they feel part of the Latvian society, some interviewees affirmed, but they did not think of Latvia. Their answers described their experienced membership in the Latvian society in Canada. Others answered by raising a question like "You mean in Latvia or here?" (Kārlis: pos. 57). And Arvils (pos. 49) says he feels to be a member "whether that is here or in Latvia". All answers show that the interviewees think there is more than one Latvian society. And they do see differences when they compare their group in Canada with the Latvians in Latvia.

> **Example 28**
> *I mean there is a difference between Latvians in Latvia and Latvians that live or originated outside of Latvia. […] I think it would be hard to live there having come from growing up here, and because, you know, obviously we have a different way of looking at things. And they do over there. And it's because of the past history, you know, political situation.*
>
> (Zenta: pos. 40)

"The past history" Zenta refers to in Example 28 was experienced differently by Latvians in Latvia and those in Canada and hence led to different memories that are preserved in the communicative memory. Zenta emphasizes that view by creating boundaries, as there is Latvia on the one hand and "the West" – to which she belongs – on the other:

Example 29

I realize that the Latvia I was taught about and told about is a romanticized place. We have to understand that many generations in Latvia have lived in a different world than those of us in the West. However, the Latvians in Latvia have to understand the West's view, that language, customs, culture and values had to be preserved in the hopes of returning to their native land. As the years passed, return seemed more and more remote, yet hopes and prayers continued, so that one day (…)

(Zenta: pos. 46)

Section 5.1.2 showed that many interviewees thought Latvia was different from the image they had when they went there for the first time. Moreover, some realized that the people in Latvia were different from what they had expected and that Latvians no longer form one society:

Example 30

Now after 70 years, they have changed, the people in Latvia have changed having lived 50 years under communism. Their lives have changed, their attitudes have changed, and also for some reason they don't really want us back there because they think we had an easy life. Well, when we came to Canada, after a while life was easy, but it certainly wasn't easy during the war, or in the first years in Canada.

(Anete: pos. 11)

This example shows the differences the interviewees experience, and it also reveals the feeling of rejection in Latvia that Hinkle (2006: 56) also found in the American-Latvian group. Example 30 furthermore shows that Anete thinks the Latvians in Latvia are responsible for this situation and her feelings because they are the ones who have changed. She recognizes that the communist experience shaped people in Latvia, a theme that Gilbert (2002) also found to be common among Latvian DPs in the UK. However, Anete's answer denies personal change even though the Canadian influence was by no means smaller, and the former DPs adapted, as shown in this chapter.

Change, however, was not the DPs' mission. Quite the contrary: They wanted to maintain. And decades later they realize that change has nevertheless taken place. Moreover,

the interviews reveal the subliminal attitude that the cultural and linguistic heritage has been better maintained in Canada than in Latvia. Pēteris (pos. 55) thinks that "*Jāņi,* the summer solstice fest, is probably here [in Canada] celebrated with greater gusto than it's there". The Latvian language in Latvia changed due to the reforms starting in the late 1940s, whereas Latvians abroad maintained the orthography of the interwar period. Heritage speakers often face a situation in which they are reminded of being different than speakers of the baseline, the variety spoken in the home country. They "often comment that heritage speakers sound 'funny', 'off', and not like 'real' speakers of the language" (Polinsky and Kagan 2007: 378). This is also reflected in the interviews, as reported for instance by Anete:

Example 31

When we speak they say <Oh, you speak the old-fashioned way.>
When they speak, they use a lot of international words, Latvian,
German, Russian and English, especially English. More English than
Russian which is, you know (…) there's no need for it. There is Lat-
vian words for everything.

(Anete: pos. 51)

Change has taken place and created differences or boundaries. With regard to Latvians in the UK, Gilbert (2002: 294) notes that "many felt, and still do, that they no longer belong in the homeland, they feel different to the locals there, and even feel like foreigners in their own homeland". These differences are noticeable to those from abroad who visit, but also to the locals: "They [Latvian Latvians] don't have to spend more than 30 seconds to know that I'm not from there no matter how much I might feel that these are my people" (Eriks: pos. 68). This view is supported by Gilbert's (2002: 295) findings, suggesting that it is not only the accent that distinguishes the visiting diaspora but – as pointed out by one of the interviewees in her study – in fact their general appearance.

Old and new diaspora do not always form a community

The basis for the Latvian diaspora in Canada is the post-war immigration of Latvian DPs. The diaspora today, however, does not only consist of former DPs and their des-

cendants. There are also new immigrants. And the change the interviewees see between Canadian Latvians and Latvian Latvians they also see between them as exiled Latvians, often referred to as the *old diaspora*, and the *new diaspora*, represented by Latvian immigrants who arrived after the restoration of Latvia's independence.

Example 32

Most definitely, yes. First, I think the basis for this community here is what we call trimda*, okay, exile. That still is the basis. Now, it's changing because of the newcomers coming in. But there you can see the differences, too. The newcomers come for different reasons. They're not trying to save their lives. But they also have a different view of how things should work here. First of all it's hard to get them involved with the community here. When they do get involved, they don't always necessarily do things the way the older folk like it.*

(Eriks: pos. 68)

The concepts of old and new diaspora, again, show the boundaries between groups, and Eriks emphasizes in Example 32 that those cannot always be overcome to feel the same sense of community-belonging. In his view, a community that is based on the joint exile experience functions differently than a community founded by immigrants who come for different and individual reasons. This view connects to Saulītis and Mieriņa (2019: 220), who found that the old and the new Latvian diaspora in the US have different identities. It is furthermore supported by other interviewees in the current study who say it is hard to get the new immigrants involved in the community. The reason given most often is that the interviewees think the new immigrants are not interested in meeting fellow Latvians.

Example 33

Very often when we contact these people, they simply say <I left the country for a reason, and I don't plan on going back. And even though I speak Latvian, and I'd like to maybe maintain some contacts, I'm not that interested in maintaining a local community or culture.> It's more a personal judgement.

(Juris: pos. 40)

It was essential for the DPs after their arrival in Canada to maintain a community in order to maintain the Latvian heritage and support Latvia's independence movement.

Today, however, independence has been achieved, and it furthermore is no longer necessary to join a community in order to maintain contact, as it is mentioned in Example 33. Unlike during the occupation, people can now freely travel back and forth, and there is the technology that allows people to communicate online.

To sum up, this chapter has shown that, for the interviewees, the DP movement to Canada initiated the development of a distinct Canadian-Latvian identity that is represented by a different sense of home and a different collective memory compared to Latvian Latvians. First, the DPs tried to replicate Latvia in Canada in order to create the emotional elements of the home they had left behind – comfort, familiarity and security – and to be able to maintain the Latvian heritage and re-transplant the replicated Latvian institutions once Latvia becomes independent again. The Soviet occupation of Latvia, however, lasted longer than anticipated. A place-making process had started, and over the years, Canada as a geographic space was filled with all elements of the social category of *home* whereas the social category in Latvia grew empty. The presence of the social elements in Canada (including family) is the basis for a new sense of home of Canadian Latvians: They feel at home in the Latvian culture, but Canada is the place where all elements of the spatial and the social category intertwine. Hence, it is the place they call home today (see Section 5.1).

The history, culture and traditions of Canadian Latvians and Latvian Latvians stem from the same cultural memory, and it was the joint mission of the post-war immigrants to maintain that memory, which is highly valued and also seen as an enrichment that serves as a distinguishing feature from the Canadian majority society. With regard to the Latvian society, however, the DP movement was the time when the Latvian society split into those who stayed, the Latvian Latvians, and those who emigrated and became "Latvians abroad" or "diaspora Latvians". Seventy years have passed now, which is approximately the time span of the communicative memory. Both groups have lived in different parts of the world, and although their traditions stem from the same cultural memory, their communicative memory comprises very different experiences

and memories now, and Canadian Latvians have hence become a distinct group with its own identity.

6. Conclusion

This study addressed several research gaps in refugee studies and language sociology: It directed the focus on the experiences of Latvians in Canada and thus took the still underrepresented refugee perspective. It furthermore offered new approaches to analyze both language maintenance and identity construction, namely the novel European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages (EuLaViBarMig) in order to measure the vitality of migrant languages, and an analysis of identity construction that combines an analysis of a migrant group's sense of home and its collective memory. In this way I show how the experiences of two cultures and/or societies contribute to a development of a dual identity and how it is constructed by different forms of belonging. Section 6.1 summarizes the main findings of my study in terms of Latvian-language maintenance and the group's identity construction, and it discusses the prospect of the Latvian language in Canada as well as in what way the Canadian-Latvian dual identity represents integration. Based on the EuLaViBarMig results, Section 6.2 gives recommendations for Latvian-language maintenance in Canada. Possible avenues for future research are suggested in Section 6.3. Section 6.4 summarizes some final remarks.

6.1 Main findings and their implications

My study aimed to explain why more than 70 years after the DP movement ended, Latvian is still being spoken at the group level in Canada. It furthermore set out to identify the factors that contributed to the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage. Based on the analyses of the quantitative and qualitative data, it can be concluded that the initital observation of the vitality of Latvian in Canada proved to be only partially correct. Although Latvian is still being spoken at the group level and the survey respondents have a good command of Latvian, the language has begun to give way to English, and language maintenance is endangered. Section 6.1.1 summarizes the reasons for language endangerment, explains how the results of the interviews and the composition of the group of survey respondents may serve as an explanation for the

EuLaViBarMig score, and clarifies to what extent heritage-language attrition has started to set in also in the Latvian diaspora in Canada.

The maintenance of the Latvian linguistic heritage over the past 70 years mainly results from the strong community structures and institutions the DPs established after their immigration. These were guided by the commitment to the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage, which was reinforced by the forced exile situation. The community structures, however, did not only help maintain the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage, they furthermore helped the group adapt to Canadian society. The group gradually developed a Canadian-Latvian dual identity, which is described by the interviewees as being based on a new sense of home, i.e. feeling at home in Canada but at the same time in the Latvian culture, and on a collective memory formed by a Latvian cultural memory and a Canada-influenced communicative memory. Section 6.1.2 thus argues that this dual identity represents integration.

6.1.1 Latvian-language attrition has become a serious threat

The analysis of the vitality of Latvian within the Latvian diaspora in Canada revealed that the respondents have in general a good command of Latvian, but language maintenance is nevertheless endangered due to decreasing language use and intergenerational transmission. The analysis thus suggests that the general developments in heritage-language attrition have started to set in also in the Canadian-Latvian group. Moreover, the analysis suggests that the respondents are not aware of the extent of language endangerment.

After Latvia had restored its independence in 1991, Matiss (1999: 6) suggested that due to the status of the community in exile, Latvians had been more successful in maintaining their cultural and linguistic heritage than other immigrant groups in Canada. Another 23 years later, the current study shows that Latvian-language capacity is indeed still at a good level, and the maintenance draws from the community and the Latvian

infrastructure that has been established by exile Latvians. Although the diaspora group has maintained its Latvian-language proficiency well over the past several decades, the EuLaViBarMig overall score of 1.68 suggests that the maintenance of Latvian in Canada is acutely endangered. Language endangerment mainly results from decreasing language use and intergenerational transmission. Given that Latvian cannot be used in public domains in Canada, the stronghold of the language is private domains such as family, and the community. The EuLaViBarMig results however show that in most cases, Latvian is no longer the predominant family language, which may result from the decreasing Latvian-language capacity of the respondents and an increasing number of mixed marriages that make it harder to speak and maintain Latvian in the family (see Section 4.1).

Despite the endangerment of Latvian in Canada, the speaker community seems satisfied with its situation and does not feel disadvantaged by Canadian legislation, which is characterized by tolerance of migrant languages but also by a certain indifference to migrant-language preservation, leaving this task almost entirely in the hands of the speaker communities. However, the respondents do not demand more state support or more Latvian language products. The EuLaViBarMig results suggest the respondents support the toleration-oriented language rights in Canada (see Section 4.2) and think that the maintenance of their language is a private matter that should not be legislated. Amit and Bar-Lev (2015) suggest that life satisfaction positively correlates with a sense of belonging, and the ELDIA IntBar results support this view, showing that the group feels at home in Canada by now. Forty-five percent of the respondents were already born in Canada, and almost 55% of those who immigrated have been living in Canada for more than 40 years. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents hold a Canadian passport, and the majority have no intention of leaving (see Section 4.3).

Latvians in Canada have adapted to the nation state

Chapter 5 showed that the Canadian-Latvian dual identity explains how Canada could become a new home. Moreover, it may also serve as an explanation for the respondents' opinion that language maintenance is a private and/or community responsibility, because it reflects the situation the DPs found after their immigration: They were granted cultural freedom and could establish cultural organizations. Their professional life was however Canadian, and they were expected not only to fulfil their initial labour contracts but also a

> social contract assumed by Canadian participants in the process: that new-comers would be engaged in productive labour; provide housing for themselves and their families; take an active role in the life of the community; learn the language; and maintain a high standard of political loyalty. (Gilmour 2009: 155)

Moreover, they were expected to become Canadian citizens, and this study shows that the interviewees have not only fulfilled these "contracts", they have also agreed to the terms and conditions. The content of the "social contract" represents a Canadian attempt to promote nationalism, i.e. the identification and loyalty of its population with the state. In the Canadian case, however, it is less about ethnic nationalism, the "idea […] that nations are defined by a shared heritage, which usually includes a common language, a common faith, and a common ethnic ancestry" (Muller 2008: 20). Instead, the country rather represents what can be called liberal or civic nationalism (Banting et al. 2019; Muller 2008), the idea that a nation shares political values rather than ethnicity. The current study suggests that Canada has been fairly successful in the promotion of nationalism and inclusion of the former DPs into the nation. In her study on Estonian DPs in Canada and Sweden, Björkman-Bennich (2006) found that Canadian Estonians have in general a good level of trust in public institutions in Canada and evaluate democracy positively. And just as much as Latvians established their cultural institutions and communities in Canada to promote and consume Latvian nationalism, they also have adapted to the Canadian nation state and identify with it. The values

they emphasize as being important to them and that define their Canadian identity are those that are protected by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms – and thus part of the Constitution of Canada – and those associated with and promoted by Canadian multiculturalism (see Section 2.1). With regard to language policies, Canadian Latvians thus seem to agree to what Haque (2005) calls "multilingualism within a bilingual framework". This focus on the official bilingualism without long-term political support for migrant-language preservation contributes however to language shift by immigrant groups (see Section 2.1), and the results of the current study support this view.

A further explanation for the general satisfaction of the survey resspondents may be their high average age. As emphasized in Chapter 4, most respondents have experienced a community life that used to be richer than today (e.g. more Latvian schools). They report being bilingual and can easily switch between Latvian and English. As individuals, they are able to live in two cultures and take the positives of both. Hence, there is rather the feeling of being personally richer, as shown in Chapter 5, and of having successfully contributed to the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage in Canada, not of having lost something or of being about to lose it. This general satisfaction with the status quo of the Latvian language in Canada, however, may prevent the group from seeing the broader picture, i.e. that the language is acutely endangered which may ultimately result in a loss of the Latvian culture in Canada.

The history of Canadian Latvians has shown how important the community has been for the language and its maintenance so far; communities are important to provide a social space for the language (Fishman 2007: 79), which can also be observed with the efforts of other migrant groups. Da Rosa and Teixeiera (2009: 220) claim that the institutions established by Portuguese immigrants in Québec "dominate their socio-cultural life and not only preserve and promote their language and culture but also promote friendship and solidarity through a range of social, cultural, and recreational activities". The community nevertheless faces the challenge of getting new/young speak-

ers involved because some feel the communities are dominated by elderly people who hold on to the past and only allow Portuguese-language use (Armando Oliviera 2009: 93/94). Latvians in Canada are facing similar challenges, and this illustrates the conflict that can arise: On the one hand, the community institutions provide an important social space for the heritage language, on the other hand less proficient heritage-language speakers may feel excluded by the language policies and traditions of those institutions, which shows how those policies may also create community-internal boundaries between its members.

Although heritage-language communities almost all face the same challenges in terms of language maintenance, previous studies give only limited evidence that decreasing language capacity and transmission in heritage-language communities can be reversed. With regard to the US and its colonial languages French, Spanish and German – and the exception of Pennsylvania Dutch – Fishman points out that

> it speaks volumes about our lack of appreciation for heritage languages that there has been almost no intergenerational mother tongue language transmission among the speakers of this trio of languages, who can trace their roots back to colonial times. (Fishman 2001: 84)

The decreasing heritage-language use and transmission for the benefit of the majority language seem to be rather "recurrent similarities across different heritage languages, which indicate the universality of underlying processes" (Polinsky and Scontras 2020: 4) and eventually lead to heritage-language attrition, whether or not the heritage language is widely spoken (Fishman 2001: 85). Given that heritage languages are usually restricted to specific contexts (e.g. private domains) and the majority language is more widely used, heritage-language proficiency hardly develops further without schooling, and the majority language becomes the stronger one in the speakers' repertoire (Montrul 2012: 8). Deficits in the heritage grammar – compared to the majority language – can occur on almost any level, including sound system, morphology and syntactic structure (Benmamoun et al. 2013; Polinsky and Kagan 2007).

Although the current study does not focus on the specific linguistic abilities of Latvian-language speakers[30], the EuLaViBarMig results confirm the existence of the general developments in heritage-language attrition in the Latvian diaspora in Canada. Moreover, the general satisfaction of the respondents of the current study with the status and vitality of Latvian and their limited interest in the use of Latvian language products raise the question to what extent they are aware of the endangerment of Latvian in Canada.

The recurrence of certain similarities in heritage-language attrition that are independent from the actual size of the speaker community can also be observed in Canada. According to the 2016 census, almost 50% of the immigrants in Canada are from Asia. Within the group of recent immigrants[31], their proportion is in fact more than 60%. A group that has grown significantly is Koreans (Jeon 2012: 149). Despite major differences between Koreans and Latvians in terms of group size, length of residence in Canada[32] and opportunities to learn the languages, Jeon's (2012) study on Korean-language maintenance in Canada nonetheless shows similarities to the Latvian group, including decreasing language transmission, the loss of Korean as the dominant language in literacy practices and media consumption, and English-language proficiency that exceeds the heritage-language proficiency. Similar observations were made by Canagarajah (2008) with regard to the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Canada and by Hudyma (2011) with regard to Ukrainians in Canada. After several waves of immigration, starting in the 19th century, Ukrainians form one of the oldest migrant groups in Canada. Similar to Latvians, many were displaced during and after the Second World War and were resettled by IRO. Although Hudyma (2011: 188) found that Canadian Ukrainians had resisted

---

30 Other projects have compiled corpora of heritage languages that could provide insights into the linguistic abilities of their speakers. Focussing on Toronto, the Heritage Language Documentation Corpus (http://projects.chass.utoronto.ca/ngn/HLVC/0_0_home.php) targets cross-generational variation in ten different heritage languages (Latvian not included). Further corpora include The New England Corpus of Heritage and Second Language Speakers (http://digitalhumanities.umass.edu/projects/new-england-corpus-heritage-and-second-language-speakers) targeting Spanish and Portuguese, and bilingual corpora of a broad variety of languages hosted by the University of Hamburg, Germany (https://corpora.uni-hamburg.de/hzsk/en/repository-search).
31 Recent immigration refers to the period between the 2011 and 2016 censuses.
32 Koreans in Canada can be considered as one of the more recent immigrant groups (Jeon 2012: 166).

full assimilation into Canadian society, she nevertheless regards the language as "seriously endangered" and identifies limited intergenerational language transmission and relatively low levels of interest among young Canadian Ukrainians in language maintenance as two of the main reasons for the endangerment. All studies, including the current one, thus generally confirm previous research that found the life expectancy of heritage languages is three generations (Alba et al. 2002; Rumbaut et al. 2006).

6.1.2 Canadian-Latvian dual identity as a representation of integration

The interview analysis revealed that Latvians in Canada developed a dual identity which is based on a new sense of home and a distinct collective memory. The Canadian-Latvian dual identity is thereby an example of integration because it represents the maintenance of the heritage culture and the adaptation to the new host society. The developments in the Canadian-Latvian group and the decreasing Latvian-language maintenance may however result in assimilation.

For many DPs, integration in Canada was not the initial plan. The transformation of Canada from an unknown place into a new home was initiated with the intention to maintain the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage until Latvia restored its independence. One of the main themes that emerges in the interviews is the attempt to replicate Latvia spatially and socially (see Section 5.1.1). The successful replication of Latvia in terms of communities and cultural institutions then made it possible for the community members to live a Latvian life outside of their work or school environment and to transfer the social elements of *home* to Canada (see Section 5.1.2). Within their Latvian life, the interviewees describe the language as the key to the culture and their community. An active community was also a pull factor for Latvians from other, more remote regions in Canada to move to areas with a higher density of Latvians. And within the community, the image of Latvia that was to be maintained was described by many interviewees as romanticized and hence fairy-tale-like. Due to the transfer of the social elements of *home* from Latvia to Canada, Canada gradually became the new home (see

Section 5.1.3). Latvia as a geographic location became a place to visit, but the country nevertheless remained the cultural home of many.

This home-building process is stored in the communicative memory of Latvians in Canada. It comprises the past 80 to 100 years, and from the Latvian perspective, this time span has been dominated by the flight from Latvia to the West, the forced exile situation and the transformation of Canada into the émigrés' new home. Whereas the communicative memory comprises Canadian experiences, the cultural memory of Canadian Latvians represents the Latvian culture, its long history and centuries-old traditions (see Section 5.2.1). According to Assmann (2011), the cultural and the communicative memory form the collective memory of a group. The interview analysis showed how the split into a Latvian cultural memory and a Canadian-influenced communicative memory reflects the dual identity of Latvians in Canada. Moreover, the interviewees are proud of both the Latvian and the Canadian influences. They describe the Latvian culture and its elements, such as language and traditions, as a distinct feature that defines their Latvian identity. According to the interviewees, the multicultural Canadian society has no centuries-old culture and traditions, but shares certain values, including democracy and freedom, that are essential for the interviewees and that are therefore described as features which define their identity as Canadians.

Moreover, the thematic analysis of the interviews revealed that the Canadian-Latvian dual identity is based on different senses of belonging. The home-building process in Canada was initiated due to the group's strong sense of belonging to the free Latvia of the interwar period, its nation and to the cultural heritage it represents. In order to be able to celebrate this sense of belonging, promote and consume Latvian nationalism, and maintain the Latvian heritage, community centres were founded. These centres were inclusive to those who felt they belonged, but at the same time they created boundaries to other Latvians who decided to assimilate, and to the Canadian majority society (see Section 5.2).

Although the interviewees as members of the Latvian diaspora are aware of the differences compared to the Canadian majority society, they have nevertheless strongly identified with the values Canada represents, namely freedom, democracy and independence. These values stood in opposition to the Soviet Union and hence created and maintained a boundary to the USSR. The identification with those values was expressed by the unwillingness of the DPs to return to Soviet-occupied Latvia, but also through political activism in organizations that supported Latvia's independence movement.

Whereas the interviewees and/or their parents belonged to the group of displaced persons after WWII, this category today no longer applies to them. After 70 years in Canada, the interviewees belong to the Latvian diaspora. They strongly identify with the Latvian culture, but – as shown in Section 5.2 – also more with fellow Canadian Latvians than with Latvian Latvians. Not all of the interviewees can identify with the way Latvia developed after the restoration of independence, but they still identify with the values and beliefs of their diaspora community. Moreover, they see differences between their community and new Latvian immigrants with their individual motivation to leave Latvia, and they find it difficult to integrate the new immigrants into their community. They thereby make clear that the exile experience as such creates a boundary to other Latvians who belonged to Soviet-occupied Latvia.

From integration to assimilation?

Of the four acculturation strategies defined by Berry (2005), the belonging to both the Latvian and the Canadian culture and society furthermore represents integration in the sense that many Canadian Latvians maintained their cultural and linguistic heritage but nevertheless adapted to Canada. They identify with the country's values and have become bilingual. Latvians in Canada have in this way integrated "elements of the old and new contexts in a new whole" (Andersson and Thelander 1994: 79), i.e. a distinct Canadian-Latvian identity.

As highlighted at the beginning of this section, integrating into the Canadian society was not necessarily the initial plan of many DPs after WWII. They established Latvian institutions in order to maintain their heritage and live a rather Latvian life outside of their professional life. Moreover, they often had relatively limited English skills at the beginning. With regard to the four acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation, marginalization), this approach reflects an attempt to separate from the host society. Nonetheless, no complete separation took place because of the Canadian work/school environment – a situation that Aun (1985) observed in the Estonian diaspora in Canada as well. Over the years, the contact between Latvians and the Canadian majority society was strengthened, Latvians became increasingly bilingual, but nevertheless maintained their cultural and linguistic heritage. With regard to Berry's model, one can hence say that Latvians gradually integrated. The analyses of the European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages and the interviews also revealed, however, that language maintenance is acutely endangered, and the active community struggles getting new Latvian immigrants involved. If this development cannot be stopped or reversed, assimilation to the Canadian society may occur, resulting in a loss of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage in Canada.

Although Berry's model is rather static and does not look at processes, the developments in the Canadian-Latvian group – from an attempt to separate to possible assimilation in the future – show that the acculturation strategies of a non-dominant group may change over the years. The term strategy implies a certain degree of planning and active decisions, the current study however shows that changing the acculturation strategy may also be the result of unconscious decisions and developments.

As highlighted in Section 2.1, the acculturation strategy of a non-dominant group also depends on the host society. In order to make integration possible, for instance, the host society must seek multiculturalism, and with regard to heritage language maintenance, even long-term political support is needed. In the case of Latvians in Canada, the role of the Canadian policies was decisive in the integration process of the former

DPs. When Latvians moved to Canada after WWII, they were given jobs and cultural freedom, and their stay was intended to be permanent. The immigrants were expected to eventually become Canadian citizens (Gilmour 2009: 197). However, the Canadian integration strategy was not the norm at the time. Australia's immigration policies, for instance, followed a rather assimilationist approach (Clyne 1991; Hatoss 2020) in the post-war years. Germany's strategy was neither integration nor assimilation. When the country admitted foreign workers to fill labour gaps during the *Wirtschaftswunder*, the reconstruction and quick recovery of the West-German economy that started in the 1950s, admission was intended to be temporary (Berretta Soares 2010: 107). The workers were referred to as *Gastarbeiter* ('guest workers'), a term that also represents the idea the workers would eventually return to their home countries. Although many of them never did, multiculturalism has never become an official government policy in Germany. In Canada, on the other hand, the DP movement contributed to changing the immigration policy that used to be based on racial criteria into "one based on an applicant's potential economic contribution to the nation" (Gilmour 2009: 70), resulting in the implementation of a points system in 1967. Twenty-one years later the country adopted the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which acknowledged the country's multicultural heritage and formalized the government's commitment to its preservation.

Institutional support for migrant-language preservation, on the other hand, is hard to get for small migrant groups in Canada. However, Latvian DPs capitalized on the positive societal setting and the official legislation that allowed them to establish communities and thereby maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage. Kaprāns (2019) shows that a feeling of belonging to one's ethnic group or culture does not conflict with a feeling of belonging to the host country or hinder integration. It is rather the contrary. According to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, such feelings even reinforce the sense of belonging to Canada (Jedwab 2009: 86), and this can also be observed in the Latvian diaspora: The cultural freedom strengthened the group's identification with Canada, and supported its integration. The current study suggests that Latvians have adapted to the host society and its values, have become bilingual, and as a result have integrated.

By incorporating features of the Latvian and the Canadian cultures, the interviewees are able to move in both spheres, and so are their children, who are not minoritized or forced into one of the two cultures or societies. They have the choice and are able to successfully move in both.

The integration of Latvians in Canada furthermore offers an explanation for the limited return migration to Latvia, which was also observed in the American and the British communities (Gilbert 2002; Hinkle 2006). However, limited return migration of diaspora communities is not a specifically Latvian phenomenon. "Migration is a route of no return", Chiang (2011: 94) quotes from her interviews with Taiwanese return migrants. Limited return migration can be considered a phenomenon that is independent from the actual group. Latvians in Canada were in a forced exile situation with the belief, in the beginning, it was a temporary stay. Limited return migration can however also be observed in communities that voluntarily left their home country but nevertheless regarded their stay in the host country as temporary (e.g. Berretta Soares 2010 for Portuguese in Germany). While abroad, the country of origin may become "an idealized and consequent place of return" (Bilecen 2017: 84). Return migration is however often not put into effect, as also shown in Chapter 5. It remains a dream, or is even reversed. The reasons are complex and include a well-established social life in the host country and changes that have occurred during the time spent abroad – not only in the country of origin but also in the migrants themselves, who "often do not realize how much their attitudes have been altered by their experiences in a metropolitan society until they come home" (Chiang 2011: 97). Latvians in Canada have developed a dual identity that they consider an enrichment due to the influences of both cultures. However, the feeling of belonging to Canada as the place they call home is stronger than to Latvia given the presence of the social elements of *home* which have allowed them to continue being Latvian in Canada. The current study thus confirms Koroļeva's (2019) findings that Latvian émigrés are usually satisfied abroad because their quality of life has improved, and my study shows that this does not only apply to recent Latvian migration, which has been driven by economic considerations (McCollum et al. 2016: 1509), but also the

former DPs who left for political reasons. In fact, Chow (2007: 515) found that political motives can even strengthen the sense of belonging to the host country.

6.2 Recommendations for Latvian-language maintenance in Canada

This study has shown that the maintenance of Latvian in Canada is mainly the result of community-internal efforts and commitments that were initiated by the post-war immigrants. With the second- and third-generation Latvian immigrants being less proficient in Latvian than their parents and/or grandparents, language maintenance is however endangered. Drawing from the results of the EuLaViBarMig analysis, there are three main recommendations in order to maintain Latvian within the group:

(i)   raising the diaspora group's awareness of Latvian-language endangerment and interest in language maintenance, including the regular use of Latvian within private domains;

(ii)   analyzing the reasons for the lack of interest in Latvian-language media;

(iii)   making Latvian part of heritage-language instruction programs.

It is first of all important to address and raise the awareness of parents to speak Latvian at home. This includes the awareness of the benefits of bilingual upbringing in the case of mixed marriages, which is a common phenomenon in the Canadian multicultural society. Even though Canadian Latvians have successfully maintained several community schools, schooling alone is unlikely to be able to cover for decreasing language use in the family (e.g. Pauwels 2016: 91). Not only is the family the stronghold of any language, its importance in the Canadian-Latvian context is even higher due to the lack of community-external support for Latvian.

It should furthermore be analyzed why the interest of the speaker community to consume Latvian-language media is limited. The EuLaViBarMig results reveal that the majority of the respondents have access to such media. However, they make only irregular use of it. Analyzing the reasons could be useful in order to produce media and

content that is more widely accepted, which would then also be beneficial in the language-learning process.

In order to improve language learning, schooling needs to be fostered. As pointed out by numerous studies, the availability of education for speakers in their native language plays an important part in heritage-language preservation (Montrul 2012; Pauwels 2016; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). Five community-operated schools in the provinces of Ontario and Québec are not enough, especially in a country as large as Canada. Even larger Latvian communities such as Vancouver and Edmonton do not operate schools. However, it should not exclusively be a community responsibility to organize language instruction. Latvian should become part of heritage-language instruction programs. These are implemented differently in each province. The legal framework for heritage-language instruction usually exists, the advantages for the students have been recognized.[33] Since there needs to be sufficient enrolment, it is however hard to implement heritage-language instruction for migrant languages with a relatively low number of speakers, such as Latvian in Canada. In order to offer sustainable support for smaller migrant groups, heritage-language instruction should thus be offered independently of the number of enrolled students. Not only would this benefit the group – and its members in more remote parts of the country – it would also be in line with Canada's commitment to multiculturalism on the federal and provincial levels.[34]

6.3 Possible avenues for future research

This study discussed the reasons for the successful maintenance of Latvian, including the community structures and the development of a Canadian-Latvian dual identity, and gave recommendations for Latvian-language maintenance in Canada. My study

---

33 See for example the *Policy of Heritage Language Instruction* in Manitoba, https://www.edu.gov. mb.ca/k12/docs/policy/heritage/index.html (last accessed 2021-10-20).

34 "Cultural pluralism is a positive force in society. Education must assist students from different cultural backgrounds to develop self-esteem and strong sense of personal identify [sic] as Canadians and as members of their ethnocultural group through an awareness of their own cultural, linguistic, and historical heritage." (Manitoba Policy for Heritage Instruction).

has however also opened possibilities for future research in the field. These include studies concerning heritage-language maintenance and a further development of the European Language Diversity Barometer for Migrant Languages, as well as the different waves and motives of not only Latvian emigration. However, closer attention should also be paid to those who remigrated permanently.

The EuLaViBarMig in future research

Chapter 4 of the current study analyzed the vitality of Latvian within the Canadian-Latvian group. I furthermore discussed how the survey results should be read against the background of the high average age of the respondents. As a consequence of the high average age, the question can be raised if the survey results would have been different if the respondents had been younger or if the survey were repeated in the future when former DPs and their children no longer form the majority. By definition, the EuLaViBarMig measures the current state of a language and cannot be used to predict its future. Further studies with a different approach are necessary in order to analyze the long-term development of Latvian in Canada. For any future studies applying the EuLaViBarMig, I recommend however a couple of changes. As pointed out in Chapter 4, the EuLaViBarMig does not provide information about the respondents' spouses/ partners and their influence on the family language(s). Hence, a question on the native language of the respondents' spouse/partner could be included. So could questions on the country of birth of the respondents' parents. The survey questionnaire currently differentiates between first-generation immigrants and those who were born in the host country. However, it is not possible to identify whether respondents of the latter group belong to the second or third (or more) generation. Both suggested changes would not affect the calculation of the EuLaViBarMig scores, they would however allow for a better contextualisation and analysis of the results in terms of spousal and/or family characteristics.

The EuLaViBarMig provides information on the vitality of a migrant language, i.e. the results are related to the host country. The analysis in Chapter 4 revealed that the maintenance of Latvian in Canada is mainly the community's achievement. Latvian does not enjoy particular rights in Canada, nor do Canadian Latvians make any demands on policy makers. However, particularly in the context of small languages and large diaspora communities, the support of language maintenance by the country of origin can be decisive. Small communities often do not qualify for heritage-language instruction within the public educational system, and schooling is in the hands of the communities. The country of origin can therefore play a key role in language maintenance if it provides support according to the speakers' needs. Latvia has recognized this, offering language teaching and learning support for its diaspora. The EuLaViBarMig in its current form only asks about the knowledge and use of heritage-language media; there are no concrete questions about language-learning support coming from the country of origin. A possible major change of the EuLaViBarMig could therefore be the integration of the variable *language-learning support*, focussing on the support offered by the country of origin to its diaspora communities. Depending on the research focus and the country of origin (and whether there is a country that can be considered the country of origin of a certain migrant group), the variable can include support in terms of learning material, language courses or summer camps in the country of origin dedicated to the diaspora group, or teaching staff from the country of origin. In order to obtain information about both the existing support and the group's desire to make use of it, the new variable should contribute to the focus areas *Language Products* and *Desire*.

I would argue that there is almost always a certain kind of language-learning support coming from the country of origin, even if it is only the community-operated school that uses a textbook that was produced in the country of origin. This kind of support as part of heritage-language maintenance, however, is currently not part of the EuLaViBarMig. The integration of the new variable would thus better reflect the current situation, providing more concrete information about existing support and resources from the country of origin. It would furthermore provide information on the group's needs

in terms of outside support. Especially with regard to small migrant groups, this information can be beneficial to obtain in order to plan bottom-up informed learning support, but also to evaluate existing support.

Investigating the different waves of migration

Latvian migration is characterized by two main waves of emigration, the politically motivated forced migration towards the end of the Second World War and the economically driven voluntary migration after Latvia's accession to the EU. These waves led to the so-called old and new Latvian diaspora. They do not necessarily meet in the same institutions, which led Saulītis and Mieriņa (2019) to conclude that the wave of migration plays an important role in the identity construction of Latvians abroad. At the same time, my study found similarities between Latvians in Canada and the UK (Kaprāns 2019) in terms of attitudes towards the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage while nevertheless adapting to the host society (see Chapter 3). The results show the research potential that lies in the different waves of Latvian migration, not only in terms of forced and voluntary migration, but also taking into account the different circumstances: Today, new, younger migrants do not necessarily get involved with communities that are based on the structures of the old diaspora. Nonetheless, new diaspora communities also make attempts to establish community structures and also schools, which is shown, for instance, by the new and still small Latvian community in Dubai (Sindi 2021). Furthermore, open borders make traveling between Latvia and the diaspora countries easier, and modern technology allows easier communication (within the diaspora group and with peers in Latvia) compared to the time when the community in Canada was founded. Possible avenues for future diaspora research could thus be to analyze the impact of these factors on language maintenance, identity formation, transnational identities and community-building.

The aforementioned factors are not only important within the Latvian context. Increasing migration – forced and voluntary – as well as different migration patterns continu-

ously lead to the formation of new communities.[35] Moreover, global migration flows are characterized by a diversity that goes beyond the categories of forced and voluntary migration. It can be intended to be permanent or temporary, it can have personal, economic or political reasons. Furthermore, immigrant groups in themselves have become more diverse in terms of

> immigration statuses and their concomitant entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent labour market experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, patterns of spatial distribution, and mixed local area responses by service providers and residents. (Vertovec 2007: 1025)

It is the interplay of these factors that Vertovec calls *super-diversity*. It can be considered a "diversity of diversity", which creates novel demands for states, societies or municipalities, but also legislation, in terms of managing integration or providing services in migrant languages, for example. In order to succeed, a broader understanding of immigration and integration that goes beyond the analysis of the factors that have been identified as positively contributing to integration such as state-language proficiency, employment and housing (see Chapter 2) is therefore needed, and more focus needs to be directed to the perspective of the immigrants, including their migration motivations, sociodemographic characteristics, including family characteristics (Chow 2007), lived experiences in the host country, and needs. Further research should thus analyze the impact of those factors and variables not only on the migration and integration experience but also on identity formation and language maintenance in diaspora communities. Given the increase in global migration, diaspora communities will gain importance in terms of maintaining the cultural and linguistic heritage, which can be observed primarily in countries that have suffered from massive emigration. Depending on the size, migrant groups will furthermore gain political and economic influence in their host country.

---

35 See, for instance, the Syrian community in Germany. Due to the Syrian civil war, the number of Syrians in Germany increased from 56,901 in 2013 to 818,460 in 2020. As a consequence, Syrians have become the third largest group of immigrants in Germany (Destatis 2021: 27-30).

Focus on the returnees

As highlighted earlier, return migration from diaspora communities to Latvia was below expectations, and negative net migration is still one of the biggest challenges that Latvia faces. Emigrant groups have thus become one of the main foci in Baltic studies. Most of the research focuses however on those who have been unwilling to return to Latvia, their reasons and (economic) situation abroad. The perspective of those who did return – and stayed – is still underrepresented (Kļave and Šūpule 2019: 261). Investigating their motivation, but also the obstacles they had to overcome, would however add valuable insights to the understanding of migration and remigration.

The group of returnees is diverse in itself. With regard to the old diaspora, most of the first-generation Latvian emigrants are today old and thus no longer consider remigration. However, several interviewees of my study mentioned they had children – or grandchildren – who were currently living in Latvia. Given that they were born in Canada, moving to Latvia can hardly be called "return". Nevertheless, the Latvian culture and language were present during their upbringing, and created a particular tie to the country, which is likely to have influenced their decision to move. The "return" migration of the younger diaspora generation is not a Latvian-specific topic. Attracting a well-educated young generation could be beneficial to almost any country, because the young generation's "multicultural […] background […] can be regarded as a new strand of global human capital" (Chiang 2011: 94). Within this form of remigration thus lie several possibilities for future research. This includes identity-related topics in order to understand the relationship they developed towards their ancestral homeland. Moreover, from the country's perspective, it adds to the understanding of what it needs to stop negative net migration and the so-called brain drain that is associated with it.

Research on Latvian migration suggests that Latvia's economic situation is one of the main factors of current emigration, leading to emigrant groups that tend not to remigrate because they have in general been able to improve their quality of life abroad.

However, "in this transnational era, migration is a process, not a single act of leaving, nor easily explained by a single theory" (Chiang 2011: 101). Chiang investigated return migration among 1.5-generation Taiwanese immigrants from Canada and New Zealand, and sees an increasing mobility of younger generations. She therefore prefers calling them transnationals instead of return migrants (2011: 101). In her interview-based study, she identified three main reasons for remigration: family and marriage, employment, and personal aspirations (2011: 108). These reasons differ tremendously from the rather emotional reasons Kļave and Šūpule (2019) found. They interviewed first-generation Latvian emigrants who returned to Latvia after having spent some years abroad. Their reasons for returning were mainly homesickness, also in terms of being surrounded by their native language again, a sense of belonging to Latvia, and the longing for Latvian nature and weather (2019: 273).

Even those two studies alone already indicate some of the research potential that derives from the internal diversity of the group of return migrants: Depending on the immigrant generation they belong to, the motivations to return or move to the (ancestral) homeland are likely to differ, and further research is necessary to understand the reasons behind the migration process and the impact of the returnees' transnational and multicultural experiences and education. Furthermore, there are the contexts of forced and voluntary migration, and the question can be raised if and to what extent these contexts influence return migration, especially for the second- and third-generation immigrants who were not involved in the initial decision to emigrate.

With regard to the remigration of first-generation emigrants, the rather emotional reasons for remigration that Kļave and Šūpule (2019) found are precisely the reasons other studies mentioned as not being enough for the majority of Latvians abroad to return (see Chapter 1). These findings suggest that it is not simply the opposite reasons of those unwilling to return that motivate others to remigrate. Instead, the studies show that (re-)migration is a complex phenomenon. The reasons behind it seem to go beyond economic factors, and further – large-scale – research is needed in order to analyze also

the economic situation and status of the returnees and the interplay of emotional and economic considerations.

6.4 Final remarks

This study revealed that the foundation for language maintenance was laid by the Latvian DPs who immigrated after the Second World War. They established community centres and structures that provided for the maintenance of the Latvian cultural and linguistic heritage. However, these structures have not only helped Canadian Latvians maintain their heritage but also integrate into the host country, which they call home today. Although the participants of this study have in general still a good command of Latvian, language maintenance as reached a pivotal point as the language has begun to give way in the second and third generation of Latvian immigrants, and its maintenance is thus acutely endangered.

By measuring the vitality of Latvian in Canada, the current study – being the first implementation of the novel European Language Vitality Barometer for Migrant Languages – shows how the barometer toolkit can be applied to systematically collect and process data on basically any migrant language in order to measure its vitality and identify its speakers' needs. The master questionnaire, which is part of my study on the Latvian language in Germany (Kruse 2021), needs to be adjusted in order to meet the specific context of a migrant language and its speakers in a given host country. Based on the results of the current study, I have furthermore given recommendations on how to develop the EuLaViBarMig toolkit further for future studies.

With regard to the host country, it is always important to contextualize the data and analyze them against the background of the history, legal framework and circumstances of that country. Canadian policies, for instance, are a representation of the country's immigration history and hence multicultural society. The country in its current form is a country built by immigrants, and the immigration experience is part of almost

every family history. This forms a major difference compared to European countries for example, and it is thus difficult to say – and remains to be investigated – if and to what extent Canadian immigration and integration experiences can be transferred to the European context.

Although the contexts in Canada and Europe differ, the results of the current study show that a group's commitment to the maintenance of its cultural and linguistic heritage does not express unwillingness to integrate into the host country, as it is sometimes expressed by (right-wing) populist parties. In fact, heritage maintenance is an essential part of integration.

References

Adler, Max K. 1977. *Collective and individual bilingualism*: *A sociolinguistic study,* 1. Aufl. Hamburg: Buske.

Ager, Alastair and Alison Strang. 2008. Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21(2). 166–191.

Alba, Richard, John Logan, Amy Lutz and Brian Stults. 2002. Only English by the third generation? Loss and preservation of the mother tongue among the grandchildren of contemporary immigrants. *Demography* 39(3). 467–484.

Alexander, Jeffrey C., Bernard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, Piotr Sztompka and Ron Eyerman. 2004. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity.* CA: University of California Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pp9nb.

Amit, Karin and Shirly Bar-Lev. 2015. Immigrants' Sense of Belonging to the Host Country: The Role of Life Satisfaction, Language Proficiency, and Religious Motives. *Social Indicators Research* 124(3). 947–961.

Anderson, Benedict R. O.'G. 2006. *Imagined communities*: *Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism,* Revised ed. London: Verso.

Andersson, Roger and Mats Thelander. 1994. Internal Migration, Biography Formation, and Linguistic Change. In Bengt Nordberg (ed.). *The sociolinguistics of urbanization. The case of the Nordic countries* (Soziolinguistik und Sprachkontakt 7), 51–86. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Anthias, Floya. 2009. Translocational Belonging, Identity and Generation: Questions and Problems in Migration and Ethnic Studies. *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration* 4(1). 6–15.

Anthias, Floya. 2013. *Identity and Belonging*: *conceptualisations and political framings.* https://kompetenzla.uni-koeln.de/sites/fileadmin2/WP_Anthias.pdf (accessed 19 September 2021).

Antonsich, Marco. 2010. Searching for Belonging - An Analytical Framework. *Geography Compass* 4(6). 644–659.

Armando Oliviera, Manuel. 2009. Azorean Diaspora and Cultural Retention in Montreal and Toronto. In Carlos Teixeira and Victor M. Da Rosa (eds.). *The Portuguese in Canada. Diasporic Challenges and Adjustment*, Second Edition, 91–108. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Assmann, Jan. 2008. Communicative and Cultural Memory. In Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.). *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, 109–118. Berlin, New York.

Assmann, Jan. 2011. *Cultural memory and early civilization*: *Writing, remembrance, and political imagination.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi. org/10.1017/CBO9780511996306.

Aun, Karl. 1985. *The political refugees*: *A history of the Estonians in Canada* (Generations a history of Canada's peoples). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart [u.a.].

Banko, Lauren, Katarzyna Nowak and Peter Gatrell. 2022. What is refugee history, now? *Journal of Global History* 17(1). 1–19. DOI: 10.1017/s1740022821000243.

Banting, Keith, Allison Harell, Will Kymlicka and Rebecca Wallace. 2019. *Liberal Nationalism and Its Critics.* Oxford University Press.

Bastian, Andrea. 1995. *Der Heimat-Begriff*: *Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung in verschiedenen Funktionsbereichen der deutschen Sprache* (Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 159). Berlin: De Gruyter. http://www.degruyter.com/doi/ book/10.1515/9783110917451.

Benmamoun, Elabbas, Silvina Montrul and Maria Polinsky. 2013. Heritage languages and their speakers: Opportunities and challenges for linguistics. *Theoretical Linguistics* 39(3-4).

Bennich-Björkman, Li. 2006. A Political Culture in Exile: The Estonian Inter-war Generation in Canada and Sweden. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 37(1). 68–93.

Berretta Soares, Cristina. 2010. Die portugiesische Auswanderung nach Deutschland: eine empirische Untersuchung. In Teresa Pinheiro (ed.). *Portugiesische Migrationen. Geschichte, Repräsentation und Erinnerungskulturen*, 1. Aufl. (Beiträge zur Regional- und Migrationsforschung), 107–130. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften / GWV Fachverlage GmbH Wiesbaden.

Berry, J. W. 2004. Acculturation. In *Encyclopedia of Applied Psychology*, 27–34: Elsevier.

Berry, John W. 2005. Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29(6). 697–712.

Bevelander, Pieter, Mirjam Hagström and Sofia Rönnqvist (eds.). 2009. *Resettled and Included?*: *The employment integration of resettled refugees in Sweden.* Malmö.

Bilecen, Basak. 2017. Home-making practices and social protection across borders: An example of Turkish migrants living in Germany. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 32(1). 77–90.

Bleiere, Daina. 2008. *Geschichte Lettlands*: *20. Jahrhundert.* Riga: Jumava.

Bloch, Alice. 2022. Reflections and directions for research in refugee studies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43(3). 436–459. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2020.1677928.

Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 2000. Beyond 'Identity'. *Theory and Society* 29(1). 1–47.

Bruns, Diedrich and Daniel Münderlein. 2019. Internationale Konzepte zur Erklärung von Mensch-Ort-Beziehungen. In Martina Hülz, Olaf Kühne and Florian Weber (eds.). *Heimat. Ein vielfältiges Konstrukt*, 1st ed. 2019 (RaumFragen: Stadt Region Landschaft, 2625-6991), 99–119. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall. 2005. Language and Identity. In Alessandro Duranti (ed.). *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, 369–394: Wiley. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1002/9780470996522.ch16.

Canagarajah, A. S. 2008. Language shift and the family: Questions from the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(2). 143–176.

Central Statistics Bureau of Latvia. 2021. *More rapid decline in population*. https://stat.gov.lv/en/statistics-themes/population/population-number/press-releases/6935-number-population-latvia-2020?themeCode=IR (accessed 24 June 2021).

Chiang, Lan-Hung N. 2011. Return Migration: The Case of the 1.5 Generation of Taiwanese in Canada and New Zealand. *China Review* 11(2). 91–123.

City of Montréal. 2021. *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*. https://portail-m4s.s3.montreal.ca/pdf/montreal_charter_of_rights_and_responsabilities_0.pdf (accessed 30 September 2020).

Clyne, Michael G. 1991. *Community languages*: *The Australian experience.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511597084.

Cohen, Anthony P. 1998. *The symbolic construction of community* (Key ideas). London: Routledge.

Colla, Micaella Elizabeth. 2018. The Impact of Ancestral Language Maintenance on Cultural Identity Among White Immigrant Descendants. A Phenomenological Qualitative Study. *Doctoral Dissertations, 475*. https://repository.usfca.edu/diss/475 (accessed 21 July 2022).

Connor, Phillip. 2010. Explaining the Refugee Gap: Economic Outcomes of Refugees versus Other Immigrants. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 23(3). 377–397.

Cuba, Lee and David M. Hummon. 1993. Constructing a Sense of Home: Place Affiliation and Migration across the Life Cycle. *Sociological Forum* 8(4). 547–572.

Da Rosa, Victor M. and Carlos Teixeira. 2009. The Portuguese Community in Quebec. In Carlos Teixeira and Victor M. Da Rosa (eds.). *The Portuguese in Canada. Diasporic Challenges and Adjustment*, Second Edition, 209–225. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Destatis. 2021. *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit: Ausländische Bevölkerung.* Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters 2020. https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Migration-Integration/Publikationen/Downloads-Migration/auslaend-bevoelkerung-2010200207004.pdf;jsessionid=6952C0024D70D47592A1BC1B312342F9.live741?__blob=publicationFile (accessed 26 April 2021).

Duyvendak, Jan W. 2011. *The politics of home: Belonging and nostalgia in Western Europe and the United States.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. http://site.ebrary.com/lib/alltitles/docDetail.action?docID=10481691.

Eckersley, Susannah. 2017a. 'People-Place-Process' and Attachment in the Museum. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 26(2). 6–30.

Eckersley, Susannah. 2017b. Changing Places, Changing People. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 26(2). 1–5.

Edwards, John. 2010. Sociopolitical Aspects of Language Maintenance and Loss: Towards a Typology of Minority Language Situations. In Willem Fase, Koen Jaspaert and Sjaak Kroon (eds.). *Maintenance and loss of minority languages* (Studies in bilingualism vol. 1), 37–54. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

Eigler, Friederike. 2012. Critical Approaches to Heimat and the "Spatial Turn". *New German Critique* 39(1). 27–48.

Ellyson, Catherine, Lemoine H. Andrew Caroline and Clément Richard. 2015. *Multilingualism in Toronto: LUCIDE city report.* https://www.languagescompany.com/wp-content/uploads/14_1221-Rev-Toronto-LUCIDE-Report-V3_HRONLINE.pdf (accessed 25 March 2021).

Esser, Hartmut. 2006. *Migration, Language and Integration.* https://bibliothek.wzb.eu/pdf/2006/iv06-akibilanz4b.pdf (accessed 12 February 2020).

Fishman, Joshua A. 1991. *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages* (Multilingual matters 76). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Fishman, Joshua A. 2001. 300-Plus Years of Heritage Language Education in the United States. In Joy Kreeft Peyton (ed.). *Heritage languages in America. Preserving a national resource ; [based on papers presented at the First National Conference on Heritage Languages in America, held Oct. 1999, in Long Beach, Calif.]*, 81–97. McHenry, Ill.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Fishman, Joshua A. 2007. What Do You Lose When You Lose Your Language? In Gina Cantoni (ed.). *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*, revised edition, 71–81. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University. https://jan.ucc.nau.edu/jar/SIL.pdf.

Fishman, Joshua A. 2010. Why is it so Hard to Save a Threatened Language? In Joshua A. Fishman (ed.). *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift, revisited : a 21st century perspective* (Multilingual matters 116), 1–22. Clevedon England, Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Forbes, Hugh Donald. 2019. *Multiculturalism in Canada. Constructing a Model Multiculture with Multicultural Values.* 1st ed. 2019. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan (Springer eBooks Religion and Philosophy).

Fox, Jon E. and Cynthia Miller-Idriss. 2008. Everyday nationhood. In: *Ethnicities* 8 (4), S. 536–563. DOI: 10.1177/1468796808088925.

García, Ofelia. 2009. Education, Multilingualism and Translanguaging in the 21st Century. In Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Robert Phillipson, Ajit K. Mohanty and Minati Panda (eds.). *Social Justice through Multilingual Education*, 140–158: Multilingual Matters.

Garoza, Ilze. 2011. *Defining boundaries between two immigrant waves from Latvia*: *a study of Latvian supplementary schools in the U.S.* https://hdl.handle.net/11299/116895 (accessed 24 September 2021).

Gilbert, Emily. 2002. The Impact of Homeland Independence on the Latvian Community in Great Britain. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 33(3). 280–306. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43212484.

Gilmour, Julie F. 2009. *The Kind of People Canada Wants*: *Canada and the Displaced Persons 1943-1953*. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/29949/1/Gilmour_Julie_Frances_200906_PhD_thesis.pdf (accessed 10 November 2018).

Gmelch, George. 1980. Return Migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9. 135–159.

Government of Canada. 2012. *Canadian Multiculturalism*: *An Inclusive Citizenship*. https://web.archive.org/web/20140312210113/http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/citizenship.asp (accessed 30 September 2020).

Guardado, Martin. 2018. *Discourse, Ideology and Practice*: *Micro and Macro Perspectives in Language Development and Maintenance* (Contributions to the Sociology of Language /CSL] Ser v.104). Boston: De Gruyter Inc. https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gbv/detail.action?docID=4749707.

Hage, Ghassan. 2010. Migration, Food, Memory, and Home-Building. In Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz (eds.). *Memory. Histories, Theories, Debates*, 416–427. New York: Fordham University Press.

Haque, Eve. 2005. *Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework*: *Language and the racial ordering of difference and belonging in Canada*. http://www.malsmb.ca/docs/multiculturalism-within-a-bilingual-framework.pdf (accessed 3 September 2021).

Harrison, Brian. 2000. Passing on the language: Heritage language diversity in Canada. *Canadian Social Trends* 58. 14–19. https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/en/catalogue/11-008-X20000025165 (accessed 7 May 2021).

Hatoss, Anikó. 2020. Agency and ideology in language maintenance: Hungarian immigrants' narratives on assimilationist post-war Australia. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 17(4). 411–429.

Hilton, Laura. 2009. Cultural Nationalism in Exile: The Case of Polish and Latvian Displaced Persons. *The Historian* 71(2). 280–317.

Hinkle, Maija. 2006. Latvian-Americans in the Post-Soviet era: Cultural factors on return migration in oral history interviews. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 37(1). 48–67.

Hopkins, Nick. 2011. Dual Identities and Their Recognition: Minority Group Members' Perspectives. *Political Psychology* 32(2). 251–270.

Hudyma, Khrystyna. 2011. Ukrainian language in Canada: From prosperity to extinction? *Working Papers of the Linguistics Circle of the University of Victoria* 21. 181–189.

Jacobmeyer, Wolfgang. 1985. *Vom Zwangsarbeiter zum Heimatlosen Ausländer*: *Die Displaced Persons in Westdeutschland 1945 - 1951*. Zugl.: Hannover, Univ., Habil.-Schr., 1985 (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 65). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00052483-8 andnbsp;

Jaspal, Rusi and Marco Cinnirella. 2012. The construction of ethnic identity: Insights from identity process theory. *Ethnicities* 12(5). 503–530.

Jedwab, Jack. 2009. National Identities and Social Integration in Canada and Israel. *Canadian Universe* 1(1). 73-96.

Jeon, Mihyon. 2012. Korean-Language Maintenance in Canada. In Ann H. Kim, Marianne S. Noh and Samuel Noh (eds.). *Korean immigrants in Canada. Perspectives on migration, integration, and the family* (Asian Canadian studies), 149–170. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt2tv1z1.

Kalniņš, Ilze V. 1979. The Canadian non-official languages study: Implications for Baltic language retention. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 10(1). 5–9.

Kaprāns, Mārtiņš. 2019. Latvian Migrants in Great Britain: 'The Great Departure', Transnational Identity and Long Distance Belonging. In Rita Kaša and Inta Mieriņa (eds.). *The Emigrant Communities of Latvia. National Identity, Transnational Belonging, and Diaspora Politics*, 1st ed. 2019 (IMISCOE Research Series, 2364-4087), 119–144. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Kaša, Rita and Inta Mieriņa (eds.). 2019. *The Emigrant Communities of Latvia*: *National Identity, Transnational Belonging, and Diaspora Politics,* 1st ed. 2019 (IMISCOE Research Series, 2364-4087). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Kelly, Mary E. and Joane Nagel. 2002. Ethnic re-identification: Lithuanian Americans and Native Americans. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28(2). 275–289.

Ķešāne, Iveta. 2011. Emigration and Identity. In Brigita Zepa and Evija Klave (eds.). *Latvia. Human Development Report 2010/2011. National Identity, Mobility and Capability*, 70–76. Riga.

Kivimäki, Ville, Sami Suodenjoki and Tanja Vahtikari. 2021. Lived Nation: Histories of Experience and Emotion in Understanding Nationalism. In: Ville Kivimäki, Sami Suodenjoki and Tanja Vahtikari (Hg.): *Lived Nation as the History of Experiences and Emotions in Finland, 1800-2000.* Cham: Springer International Publishing (Palgrave Studies in the History of Experience), S. 1–28.

Kļave, Evija and Inese Šūpule. 2019. Return Migration Process in Policy and Practice. In Rita Kaša and Inta Mieriņa (eds.). *The Emigrant Communities of Latvia. National Identity, Transnational Belonging, and Diaspora Politics*, 1st ed. 2019 (IMISCOE Research Series, 2364-4087), 261–282. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Kloss, Heinz. 1977. *The American bilingual tradition* (Studies in bilingual education). Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Koroļeva, Ilze. 2019. The Complex Identities of Latvians Abroad: What Shapes a Migrant's Sense of Belonging? In Rita Kaša and Inta Mieriņa (eds.). *The Emigrant Communities of Latvia. National Identity, Transnational Belonging, and Diaspora Politics*, 1st ed. 2019 (IMISCOE Research Series, 2364-4087), 69–96. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Kruse, Eleonore. 2021. Implementing the European Language Vitality Barometer in a Migration Context: A Case Study on Latvian in Germany. *Studies in European Language Diversity* 35.

Kühne, Olaf and Annette Spellerberg. 2010. *Heimat in Zeiten erhöhter Flexibilitätsanforderungen*: *Empirische Studien im Saarland.* Wiesbaden: VS Verl. für Sozialwiss. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92294-2.

Laakso, Johanna, Anneli Sarhimaa, Athanasia Spiliopoulou Åkermark and Reetta Toivanen. 2016. *Towards openly multilingual policies and practices*: *Assessing minority language maintenance across Europe* (Linguistic diversity and language rights 11). Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Lähdesmäki, Tuuli, Tuija Saresma, Kaisa Hiltunen, Saara Jäntti, Nina Sääskilahti, Antti Vallius and Kaisa Ahvenjärvi. 2016. Fluidity and flexibility of "belonging": Uses of the concept in contemporary research. *Acta Sociologica* 59(3). 233–247.

Landweer, M. L. 2012. Methods of language endangerment research: A perspective from Melanesia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2012(214).

Latvian Public Broadcasting. 2021. *Latvia develops diaspora policy plan.* https://eng.lsm.lv/article/society/latvians-abroad/latvia-develops-diaspora-policy-plan.a388987/ (accessed 202109-17).

Lee, Rennie. 2018. Spousal Characteristics and Language Use at Home: Immigrants and Their Descendants in Canada. *Sociological Perspectives* 61(6). 874–893.

Lewis, M. P. and Gary F. Simons. 2010. Assessing Endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 55(2). 103–120.

Martin, Susan F. 2014. Forced Migration in North America. In Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and Nando Sigona (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, 677–689: Oxford University Press.

Matiss, Ilze A. 1999. *Lives in changing contexts*: *A life history analysis of Latvian-Canadian women's stories about being Latvian* (Canadian theses = Thèses canadiennes). Ottawa: National Library of Canada = Bibliothèque nationale du Canada.

McAuliffe, Marie, Binod Khadria and Céline Bauloz. 2019. *World migration report 2020,* 10th. Geneva: IOM.

McCollum, David, Elina Apsite-Berina, Maris Berzins and Zaiga Krisjane. 2016. Overcoming the crisis: The changing profile and trajectories of Latvian migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43(9). 1508–1525.

Mieriņa, Inta. 2019. *Well-being, integration and liquid migration.* https://migracija.lv/en/projects/well-being-integration-liguid-migration/ (accessed 30 September 2021).

Miezitis, Solveiga. 1990. Ethnic Identity Development: A Comparative Study of Active and Non-Active Second Generation Youth in the Latvian Community. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 21(3). 259–288.

Montrul, Silvina. 2012. *Is the Heritage Language like a Second Language?* https://www.nhlrc.ucla.edu/media/files/EUROSLA-YEARBOOK-2012-text-yz-rvu.pdf (accessed 5 July 2021).

Mostofi, Nilou. 2003. Who We Are: The Perplexity of Iranian-American Identity. *The Sociological Quarterly* 44(4). 681–703.

Muller, Jerry Z. 2008. Us and Them: The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism. In: *Foreign Affairs* 87(2). 18–35.

Norton, Bonny. 1997. Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 31(3). 409–429.

Norton, Bonny. 2000. *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change* (Language in social life series). Harlow: Longman. https://faculty.educ.ubc.ca/norton/Norton_Identity_and_Language_Learning_1e_2000.pdf (accessed 9 March 2021).

Office for National Statistics. 2021. *Population of the UK by country of birth and nationality*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/populationoftheunitedkingdomby-countryofbirthandnationality (accessed 27 April 2021).

Pauwels, Anne. 1985. The role of mixed marriages in language shift in the Dutch community. In Michael G. Clyne (ed.). *Australia, meeting place of languages* (Pacific linguistics Series C, Books No. 92), 39–55. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

Pauwels, Anne. 2016. *Language Maintenance and Shift*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pletzing, Christian and Marianne Pletzing (eds.). 2007. *Displaced Persons: Flüchtlinge aus den baltischen Staaten in Deutschland* (Colloquia Baltica 12). München: Meidenbauer. http://www.oei-dokumente.de/JGO/Rez/Jacobmeyer_Pletzing_Displaced_Persons.html.

Polinsky, Maria and Olga Kagan. 2007. Heritage Languages: In the 'Wild' and in the Classroom. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1(5). 368–395.

Polinsky, Maria and Gregory Scontras. 2020. Understanding heritage languages. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 23(1). 4–20.

Rosa, Jonathan and Sunny Trivedi. 2017. Diaspora and Language. In Athelstan Suresh Canagarajah (ed.). *The Routledge handbook of migration and language* (Routledge handbooks in applied linguistics), 330–346. London, New York: Routledge.

Rumbaut, Rubén G., Douglas S. Massey and Frank D. Bean. 2006. Linguistic Life Expectancies: Immigrant Language Retention in Southern California. *Population and Development Review* 32(3). 447–460.

Sabourin, Patrick, Alain Bélanger and Paul Reeve. 2015. The Dynamics of Language Shift in Canada. *Population (English Edition)* 70(4). 727–757.

Saulītis, Andris and Inta Mieriņa. 2019. Latvian Emigrants in the United States: Different Waves, Different Identities? In Rita Kaša and Inta Mieriņa (eds.). *The Emigrant Communities of Latvia. National Identity, Transnational Belonging, and Diaspora Politics*, 1st ed. 2019 (IMISCOE Research Series, 2364-4087), 203–230. Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Scherr, Albert. 2021. Probleme und Perspektiven der Flucht- und Flüchtlingsforschung. *Zeitschrift für Migrationsforschung* 1(2). 97–121.

Seibt, Gustav. 2018. *Ein gutes Gefühl*. https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/sz-serie-was-ist-heimat-ein-gutes-gefuehl-1.3802786 (accessed 26 May 2020).

Sheffer, Gabriel (ed.). 1986. *Modern diasporas in international politics*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Sigona, Nando. 2014. The Politics of Refugee Voices: Representations, Narratives, and Memories. In Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and Nando Sigona (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, 369–382: Oxford University Press.

Sindi, Inga. 2021. *Chancen und Herausforderungen einer multilinguistischen Erziehung in Dubai am Beispiel von Kindern aus lettischsprachigen Familien*. Conference Presentation (Baltistentagung). Greifswald, Germany.

Skrandies, Peter. 2016. Language Policies and the Politics of Urban Multilingualism. In Lid King and Lorna Carson (eds.). *The Multilingual City. Vitality, Conflict and Change*, 115–148. Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. 2000. *Linguistic genocide in education - or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum Assoc.

Spiliopoulou Åkermark, Sia, Johanna Laakso, Anneli Sarhimaa and Reetta Toivanen. 2013. *EuLaViBar Toolkit*: *Practical Guide to the EuLaViBar Tool, with Reference to the ELDIA Comparative Report*. https://phaidra.univie.ac.at/detail/o:301101#?page=1andpagesize=10andcollection=o:80789 (accessed 17 November 2016).

Statistics Estonia. 2021. *There were again fewer births than deaths, with population figure boosted by immigration*. https://www.stat.ee/en/node/183326 (accessed 24 June 2021).

Statistics Lithuania. 2021. *International migration of the Lithuanian population*. https://osp.stat.gov.lt/informaciniai-pranesimai?articleId=8545135 (accessed 24 June 2021).

Stoicheva, Maria. 2016. Urban Multilingualism: Bond or Barrier? In Lid King and Lorna Carson (eds.). *The Multilingual City. Vitality, Conflict and Change*, 85–114. Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Tegeler, Tillmann. 2005. Esten, Letten und Litauer in der Britischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands: Aus Akten des „Foreign Office". In *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (53).

Troper, Harold. 1993. Canada's Immigration Policy since 1945. *International Journal* 48(2, Migrants and Refugees). 255–281.

Tsang, Wing Yin. 2015. Integration of Immigrants: The Role of Ethnic Churches. In: *Int. Migration & Integration* 16 (4), S. 1177–1193. DOI: 10.1007/s12134-014-0380-2.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 1977. *Space and Place*: *The Perspective of Experience.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

UNESCO. 2003. *Language Vitality and Endangerment.* http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/Language_vitality_and_endangerment_EN.pdf (accessed 22 September 2021).

UNESCO. 2011. *UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment Methodological guideline*: *Review of Application and Feedback since 2003.* http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/unesco_language_vitaly_and_endangerment_methodological_guideline.pdf (accessed 22 September 2021).

UNHCR. 2002. *Refugee Resettlement*: *An International Handbook to Guide Reception and Integration.* https://www.unhcr.org/protection/resettlement/4a2cfe336/refugee-resettlement-international-handbook-guide-reception-integration.html (accessed 18 June 2021).

UNHCR. 2021. *UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2022.* https://www.unhcr.org/protection/resettlement/60d320a64/projected-global-resettlement-needs-2022-pdf.html (accessed 29 September 2021).

UNHCR. 2022. *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2021.* https://www.unhcr.org/62a9d1494/global-trends-report-2021 (accessed 27 July 2022).

van Selm, Joanne. 2014. Refugee Resettlement. In Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Gil Loescher, Katy Long and Nando Sigona (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, 512–524: Oxford University Press.

Vertovec, Steven. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6). 1024–1054 (accessed 22 March 2019).

Weber, Florian, Olaf Kühne and Martina Hülz. 2019. Zur Aktualität von ‚Heimat' als polvalentem Konstrukt - eine Einführung. In Martina Hülz, Olaf Kühne and Florian Weber (eds.). *Heimat. Ein vielfältiges Konstrukt*, 1st ed. 2019 (RaumFragen: Stadt Region Landschaft, 2625-6991), 3–12. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Weichart, Peter. 2019. Heimat, raumbezogene Identität und Descartes' Irrtum. In Martina Hülz, Olaf Kühne and Florian Weber (eds.). *Heimat. Ein vielfältiges Konstrukt*, 1st ed. 2019 (RaumFragen: Stadt Region Landschaft, 2625-6991), 53–66. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Weingrod, Alex and André Levi. 2006. Paradoxes of Homecoming: The Jews and Their Diasporas. *Anthropological Quarterly* 79(4). 691–716.

Yagmur, Kutlay. 2019. The concept of minority/minorities in the European national and supranational EU discourse. *Multilingua* 38(2). 213–229.

Yamamoto, Masayo. 2001. *Language use in interlingual families*: *A Japanese-English sociolinguistic study* (Bilingual education and bilingualism 30). Clevedon, England, Buffalo, N.Y: Multilingual Matters. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=trueandscope=siteanddb=nlebkanddb=nlabkandAN=90967.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. Belonging and the politics of belonging. *Patterns of Prejudice* 40(3). 197–214.

Zake, Ieva. 2010. *American Latvians*: *Politics of a refugee community.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publ.

Zalkalns, Lilita. 2014. *Back to the Motherland*: *Repatriation and Latvian Émigrés 1955-1958.* http://su.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:749334/FULLTEXT02.pdf (accessed 25 January 2017).

Zariņš, Viesturs. 2019. *Latvian pioneers, socialists, and refugees in Manitoba*: *An illustrated journey through the history of Latvians in Manitoba (1895-2018),* First edition. [Oakville, Ontario]: Viesturs Zariņš.

Zepa, Brigita and Evija Klave (eds.). 2011. *Latvia. Human Development Report 2010/2011*: *National Identity, Mobility and Capability.* Riga. https://dspace.lu.lv/dspace/bitstream/handle/7/805/2012_Latvia.%20Human%20Development%20Report%202010-2011.%20National%20Identity%2c%20Mobility%2c%20Capability.pdf?sequence=2andisAllowed=y (accessed 17 March 2021).

Appendix I: The EuLaViBarMig questionnaire in English

The Latvian Language in Canada

Thank you for taking time to participate in the survey. It is part of a research project at Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Germany, and aims at citizens of Latvian descent in Canada. All data are confidential and will only be used for research purposes. They will not be passed on to third parties.

If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to contact kruse@uni-mainz.de.

A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. **Gender**

   ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Other

2. **Age**

   ☐ <18 ☐ 18/19 years ☐ 20-24 years ☐ 25-29 years ☐ 30-34 years

   ☐ 35-39 years ☐ 40-44 years ☐ 45-49 years ☐ 50-54 years ☐ 55-59 years

   ☐ 60-64 years ☐ 65-69 years ☐ 70-74 years ☐ 75-79 years ☐ 80+ years

3. **I was born in...**

   ☐ Canada ☐ Latvia ☐ Other: _____

   City/Town: _____

   I am currently living in (city/town): _____

   Province/Territory: _____

If you were born outside Canada:

a. How long have you been living in Canada?

☐ <1 year ☐ 1-4 years ☐ 5-6 years ☐ 7-8 years

☐ 9-10 years ☐ 11-15 years ☐ 16-20 years ☐ 21-25 years

☐ 26-30 years ☐ 31-35 years ☐ 36-40 years ☐ 40+ years

b. Why did you move to Canada?

☐ In order to study ☐ For economic reasons ☐ For family reasons

☐ I fled from persecution/war ☐ Other: _____

c. How do you see your future in Canada?

☐ I am staying here only temporarily and want to move (to Latvia) as soon as possible.

☐ I am staying here for an indefinite period of time, but want to return to Latvia one day.

☐ Canada is/has become my home. I will stay.

☐ I do not have a residence permit and have to leave Canada soon.

☐ Other: _____

4. Your citizenship

☐ Latvian ☐ Canadian ☐ Latvian and Canadian ☐ Other: _____

5. Please indicate your <u>highest level</u> of education

☐ No school education at all ☐ Primary education ☐ Secondary education

☐ Higher vocational education ☐ Higher academic education

☐ Other: _____

6. What describes your occupational situation best today?

☐ I go to school ☐ I study/do vocational training

☐ I work outside home ☐ I work at home (e.g. housewife, farmer)

☐ I am retired ☐ I am looking for a job / unemployed

☐ Other: _____

7. **Are you actively involved in a Latvian community in Canada?**

☐ Yes   ☐ No

8. **In which country did you spend most of your school years?**

☐ Canada   ☐ Latvia   ☐ Other: _____

B.   BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON LANGUAGE USE

9. **What is/are your native language(s)?**

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

10. **Where have you learnt Latvian? <u>Please check all that apply</u>.**

☐ At home (from my parents/grandparents or somebody else in my childhood family)

☐ From friends, neighbours, spouse/partner, colleagues

☐ At school or in a language course

☐ Not at all

☐ Other: _____

11. **What language(s) did/do <u>your grandparents on your mother's side</u> use with you?**

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____
☐ Not applicable

12. **What language(s) did/do <u>you</u> use with your grandparents on your mother's side?**

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____
☐ Not applicable

13. **What language(s) did/do <u>your grandparents on your father's side</u> use with you?**

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____
☐ Not applicable

14. What language(s) did/do <u>you</u> use with your grandparents on your father's side?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

15. What language(s) did/do your parents use between themselves?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

16. What language(s) did <u>your mother</u> use with you in childhood?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

17. What language(s) <u>did you</u> use with your mother in childhood?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

18. What language(s) does <u>your mother</u> use with you now?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

19. What language(s) do <u>you</u> use with your mother now?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

20. What language(s) did <u>your father</u> use with you in childhood?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

21. What language(s) did you use with your father in childhood?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

22. What language(s) does your father use with you now?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

23. What language(s) do you use with your father now?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

24. What language(s) did/do you normally use with your siblings?

In childhood

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

Today

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

25. What language(s) do you normally use with your current spouse/partner?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

26. What language(s) do you normally speak with your children?

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

27. **What language(s) do you normally speak with your grandchildren?**

☐ Latvian   ☐ English   ☐ French   ☐ Other: _____

☐ Not applicable

28. **When you were a child, did you ever notice somebody tried to prevent your parents from using Latvian with you?**

☐ I don't remember   ☐ No

☐ Yes

The people who thought parents should not use Latvian were:

☐ Family members/relatives

☐ School personnel

☐ Other: _____

29. **Do you notice situations in Canada today in which you are prevented from using Latvian with family members?**

☐ I don't know

☐ No

☐ Sometimes perhaps, but that is an exception rather than the rule

☐ Yes, I think it is not unusual

30. **Do you think it is socially accepted in Canada to speak Latvian in public (with family members, friends,...)?**

☐ Yes, absolutely   ☐ Partly   ☐ No, not at all

31. **In the schools you attended, what language was the teaching medium (the language in which all the subjects, such as mathematics or geography, were taught)?**

☐ Latvian only   ☐ English only   ☐ French only

☐ Latvian in part of the classes (except language classes) or in part of the school I attended.

☐ Other: _____

32. Did you have Latvian language classes (Latvian as a subject, as mother tongue or as foreign language) in school?

In pre-school:	☐ Yes	☐ No	☐ Not applicable
In primary school	☐ Yes	☐ No	☐ Not applicable
In secondary school	☐ Yes	☐ No	☐ Not applicable

* Please tick "not applicable" if you did not attend pre-school/primary school/secondary school.

33. Did you attend extracurricular Latvian courses in Canada?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

If you were born outside Canada

34. Did you attend English courses in Canada?

☐ Yes

☐ No

        ☐ I already had a (good) command of English.

        ☐ I did not have the time.

        ☐ I had no interest.

        ☐ The courses were too expensive.

        ☐ No courses were/are offered in my town.

        ☐ In order to live/work in Canada, it is not necessary to speak English.

        ☐ Other: _____

Did you attend French courses in Canada?

☐ Yes

☐ No

        ☐ I already had a (good) command of French.

        ☐ I did not have the time.

        ☐ I had no interest.

        ☐ The courses were too expensive.

        ☐ No courses were/are offered in my town.

        ☐ In order to live/work in Canada, it is not necessary to speak French.

        ☐ Other: _____

C. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

35. How would you evaluate your knowledge of Latvian?

	Perfectly	Well	Fairly well	Poorly	Not at all
I can speak Latvian	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I understand spoken Latvian	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can write in Latvian	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can read in Latvian	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

36. How would you evaluate your knowledge of English?

	Perfectly	Well	Fairly well	Poorly	Not at all
I can speak English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I understand spoken English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can write in English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can read in English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

How would you evaluate your knowledge of French?

	Perfectly	Well	Fairly well	Poorly	Not at all
I can speak French	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I understand spoken French	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can write in French	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can read in French	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. LANGUAGE USE

37. Please indicate how often you use Latvian in the following contexts in Canada:

	Regularly	Sometimes	Never	The question doesn't apply to me
At home	☐	☐	☐	☐
With relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐
At work/school	☐	☐	☐	☐
With friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
With neighbours	☐	☐	☐	☐
In shops	☐	☐	☐	☐
On the street	☐	☐	☐	☐
At the library	☐	☐	☐	☐
In church	☐	☐	☐	☐
Public authorities	☐	☐	☐	☐
Community events*	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

By "community events" we refer to events in your local (=Latvian) community, such as club evenings or cultural festivals in your village/town/suburb.

If the question doesn't apply to you at all (if you don't use any language in that context: for instance, you never have any contacts with your relatives in any language, or you never attend church services in any language), select the last option ("The question doesn't apply to me").

E. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND DESIRE TO USE LANGUAGES

38. When you were a child, did your parents encourage you to use Latvian?

☐ Yes   ☐ No

39. Do you try / Have you tried to make your children learn and use Latvian?

☐ I don't have children

☐ No

☐ Yes

> **I try/have tried to make my children learn and use Latvian:**
>
> ☐ I try to talk to them in Latvian as much as possible.
>
> ☐ I request or encourage them to talk to me in Latvian.
>
> ☐ I play with them in Latvian or read books to them in Latvian.
>
> ☐ I try to give them Latvian books to read, videos to watch, games to play,...
>
> ☐ I try to organise Latvian activities for them/take them to the company of Latvian speakers.
>
> ☐ I encourage them to study Latvian, e.g. at school or on a language course.
>
> ☐ Other: _____

40. Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements:

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
Latvian men are expected to speak Latvian with their children.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latvian women are expected to speak Latvian with their children.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

41. Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements:

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
Latvian men are expected to support their children in learning English.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latvian women are expected to support their children in learning English.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
Latvian men are expected to support their children in learning French.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latvian women are expected to support their children in learning French.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

42. **Here are some statements about speakers of Latvian. Please indicate how much you agree with each of them:**

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
It is easy to make friends with a speaker of Latvian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is easy to get acquainted with a speaker of Latvian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is easy to work together with a speaker of Latvian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is easy to spend your leisure time with a speaker of Latvian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

43. Here are some statements about Canadians. Please indicate how much you agree with each of them:

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
It is easy to make friends with a Canadian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is easy to get acquainted with a Canadian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is easy to work together with a Canadian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is easy to spend your leisure time with a Canadian.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

44. What is your opinion on the use of Latvian in the public sphere in Canada/your province? Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements:

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
Canadian TV shows (e.g. the news) should be made available in Latvian as well.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latvian interpreters should be available at police stations.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parliament decisions should be made available in Latvian as well.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latvian interpreters should be available in hospitals.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Latvian interpreters should be available in court.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latvian should be used on the Internet.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latvian language classes should be available at school.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Taking the written/theoretical part of the driving test in Latvian should be possible.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

45. Do you think that the legislation in Canada/your province supports the use of Latvian?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Partly   ☐ Don't know

46. Do you think that the legislation in Canada/your province prevents the use of Latvian?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Partly   ☐ Don't know

47. Is there any legislation in Canada/your province regulating instruction in Latvian in the schools?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Partly   ☐ Don't know

48. Is the Constitution of Canada available in Latvian?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Partly   ☐ Don't know

49. Are the integration policies in Canada/your province available in Latvian?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Partly   ☐ Don't know

50. Are the language policies in your province available in Latvian?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Partly   ☐ Don't know

51. What is your opinion on the role of Latvian in the labour market in your province?

Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements:

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
Competence in Latvian facilitates finding a job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Competence in Latvian facilitates getting a higher salary.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Competence in Latvian facilitates advancing in your career.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

52. What is your opinion on the role of English in the labour market in your province?

Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements:

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
Only those who know English find a job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Only those who know English find a well-paid job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Only those who know English advance in their career.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

What is your opinion on the role of French in the labour market in your province?

Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements:

	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all
Only those who know French find a job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Only those who know French find a well-paid job.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Only those who know French advance in their career.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

53. Are there institutions or people who cultivate (develop, promote) Latvian in Canada?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

54. Are attempts being made in Canada to save Latvian these days?

☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

F.   PUBLIC LANGUAGE USE

55. Is Latvian being used in the following domains (in Canada/your region)?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Education	☐	☐	☐
Print media (newspapers etc.)	☐	☐	☐
Radio	☐	☐	☐
Television	☐	☐	☐
Advertisements in public spaces	☐	☐	☐
Advertisements (commercials) in media	☐	☐	☐

Are you able to communicate in Latvian with the help of a provided interpreter at the following public authorities?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Police station	☐	☐	☐
Tax office	☐	☐	☐
Health insurance office	☐	☐	☐
Employment office	☐	☐	☐
Courts	☐	☐	☐
Regional and municipal offices	☐	☐	☐

Are the decisions by the following institutions made available to you in Latvian?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Senate	☐	☐	☐
House of Commons	☐	☐	☐
Legislative assembly of your province/territory	☐	☐	☐

Can you take the written/theoretical part of the driving test in Latvian (in Canada/your region)?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know

G. MEDIA CONSUMPTION AND ACTIVE USE OF LANGUAGE IN (MODERN) MEDIA

56.

a. Are newspapers available to you in Latvian?

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I read them

☐ never ☐ sometimes ☐ regularly

b. Are books available to you in Latvian?

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I read them

☐ never ☐ sometimes ☐ regularly

c. Are there theatre performances/concerts in Latvian in your home region?

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I go there

☐ never ☐ sometimes ☐ regularly

d. Are regular radio broadcasts in Latvian available to you?

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I listen to them

☐ never ☐ sometimes ☐ regularly

e. **Are regular TV broadcasts in Latvian available to you?**

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I watch them

           ☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

f. **Is music in Latvian available to you?**

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I listen to it

           ☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

g. **Are films in Latvian availabe to you (on DVD, TV, in cinema)?**

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I watch them

           ☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

h. **Is Internet content (websites, news pages etc.) in Latvian available to you?**

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I read them

           ☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

i. **Is computer software in Latvian available to you?**

☐ No

☐ I don't know

☐ Yes, and I use it

           ☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

j. Do you write emails (in any language)?

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I write them in Latvian

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

k. Do you write text messages (SMS, WhatsApp) in any language?

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I write them in Latvian

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

l. Do you use social media (Facebook, Draugiem, Twitter, chatrooms, etc.)?

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I use Latvian there

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

m. Do you play interactive Internet games (in any language)?

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I use Latvian there

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

57.

a. Do you write letters (in any language)?

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I write them in Latvian

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

b. Do you write a diary or make notes (in any language)?

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I do that in Latvian

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

c. **Do you write blogs (in any language)?**

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I write them in Latvian

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

d. **Do you write literary texts or compose songs of your own (in any language)?**

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I do that in Latvian

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

e. **Do you sing songs (in any language)?**

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I sing in Latvian

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

f. **Do you ever recite poetry or play in theatre performances (e.g. in an amateur theatre group) in any language?**

☐ No

☐ Yes, and I do that in Latvian

☐ never   ☐ sometimes   ☐ regularly

Thank you very much for taking part in the survey.

Appendix II: The EuLaViBarMig questionnaire in Latvian

Latviešu valoda Kanādā

Šī aptauja vēršas pie latviešu izcelsmes iedzīvotājiem Kanādā. Visa šajā anketā ievāktā informācija ir konfidenciāla un paredzēta vienīgi pētniecības nolūkiem. Dati netiks nodoti tālāk trešajām personām. Sīkāku informāciju var iegūt, sazinoties ar: kruse@uni-mainz.de.

A. PAMATINFORMĀCIJA

1. **Dzimums**

   ☐ Vīrietis   ☐ Sieviete   ☐ Cits

2. **Vecums**

☐ <18 gadi	☐ 18/19 gadi	☐ 20-24 gadi	☐ 25-29 gadi	☐ 30-34 gadi
☐ 35-39 gadi	☐ 40-44 gadi	☐ 45-49 gadi	☐ 50-54 gadi	☐ 55-59 gadi
☐ 60-64 gadi	☐ 65-69 gadi	☐ 70-74 gadi	☐ 75-79 gadi	☐ 80+ gadi

3. **Es esmu dzimis/dzimusi...**

   ☐ Kanādā   ☐ Latvijā   ☐ Citā valstī: _____

   Pilsēta: _____

   Šobrīd es dzīvoju (pagasts/pilsēta/apgabals): _____

   Province/teritorija: _____

Ja esat dzimis/dzimusi ārpus Kanādas:

   a. Cik ilgi jūs dzīvojat Kanādā?

☐ <1	☐ 1-4 gadi	☐ 5-6 gadi	☐ 7-8 gadi
☐ 9-10 gadi	☐ 11-15 gadi	☐ 16-20 gadi	☐ 21-25 gadi
☐ 26-30 gadi	☐ 31-35 gadi	☐ 36-40 gadi	☐ 40+ gadi

b. Kāpēc Jūs emigrējāt uz Kanādu?

☐ studiju dēļ   ☐ darba/ekonomisku apstākļu dēļ   ☐ ģimenes dēļ

☐ devos bēgļu gaitās   ☐ cits: _____

c. Kā Jūs redzat savu nākotni Kanādā?

☐ Esmu šeit tikai pagaidām un gribētu drīzumā pārcelties atpakaļ uz Latviju resp. citu valsti.

☐ Esmu šeit uz nenoteiktu laiku, bet gribētu kādreiz atgriezties Latvijā.

☐ Kanāda ir manas mājas, mana nākotne ir šeit.

☐ Man nav uzturēšanās tiesību un Kanāda drīz jāpamet.

☐ Cits: _____

4. **Jūsu pilsonība**

☐ Latvijas   ☐ Kanādas   ☐ Latvijas un Kanādas   ☐ Cits: _____

5. **Lūdzu norādiet savu izglītības līmeni**

☐ Nepabeigta izglītība   ☐ Pamatizglītība   ☐ Vidējā izglītība

☐ (Augstākā) profesionālā izglītība

☐ (Augstākā) akadēmiskā izglītība

☐ Cits: _____

6. **Kas visprecīzāk atbilst Jūsu šobrīdējai profesionālajai situācijai?**

☐ Apmeklēju skolu   ☐ Studēju / apgūstu arodu

☐ Strādāju (ārpus mājas)   ☐ Strādāju mājās (piem., mājsaimniece, lauksaimnieks)

☐ Esmu pensijā   ☐ Meklēju darbu

☐ Cits: _____

7. **Vai jūs aktīvi sadarbojaties ar citiem latviešiem Kanādā vai iesaistāties kādā latviešu biedrībā?**

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē

8. **Kurā valstī Jūs esat pavadījis/pavadījusi lielāko daļu sava skolas laika?**

☐ Kanāda   ☐ Latvija   ☐ Cits: _____

B. PAMATINFORMĀCIJA PAR VALODU LIETOJUMU

9. **Kura(s) valoda(s) ir Jūsu dzimtā(s) vai pirmā(s) valoda(s)??**

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____

10. **Kur Jūs apguvāt latviešu valodu?**

☐ Mājās (bērnībā mājās ar vecākiem, vecvecākiem vai kādu citu)

☐ Ar draugiem, kaimiņiem, dzīvesbiedru/dzīvesbiedreni, kolēģiem

☐ Skolā vai valodu kursos

☐ Neesmu apguvis/apguvusi

☐ Cita atbilde: _____

11. **Kurā(s) valodā(s) jūsu vecvecāki no mātes puses sarunājās ar jums?**

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____
☐ Neatbilst neviens

12. **Kurā(s) valodā(s) Jūs sarunājaties/sarunājāties ar saviem vecvecākiem no mātes puses?**

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____
☐ Neatbilst neviens

13. **Kurā(s) valodā(s) jūsu vecvecāki no tēva puses sarunājās ar jums?**

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____
☐ Neatbilst neviens

14. Kurā(s) valodā(s) Jūs sarunājaties/sarunājāties ar saviem vecvecākiem no tēva puses?

☐ Latviešu ☐ Angļu ☐ Franču ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

15. Kuru valodu/kuras valodas lieto/lietoja Jūsu vecāki savā starpā?

☐ Latviešu ☐ Angļu ☐ Franču ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

16. Kurā valodā/kurās valodās ar Jums sarunājās māte Jūsu bērnībā?

☐ Latviešu ☐ Angļu ☐ Franču ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

17. Kurā(s) valodā(s) Jūs sarunājaties bērnībā ar savu māti?

☐ Latviešu ☐ Angļu ☐ Franču ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

18. Kurā valodā/kurās valodās ar Jums sarunājas māte tagad?

☐ Latviešu ☐ Angļu ☐ Franču ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

19. Kurā(s) valodā(s) Jūs sarunājaties ar savu māti tagad?

☐ Latviešu ☐ Angļu ☐ Franču ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

20. Kurā valodā/kurās valodās ar Jums sarunājās tēvs Jūsu bērnībā?

☐ Latviešu ☐ Angļu ☐ Franču ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

21. Kurā(s) valodā(s) Jūs sarunājāties bērnībā ar savu tēvu?

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

22. Kurā valodā/kurās valodās ar Jums sarunājas tēvs tagad?

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

23. Kurā(s) valodā(s) Jūs sarunājaties ar savu tēvu tagad?

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

24. Kurā(s) valodā(s) galvenokārt Jūs sarunājaties ar saviem brāļiem un māsām?

(iespējamas vairākas atbildes)?

Bērnībā

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

Tagad

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

25. Kurā valodā/kurās valodās galvenokārt Jūs runājat ar savu šobrīdējo dzīvesbiedru/

dzīvesbiedreni?

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

26. Kurā valodā/kurās valodās galvenokārt Jūs runājat ar saviem bērniem?

☐ Latviešu   ☐ Angļu   ☐ Franču   ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

27. Kurā valodā/kurās valodās galvenokārt Jūs runājat ar saviem mazbērniem?

☐ Latviešu ☐ Angļu ☐ Franču ☐ Cits: _____

☐ Neatbilst neviens

28. Vai Jūsu bērnībā ir bijušas situācijas, kad Jūsu vecākiem ir ticis liegts sarunāties ar Jums latviski?

☐ Neatceros ☐ Nē

☐ Jā

Ar mani latviski sarunāties maniem vecākiem neļāva:

☐ ģimenes locekļi vai radinieki

☐ skolotāji(-as), audzinātāji(-as)

☐ Citi: _____

29. Vai ir līdzīgas situācijas tagad, kad jums ir liegts sarunāties ar ģimenes locekļiem latviski?

☐ Nezinu

☐ Nē

☐ Iespējams, dažreiz, tomēr drīzāk kā izņēmums

☐ Jā, man liekas, tas nav nekas neparasts.

30. Vai Jūs domājat, ka Kanādas sabiedrība pieņem, ja publiskajā telpā tiek runāts latviski (ar ģimenes locekļiem, draugiem, paziņām)?

☐ Jā, noteikti ☐ Daļēji ☐ Nē

31. Kurā valodā jūs mācījāties skolā (valoda, kurā tika mācīti visi priekšmeti, piemēram, matemātika un bioloģija)?

☐ Tikai latviešu ☐ Tikai angļu ☐ Tikai franču

☐ Daļēji latviešu (izņemot valodu stundas).

☐ Cita valoda (bet nekad latviešu): _____

32. **Vai Jums bērnībā un skolas gados bija latviešu valodas stundas (latviešu valoda kā priekšmets, kā dzimtā vai svešvaloda)?**

Bērnudārzā	☐ Jā	☐ Nē	☐ Neatbilst neviens
Sākumskolā	☐ Jā	☐ Nē	☐ Neatbilst neviens
Vidusskolā	☐ Jā	☐ Nē	☐ Neatbilst neviens

* Izvēlēties atbildi „Neatbilst neviens", ja Jūs neesat gājis/gājusi bērnudārzā, sākumskolā vai vidusskolā.

33. **Vai Jūs esat Kanādā apmeklējis/-usi ārpusskolas latviešu valodas nodarbības?**

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē

Ja esat dzimis/dzimusi ārpus Kanādas

34. **Vai Jūs esat Kanādā apmeklējis/-usi angļu valodas kursus?**

☐ Jā

☐ Nē ☐ Man jau bija angļu valodas zināšanas.

☐ Man nebija laika.

☐ Mani neinteresēja.

☐ Kursi man bija par dārgu.

☐ Manā pilsētā nebija/nav kursu.

☐ Lai dzīvotu un strādātu Kanādā, angļu valodas zināšanas nav

nepieciešamas.

☐ Cits: _____

Vai Jūs esat Kanādā apmeklējis/-usi franču valodas kursus?

☐ Jā

☐ Nē ☐ Man jau bija franču valodas zināšanas.

☐ Man nebija laika.

☐ Mani neinteresēja.

☐ Kursi man bija par dārgu.

☐ Manā pilsētā nebija/nav kursu.

☐ Lai dzīvotu un strādātu Kanādā, franču valodas zināšanas nav

nepieciešamas.

☐ Cits: _____

C. VALODAS KOMPETENCE

35. Kā Jūs novērtētu savas latviešu valodas zināšanas?

	Ļoti labi	Labi	Vidēji	Mazliet	Nemaz
Es runāju latviski	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Es saprotu latviski	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(ja tiek runāts)					
Es protu latviski rakstīt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Es protu latviski lasīt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

36. Kā Jūs novērtētu savas angļu valodas zināšanas?

	Ļoti labi	Labi	Vidēji	Mazliet	Nemaz
Es runāju angliski	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Es saprotu angliski	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(ja tiek runāts)					
Es protu angliski rakstīt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Es protu angliski lasīt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Kā Jūs novērtētu savas franču valodas zināšanas?

	Ļoti labi	Labi	Vidēji	Mazliet	Nemaz
Es runāju franciski	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Es saprotu franciski	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(ja tiek runāts)					
Es protu franciski rakstīt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Es protu franciski lasīt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D. VALODU LIETOJUMS

37. Norādiet, lūdzu, cik bieži Jūs lietojat latviešu valodu Kanādā:

	Regulāri	Dažreiz	Nekad	Neatbilstošs jautājums
Mājās	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar radiniekiem	☐	☐	☐	☐
Darbā	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar draugiem	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar kaimiņiem	☐	☐	☐	☐
Veikalos	☐	☐	☐	☐
Uz ielas	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bibliotēkā	☐	☐	☐	☐
Baznīcā	☐	☐	☐	☐
Valsts iestādēs	☐	☐	☐	☐
Vietējos pasākumos *	☐	☐	☐	☐
Citur: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

* Ar „vietējiem pasākumiem" tiek domāti, piem. kultūras pasākumi Jūsu dzīvesvietā.

E. NOSTĀJA ATTIECĪBĀ UZ VALODU UN VĒLME VALODAS LIETOT

38. Vai bērnībā vecāki Jūs atbalstīja latviešu valodas lietošanā?

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē

39. Vai jūs mēģināt motivēt savus bērnus mācīties latviešu valodu?

☐ Man nav bērnu

☐ Nē

☐ Jā

> **Es motivēju savus bērnus mācīties latviešu valodu:**
>
> ☐ Es runāju ar viņiem iespējami daudz latviski.
>
> ☐ Es mudinu/mudināju viņus runāt ar mani latviski.
>
> ☐ Es spēlējos ar viņiem un lasu/lasīju priekšā grāmatas latviešu valodā.
>
> ☐ Es sagādāju viņiem grāmatas, filmas vai spēles latviešu valodā.
>
> ☐ Es organizēju viņiem dažādas aktivitātes latviešu valodā vai veidoju kontaktus ar citiem latviešu valodas pratējiem.
>
> ☐ Es mudinu/mudināju viņus mācīties latviešu valodu skolā vai valodu kursos.
>
> ☐ Cits: _____

40. Norādiet, ciktāl Jūs piekrītat šiem apgalvojumiem:

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	Drīzāk ne-piekrītu	Pilnībā ne-piekrītu
Tiek gaidīts, ka latviešu vīrieši ar saviem bērniem runā latviski.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tiek gaidīts, ka latviešu sievietes ar saviem bērniem runā latviski.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

41. Norādiet, ciktāl Jūs piekrītat šiem apgalvojumiem:

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	Drīzāk ne-piekrītu	Pilnībā ne-piekrītu
Tiek gaidīts, ka latviešu vīrieši atbalsta savus bērnus angļu valodas apguvē.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tiek gaidīts, ka latviešu sievietes atbalsta savus bērnus angļu valodas apguvē.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	Drīzāk ne-piekrītu	Pilnībā ne-piekrītu
Tiek gaidīts, ka latviešu vīrieši atbalsta savus bērnus franču valodas apguvē.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tiek gaidīts, ka latviešu sievietes atbalsta savus bērnus franču valodas apguvē.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

42. Noteikta vecuma vai dzimtes pārstāvji parasti lieto vienu valodu labprātāk nekā otru.

Norādiet, cik lielā mērā Jūs piekrītat sekojošiem apgalvojumiem:

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	Drīzāk nepiekrītu	Pilnībā nepiekrītu
Ar latviski runājošiem var viegli sadraudzēties.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar latviski runājošiem var viegli iepazīties.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar latviski runājošiem ir viegli strādāt kopā.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar latviski runājošiem var labi kopā pavadīt brīvo laiku.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

43. Norādiet, ciktāl Jūs piekrītat šādiem apgalvojumiem par kanādiešiem:

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	I don't quite agree	Pilnībā nepiekrītu
Ar kanādiešiem ir viegli sadraudzēties.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar kanādiešiem ir viegli iepazīties.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar kanādiešiem ir viegli strādāt kopā.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar kanādiešiem var labi pavadīt savu brīvo laiku.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

44. Kāds ir Jūsu viedoklis par latviešu valodas lietojumu publiskajā telpā Kanādā/Jūsu provincē? Norādiet, ciktāl Jūs piekrītat šādiem apgalvojumiem:

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	Drīzāk nepiekrītu	Pilnībā nepiekrītu
Kanādiešu TV raidījumiem (piem., ziņām) vajadzētu būt pieejamiem arī latviešu valodā.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latviešu tulkiem vajadzētu būt pieejamiem policijas iecirkņos.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parlamenta lēmumiem vajadzētu būt pieejamiem arī latviešu valodā.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latviešu tulkiem vajadzētu būt pieejamiem slimnīcās.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latviešu tulkiem vajadzētu būt pieejamiem tiesā.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latviešu valodai vajadzētu tikt lietotai internetā.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Latviešu valodas stundām vajadzētu būt pieejamām skolās.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Autovadītāju teorijas eksāmenam vajadzētu būt pieejamam latviski.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

45. Vai Jūs domājat, ka Kanādas likumdošana atbalsta latviešu valodas lietošanu?

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Daļēji   ☐ Nezinu

46. Vai Jūs domājat, ka Kanādas likumdošana ierobežo latviešu valodas lietošanu?

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Daļēji   ☐ Nezinu

47. **Vai Kanādā/Jūsu provincē latviešu valoda ir ar likumu noteikta kā mācību priekšmets?**

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Daļēji   ☐ Nezinu

48. **Vai Kanādas konstitūcija ir pieejama latviski?**

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Daļēji   ☐ Nezinu

49. **Vai Kanādas integrācijas noteikumi ir pieejami latviski?**

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Daļēji   ☐ Nezinu

50. **Vai valodas likumi Kanādā/Jūsu provincē ir pieejami latviski?**

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Daļēji   ☐ Nezinu

51. **Kāda pēc Jūsu domām ir latviešu valodas nozīme Kanādas darba tirgū? Atzīmējiet, cik lielā mērā Jūs piekrītat sekojošiem izteikumiem:**

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	Drīzāk nepiekrītu	Pilnībā nepiekrītu
Ar latviešu valodas zināšanām ir vieglāk atrast darbu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar latviešu valodas zināšanām ir vieglāk saņemt algas paaug-stinājumu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ar latviešu valodas zināšanām ir vieglāk veidot karjeru.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

52. Kāda pēc Jūsu domām ir angļu valodas nozīme darba tirgū jūsu provincē? Atzīmējiet, cik lielā mērā Jūs piekrītat sekojošiem izteikumiem:

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	Drīzāk nepiekrītu	Pilnībā nepiekrītu
Darbu var atrast tikai, ja prot angļu valodu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Labi apmaksātu darbu var atrast tikai, ja prot angļu valodu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Karjeras izaugsme iespējama tikai, ja prot angļu valodu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Kāda pēc Jūsu domām ir franču valodas nozīme darba tirgū jūsu provincē? Atzīmējiet, cik lielā mērā Jūs piekrītat sekojošiem izteikumiem:

	Pilnībā piekrītu	Drīzāk piekrītu	Grūti pateikt	Drīzāk nepiekrītu	Pilnībā nepiekrītu
Darbu var atrast tikai, ja prot franču valodu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Labi apmaksātu darbu var atrast tikai, ja prot franču valodu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Karjeras izaugsme iespējama tikai, ja prot franču valodu.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

53. Vai Kanādā ir institūcijas (biedrības, pulciņi) vai personas, kas kopj latviešu valodu (attīsta, veicina)?

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Nezinu

54. Vai Kanādā ir mēģinājumi saglabāt latviešu valodu?

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Nezinu

F. PUBLISKAIS VALODU LIETOJUMS

55. Vai latviešu valoda (Kanādā/Jūsu reģionā) tiek lietota sekojošās sfērās?

	Jā	Nē	Nezinu
Izglītības iestādes	☐	☐	☐
Drukātie mediji (avīzes utt.)	☐	☐	☐
Radio	☐	☐	☐
Televīzija	☐	☐	☐
Reklāma publiskajā telpā	☐	☐	☐
Reklāma medijos	☐	☐	☐

Vai Jums ir iespēja ar iestādes rīcībā esoša tulka palīdzību komunicēt latviski?

	Jā	Nē	Nezinu
Policijas iecirknī	☐	☐	☐
Nodokļu birojā	☐	☐	☐
Veselības apdrošināšanas birojā	☐	☐	☐
Darbā iekārtošanas birojā	☐	☐	☐
Tiesā	☐	☐	☐
Rajona /pilsētas valdē/ pašvaldībā	☐	☐	☐

Vai Jums ir pieejami šādu iestāžu lēmumi latviski?

	Jā	Nē	Nezinu
Kanādas senāts	☐	☐	☐
Kanādas apakšnams	☐	☐	☐
Provinces parlaments	☐	☐	☐

Vai autovadītāja teorijas eksāmenu Kanādā/Jūsu reģionā iespējams kārtot latviešu valodā?

☐ Jā   ☐ Nē   ☐ Nezinu

G. **MĒDIJU LIETOŠANA UN AKTĪVAIS VALODU LIETOJUMS (MODERNAJOS) MĒDIJOS**

56. Lūdzu atzīmējiet atbilstošāko atbili uz sekojošiem jautājumiem. Ja Jūsu atbilde ir „jā", izvēlieties, lūdzu, vienu no variantiem „regulāri", „dažreiz" vai „nekad".

a. **Vai Jums ir pieejamas avīzes latviešu valodā?**
☐ Nē
☐ Nezinu
☐ Jā, un es lasu avīzes latviešu valodā
          ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

b. **Vai Jums ir pieejamas grāmatas latviešu valodā?**
☐ Nē
☐ Nezinu
☐ Jā, un es lasu grāmatas latviešu valodā
          ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

c. **Vai pilsētā/reģionā, kurā Jūs dzīvojat, notiek teātra izrādes vai koncerti latviešu valodā?**
☐ Nē
☐ Nezinu
☐ Jā, un es tos apmeklēju
          ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

d. Vai jums ir regulāri pieejami radioraidījumi latviešu valodā?

☐ Nē

☐ Nezinu

☐ Jā, un es klausos radio latviešu valodā

                ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

e. Vai Jums ir pieejamas televīzijas pārraides latviešu valodā?

☐ Nē

☐ Nezinu

☐ Jā, un es skatos televīzijas pārraides latviešu valodā

                ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

f. Vai Jums ir pieejama mūzika latviešu valodā?

☐ Nē

☐ Nezinu

☐ Jā, un es klausos mūziku latviešu valodā

                ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

g. Vai Jums ir pieejamas filmas latviešu valodā?

☐ Nē

☐ Nezinu

☐ Jā, un es skatos filmas latviešu valodā

                ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

h. Vai Jums ir pieejamas interneta lapas latviešu valodā (mājaslapas, ziņas, blogi)?

☐ Nē

☐ Nezinu

☐ Jā, un es lasu interneta lapas latviešu valodā

                ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

i. **Vai Jums ir pieejamas datorprogrammas latviešu valodā?**

☐ Nē

☐ Nezinu

☐ Jā, un es lietoju datorprogrammas latviešu valodā

        ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

j. **Vai Jūs rakstāt e-pastu?**

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es rakstu e-pastu latviski

        ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

k. **Vai Jūs rakstāt īsziņas (SMS, WhatsApp)?**

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es rakstu īsziņas latviski

        ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

l. **Vai Jūs lietojat sociālos tīklus (Facebook, Twitter, Draugiem, diskusiju forumus)?**

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es lietoju latviešu valodu sociālajos tīklos

        ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

m. **Vai Jūs spēlējat interaktīvās spēles internetā?**

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un spēlējot es lietoju latviešu valodu

        ☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

57. Valodas (teksta rakstīšana) un kultūras aktīvā lietošana

a. Vai Jūs rakstāt vēstules (jebkurā valodā)?

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es rakstu vēstules latviski

☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

b. Vai Jūs rakstāt dienasgrāmatu vai piezīmes (jebkurā valodā)?

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es rakstu latviski

☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

c. Vai Jūs blogojat?

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es to daru latviski

☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

d. Vai Jūs rakstāt literārus tekstus (piem., stāstus vai dzejoļus) vai komponējat dziesmas?

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es rakstu tekstus/dziesmas latviski

☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

e. Vai Jūs dziedat dziesmas?

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es dziedu latviski

☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

f. Vai Jūs skaitāt dzejoļus vai spēlējat teātri (piem., amatierteātri)?

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, un es skaitu dzejoļus vai spēlēju teātri latviski

☐ nekad   ☐ dažreiz   ☐ regulāri

Appendix III: Dimensions, variables and questions of the four EuLaVi-BarMig focus areas

Capacity

Dimension	Variables	Questions
Language use	Native language	Q09: Self-reported native language
	Cross-generational language use	Q11-14: Language use between grandparents and respondent
		Q16-23: Language use between parents and respondent
		Q26/27: Language use between the respondent and their children/grandchildren
	Intragenerational language use	Q15: Language use by the respondent's parents between themselves
		Q24: Language use with siblings
		Q25: Language use with spouse/partner
	Self-reported language competence	Q35: Self-assessed skills in understanding/speaking/reading/writing Latvian
	Domain-specific language use	Q37: Use of Latvian in various domains
	Support or prohibition of language use	Q38: Language encouragement from parents
		Q39: Language encouragement to children
Legislation	Existence of legal texts	Q50: Are law texts supporting the use of various languages available in Latvian?
Media	Media use and consumption	Q56: Use of Latvian for reading books/newspapers, listening to the radio/watching TV, visiting theatre performances or concerts, writing emails or text messages
		Q57: Use of Latvian for active text production

Language products

Dimension	Variables	Questions
Language use	Domain-specific language use	Q44: Opinions and attitudes towards the use of Latvian in public domains and the availability of interpreters
		Q55: Knowledge about the actual use of Latvian and availability of interpreters in various public sector domains
Education	Language of instruction	Q31: Language of instruction at school
		Q32: Latvian language classes at school
		Q33: Extracurricular Latvian language classes
Media	Media use and consumption	Q56: Availability of Latvian language media
Legislation	Support/prohibition of language use	Q48: Availability of the Constitution in Latvian
		Q49: Availability of the integration policies in Latvian
		Q50: Availability of the language policies in Latvian

Desire

Dimension	Variables	Questions
Language use	Native language	Q09: Self-reported native language
	Cross-generational language use	Q11-14: Language use between grandparents and respondent
		Q16-23: Language use between parents and respondent
		Q26/27: Language use between the respondent and their children/grandchildren
	Intragenerational language use	Q15: Language use by the respondent's parents between themselves
		Q24: Language use with siblings
		Q25: Language use with spouse/partner
	Self-reported language competence	Q35: Self-assessed skills in understanding/speaking/reading/writing Latvian
	Domain-specific language use	Q37: Use of Latvian in various domains
		Q44: Opinions and attitudes towards the use of Latvian in public domains and the availability of interpreters
		Q55: Knowledge about the actual use of Latvian and the availability of interpreters in various public sector domains
	Support or prohibition of language use	Q28: Were parents prevented from using Latvian with their children in the respondent's childhood?
		Q29: Is the respondent currently prevented from using Latvian with their children?
		Q30: Social acceptance of Latvian language use in public

Dimension	Variables	Questions
Language use	Support or prohibition of language use	Q38: language encouragement from parents
		Q39: language encouragement to children
	Group members' attitudes towards Latvian and its speakers	Q40: Who is expected to pass the language on to the children?
		Q41: How easy is it to make friends and work with speakers of Latvian?
	Role of language in the labour market	Q51: Opinions on the role of Latvian in the labour market
	Language maintenance	Q54: Attempts in Canada to maintain Latvian
Legislation	Support/prohibition of language use	Q45: Does legislation support the use of Latvian?
		Q46: Does legislation prevent the use of Latvian?
Media	Media use and consumption	Q56: Use of Latvian for reading books/newspapers, listening to the radio/watching TV, visiting theatre performances or concerts, writing emails or text messages
		Q57: Use of Latvian for active text production

Opportunity

Dimension	Variables	Questions
Language use	Support or prohibition of language use	Q28: Were parents prevented from using Latvian with their children in the respondent's childhood?
		Q29: Is the respondent currently prevented from using Latvian with their children?
	Language maintenance	Q53: Institutions that cultivate Latvian in Canada
		Q54: Attempts in Canada to maintain Latvian
	Domain-specific language use	Q55: Knowledge about the actual use of Latvian and the availability of interpreters in various public sector domains
Education	First acquisition of Latvian	Q10: Where and from whom the respondent first learned Latvian
	Language of instruction	Q31: language of instruction at school
	Native language	Q32: Latvian language classes at school
		Q33: Extracurricular Latvian language classes
Legislation	Support/prohibition of language use	Q45: Does legislation support the use of Latvian?
		Q46: Does legislation prevent the use of Latvian?
	Existence of legislation on education	Q47: Legislati on Latvian language instruction at school
	Existence of legal texts in Latvian	Q50: Availability of the language policies in Latvian
Media	Media use and consumption	Q56: Availability of Latvian language media

Appendix IV: The EuLaViBarMig Scaling System

In order to calculate the mean scores for each focus area and dimension as well as to calculate the EuLaViBarMig, the dataset needs to be coded applying the following scaling system:

Question 9: What is/are your native language(s)?

Q09: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'sonstige'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 10: Where have you learned Latvian

Q10: Opportunity (Education)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Not at all	One option is crossed	At home & friends OR in at school & friends OR at home & 'other' OR at school & 'other	At home & at school	At school, at home & friends OR at school, at home & 'other'

Question 11: What language(s) did/do your grandparents on your mother's side use with you?

Q11: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 12: What language(s) did/do you use with your grandparents on your mother's side?

Q12: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 13 What language(s) did/do your grandparents on your father's side use with you?

Q13: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 14: What language(s) did/do you use with your grandparents on your father's side?

Q14: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 15: What language(s) did/do your parents use between themselves?

Q15: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 16: What language(s) did <u>your mother</u> use with you <u>in childhood</u>?

Q16: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 17: What language(s) <u>did you</u> use with your mother <u>in childhood</u>?

Q17: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 18: What language(s) does <u>your mother</u> use with you <u>now</u>?

Q18: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 19: What language(s) <u>do you</u> use with your mother <u>now</u>?

Q19: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 20: What language(s) did <u>your father</u> use with you <u>in childhood</u>?

Q20: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 21: What language(s) <u>did you</u> use with your father <u>in childhood</u>?

Q21: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 22: What language(s) does <u>your father</u> use with you <u>now</u>?

Q22: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 23: What language(s) <u>do you</u> use with your father <u>now</u>?

Q23: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 24: What language(s) did/do you normally use with your siblings in childhood/to-day?

Q24: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 25: What language(s) do you normally use with your current spouse/partner?

Q25: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 26: What language(s) do you normally speak with your children?

Q26: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 27: What language(s) do you normally speak with your grandchildren?

Q27: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Latvian is not mentioned			Latvian and English/French OR Latvian and 'other'	Only Latvian is crossed

Question 28: When you were a child, did you ever notice somebody tried to prevent your parents from using Latvian with you?

Q28: Opportunity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Yes				No

Question 29: Do you notice situations in Canada today in which you are prevented from using Latvian with family members?

Q29: Opportunity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Yes		Sometimes		No

Question 30: Do you think it is socially accepted in Canada to speak Latvian in public (with family members, friends,…)?

Q30: Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No		Partly		Yes

Question 31: In the schools you attended, what language was the teaching medium (the language in which all the subjects, such as mathematics or geography, were taught)?

Q31: Opportunity, Language Products (Education)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	English/French or other languages		Latvian at least partly		Latvian only

Question 32: Did you have Latvian language classes (Latvian as a subject, as mother tongue or as foreign language) in school?

Q32: Opportunity, Language Products (Education)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No				Yes

Question 33: Did you attend extracurricular Latvian courses in Canada?

Q33: Opportunity, Language Products (Education)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No				Yes

Question 35: How would you evaluate your knowledge of Latvian

Q35: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Not at all	Poorly	Fairly well	Well	Perfectly

Question 37: Indicate how often you use Latvian in the following contexts in Canada:

Q37: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Never		Sometimes		Regularly

Question 38: When you were a child, did your parents encourage you to use Latvian?

Q38: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No				Yes

Question 39: Do you try/Have you tried to make your children learn and use Latvian?

Q39: Capacity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No				Yes

Question 40: Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

Q40: Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	I don't agree at all	I don't quite agree	Difficult to say	I agree	I totally agree

Question 42: Here are some statements about speakers of Latvian. Indicate how much you

agree with each of them

Q42: Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	I don't agree at all	I don't quite agree	Difficult to say	I agree	I totally agree

Question 44: What is your opinion on the use of Latvian in the public sphere in Canada?

Indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

Q44: Language Products, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	I don't agree at all	I don't quite agree	Difficult to say	I agree	I totally agree

Question 45: Do you think that the legislation in Canada/your region supports the use of

Latvian?

Q45: Opportunity, Desire (Legislation)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No		Partly		Yes

Question 46: Do you think that the legislation in Canada/your region prevents the use of

Latvian?

Q46: Opportunity, Desire (Legislation)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Yes		Partly		No

Question 47: Is there any legislation in Canada/your region regulating instruction in Latvian in the schools?

Q47: Opportunity (Legislation)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No		Partly		Yes

Question 48: Is the Constitution of Canada available in Latvian?

Q48: Language Products (Legislation)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No		Partly		Yes

Question 49: Are the integration policies in Canada/your province available in Latvian?

Q49: Language Products (Legislation)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No		Partly		Yes

Question 50: Are the language policies in your province available in Latvian?

Q50: Language Products, Capacity, Opportunity (Legislation)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No		Partly		Yes

Question 51: What is your opinion on the role of Latvian in the labour market in your region?

Indicate how much you agree with the following statements?

Q51: Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	I don't agree at all	I don't quite agree	Difficult to say	I agree	I totally agree

Question 53: Do you know of institutions or people who cultivate (develop, promote) Latvian in Canada?

Q53: Opportunity (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No				Yes

Question 54: Are attempts being made in Canada to save Latvian in these days?

Q54: Opportunity, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No				Yes

Question 55: Is Latvian being used in the following domains (in Canada/your region).

Q55: Opportunity, Language Products, Desire (Language Use)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No				Yes

Question 56-1: Is media in Latvian available?

Q56: Opportunity, Language Products (Media)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	No (→ not available in language x)				Yes

Question 56-2: Are these media being used? (Only, "yes" is taken into account)

Q56: Capacity (Media)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Yes, never				Yes, regularly/ sometimes

Question 56-3: How often are they used? (Only, "yes" is taken into account)

Q56: Desire (Media)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Yes, never		Yes, sometimes		Yes, regularly

Question 57-1: -> Active use of language and culture (Only, "yes" is taken into account)

Q57: Capacity (Media)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Yes, never				Yes, regularly/ sometimes

Question 57-2: How often is it being used? (Only, "yes" is taken into account)

Q57: Desire (Media)					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Criteria	Yes, never		Yes, sometimes		Yes, regularly

Appendix V: Variables and questions of the three ELDIA IntBar focus areas

Ability

Variable	Question
Educational background	Q05: Highest level of education
	Q08: In which country the respondent spent most of their school years
Employment situation	Q06: Occupational status
State language proficiency	Q34a1: English courses attended in Canada
	Q34a2: Reasons for not having attended English courses in Canada
	Q34b1: French courses attended in Canada
	Q34b2: Reasons for not having attended French courses in Canada
	Q36a: Self-assessed active and passive English skills
	Q36b: Self-assessed active and passive French skills
	Q41: Support of children to learn English and French

Commitment

Variable	Question
Citizenship	Q04: Respondent's citizenship(s)
Duration of stay	Q03: Country of birth
	Q03a: Duration of stay so far
	Q04: Intended duration of stay

Accessibility

Variable	Question
Social openness	Q30: Social acceptance of Latvian language use in public
	Q43: Approachability of Canadians
Labour market access	Q52: Experienced labour market access without English and/ or French language proficiency

Appendix VI: The ELDIA IntBar Scaling System

Question 3: Where were you born?

Q03: Commitment					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	Outside Canada				In Canada

Question 3a: How long have you been living in Canada?

Q03a: Commitment					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	0-4	5-10	11-25	26-40	40+ years

Question 3g: How do you see your future in Canada?

Q03g: Commitment					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	I don't have a residence permit / I am staying here only temporarily and want to move soon		I am staying here for an indefinite period, but want to return one day. OR Both countries are mentioned as residencies		Canada is/has become my home.

Question 4: Citizenship

Q04: Commitment					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	No Canada		Canada + x		Canada only

Question 5: Please indicate your highest level of education

Q05: Ability					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	No school education	Primary School	Secondary education	Higher vocational education	Higher academic education

Question 6: What describes your occupational situation best today?

Q06: Ability					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	Unemployed / Pensioner		Work at home		Work outside home OR School OR university

Question 8: In which country did you spend most of your school years?

Q08: Ability					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	Outside Canada				Canada

Question 30: Do you think it is socially accepted in Canada to speak Latvian in public?

Q30: Accessibility					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	no		partly		yes

Question 34: Did you attend English/French courses in Canada?

Q34a: Ability					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	no				yes

Question 34a: Why did you not attend English/French courses in Canada?

Q34a: Ability					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	No time OR no interest OR not necessary in order to live and work in Canada	too expensive OR not offered			I already had a good command of English/French.

Question 36a-1: How would you evaluate your knowledge of English/French? (active: speak & write)

Q36: Ability					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	Not at all	Poorly	Fairly well	Well	Perfectly

Question 36a-2: How would you evaluate your knowledge of English/French? (passive: listen & read)

Q36: Ability					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	Not at all	Poorly	Fairly well	Well	Perfectly

Question 41: Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements about speakers of Latvian.

Latvian men are expected to support their children in learning English/French.

Latvian women are expected to support their children in learning English/French.

Q41: Ability					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	I don't agree at all	I don't quite agree	Difficult to say	I agree	I totally agree

Question 43: Here are some statements about Canadians. Please indicate how much you agree with each of them.

It is easy to make friends with a Canadian.

It is easy to get acquainted with a Canadian.

It is easy to work together with a Canadian.

It is easy to spend your leisure time with a Canadian.

Q43: Accessibility					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	I don't agree at all	I don't quite agree	Difficult to say	I agree	I totally agree

Question 52: What is your opinion on the role of English/French on the labour market in Canada/province/territory?

Only those who know English/French find a job.

Only those who know English/French find a well-paid job.

Only those who know English/French advance in their career.

Q52: Accessibility					
	Barometer Score				
	0	1	2	3	4
Answer	I totally agree	I agree	Difficult to say	I don't quite agree	I don't agree at all

Appendix VII: Interview template

1. Where and when were you born?

    - Outside of Canada: How and when did you arrive in Canada?

        - Did you stay in a DP camp in Germany? Do you have active memories?

        - How did you experience your life in the camp?

        - How much contact did you have with the local population?

Culture

2. How was the Latvian heritage maintained in your family?

3. Who had the biggest influence on you maintaining the Latvian heritage?

4. Do you remember specific festivities or traditions that were important to you as a child or teenager?

5. What did you pass on to your children? Why was it important to you?

6. How important is language when it comes to maintaining the Latvian heritage?

Image of Latvia

7. When you were a child or teenager, what was your image of Latvia?

8. Did you feel a desire to go to Latvia?

9. When did you go to Latvia for the first time?

10. How did you experience your first steps on the ground?

11. Did your impressions meet your expectations?

Identity

12. What do you think contributes to a person's identity?

13. What is your identity?

14. Do you feel to be a part of Latvian society?

15. Is there a difference between the Latvian society in Canada and the Latvian society in Latvia?

16. Do you have dual citizenship? Why was it (not) important for you?

17. How important is it for you today to be in contact with other Latvians?

Home

18. What does home mean to you?

19. Where is home?

20. Where are the differences between your feelings towards Latvia/Canada?