

**The Canadian Czech Diaspora:
bilingual and multilingual language inheritances and affiliations**

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Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand how children within a Canadian Czech diasporic context, create and discover their Czech heritage language and culture through meaningful active participation in areas provided within the constructs of a non traditional setting such as a summer camp. Five contextual areas of the camp were identified and studied. The areas are: activities, food, camp counselors, staff dynamics and location. Braziel and Mannur (2003) and Rampton's (1990) aspects of "language inheritance" and "language affiliation" inform the analysis.

Résumé

Cette étude qualitative tente à mieux comprendre comment les enfants, nés dans la diaspora tchèque au Canada, découvrent la langue et la culture tchèque dans le camp d'été Hostýn. Cinq domaines contextuels ont été identifiés et étudiés. Les domaines contextuels du camp sont les suivants: activités, alimentations, animateurs et animatrices de camp, relations interpersonnelles et endroits. L'analyse de cette étude est basée sur les travaux de Braziel et Mannur (2003) ainsi que les termes "language inheritance" et "language affiliation" de Rampton (1990).

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Chapter One

Introduction

What is most important to first generation Canadians within the Czech diasporic community? Do they value and find importance in their own personal heritage language(s) and culture(s)? What do they feel should be maintained? What do they feel should be excluded? Is it simply their cultural background, their linguistic background, both or neither? As a first generation Canadian, I know that a minority community can not transmit its own cultural heritage on to first generation Canadians living in Canada because the meaning of one's culture and language identity is constantly shifting and changing. Issues of time, location, and politics all play roles in the transmission of heritage language, heritage cultural traditions, and ways of living. Some of the situations I faced as a first generation Canadian child reinforced within me the notion that my own cultural heritage would be, under some circumstances, more difficult to personally negotiate than my own heritage language, and vice versa.

Therefore, the possibility of using camp Hostýn, a Czech summer camp in Quebec, as my thesis topic was an interesting prospect. By studying camp Hostýn, I could reflect on my own experiences as a first generation Canadian and observe whether this camp could successfully provide an appropriate heritage language and cultural experience for other first generation Canadians. Could this camp provide appropriate heritage cultural experiences for these children? Could it provide appropriate heritage language experiences for them? What is "appropriate"? What role, if any, does the 1989 fall of communism in the Czech Republic play in the camp's survival? What role does

today's Czech diasporic community play in the survival of the camp? Do parents play a role in the camp's ability to function efficiently?

My reflections in this chapter provide readers with some insights into my own experiences as a first generation Canadian and how they shaped my views on my own Czech heritage language and culture. The following personal thematic reflections represent negotiated areas in my own identity that have been socially constructed by society. In other words, they represent areas that I have negotiated between the existing social structures constructed by Canadian society and myself. They also represent experiences, which enabled me to develop a personal sense of agency to society around me since each experience was a negotiation between the self and other. I view these reflections to be unique to time, location, politics as well as contexts within Canada and the Czech Republic. Even though my inquiry in this study is specific to camp Hostýn and is not situated in the Czech Republic, some of my own personal reflections were nevertheless negotiated abroad.

Personal Reflections

In the first part of this section, I reflect on my own personal memories of identity, culture, and language. These specific areas are what began to shape my own foundations in terms of how I view myself as a Canadian. In the second part of this section, I reflect on my own personal memories of how I, through the already established terms of “Anglophone” and “Francophone” in Canada, adapt to each of these socially constructed categories within my own childhood. In the last part of this section, I reflect on my own personal memories of my experiences within the Czech diasporas in Canada, the Československá Socialistická Republika (ČSSR), and the Czech Republic.

Identity

I've always felt that as a Canadian, this particular word embodied much more than met the eye and was not at all a term I felt could be duplicated among any one single Canadian. I use the word duplicate simply because I believe the word "Canadian" embodies something different for every individual. As a child growing up in Ontario, in a predominantly English speaking part of Canada, I understood that being different was not a bad thing. However, I still felt that society around me did not accept my linguistic difference, which caused me to compartmentalize my heritage identity in public. Being "English" in public and "Czech" at home was not something I wanted to discuss nor was it something I wanted people to know about. I was very selective about this aspect of my identity when I was younger. My "Czechness" was a part of my Canadian identity, which I made available to certain people when I felt the need to express it. At school, I also felt a large difference between myself and my classmates. The difference was not racial, but rather cultural and linguistic. For me, the little things seemed to matter most. The house we lived in, the food we ate, the language spoken at home, the utensils we used, the art work that hung on our walls, the sheets and duvets we used year round were all aspects of my identity, which I understood to be different from everyone else in my school.

I often wondered as a child why I had such reservations about being open about where my family came from. Perhaps, it was because no one really knew where or even what Czechoslovakia was at the time. I remember feeling awkward in answering questions such as "Where are your parents from?" or "Why do your parents speak weird English?" As a child, I remember how I hated those questions. They exposed what I

viewed at the time, a kind of vulnerability to who I was. I say vulnerability because my answer would always generate a host of subsequent questions, which quite frankly, tired me since I knew the questions meant I would have to “explain” and “justify” my personal background. In elementary school in Ontario, I just wanted to fit in. In the early 1980’s Czechoslovakia was seen as “something” quite foreign, mysterious, exotic and above all, inaccessible to most of the West. I use the word “something” to describe Czechoslovakia because I always had to explain that it was, in fact, an actual country located in Europe. I remember in grade five one classmate asking me if Czechoslovakia was in Africa. << *Comment?* >> I answered. They asked me again << *Bon alors, c’est où la Tchécoslovaquie?* >>. I responded by saying << *C’est en Europe. T’as ton doigt sur le mauvais continent mon vieux.* >>. I grew tired of having to put up with such questions. Had there been a genuine interest in knowing where my family came from, that would have been another matter. My answers were received with awkwardness, silence or mockery. None of these responses appealed to me nor do I think such reactions would appeal to any child.

There were in terms of language and culture, three kinds of “-nesses” to my identity: “Englishness”, “Frenchness” and “Czechness”. I was very much aware of them as a child but what I did not understand back then, was why socially I had perceived only the “Englishness” to be acceptable in mainstream public. I think perhaps a lot of it had to do with the fact there was no real, everyday, tangible reason to the expression of my “Frenchness” or my “Czechness” in Ontario meaning I only used these two languages either in school or at home. So no matter how hard I tried, the expression of my “Frenchness” or “Czechness” was not something I could justify as a child in practical

terms. I saw my “Frenchness” as something that I only used in school, and my “Czechness” only at home. But the “Englishness” aspect of my cultural and linguistic identity proved to me, through its use in everyday interactions and social settings, to be an indispensable aspect of who I was no matter where I went. I also felt it was something incredibly positive and very much welcomed by anyone I met.

Even when I use the word “Englishness”, I still feel it does not express fully this aspect of my identity. I would rather use “Canadianness” but this is incorrect too. I’m not of English descent, so then perhaps I should be using the term Anglophone but then where does Canadian fit in? Within this maze of “questionable” questions, I am quite certain of a few things: I was born and raised in Canada. I have both a mother and a father who emigrated from former Czechoslovakia in 1968 and came to Canada to build a new life. I spent all of my childhood in Ontario, went to French as a first language elementary school for nine years, and went to an English speaking high school for another four. And somewhere between the two, I spent one school year in France.

So where did all these experiences leave me in terms of constructing my identity as a child growing up? It left me feeling as if I had to segregate my three “-nesses” in order to function on a daily basis. So, I expressed my “Czechness” for breakfast, “Frenchness” in class, “Englishness” at lunch and recess, “Frenchness” for class again, “Englishness” for after school extracurricular, “Czechness” for dinner, back to “Frenchness” for homework, and then a final return to “Czechness” for bedtime. This alternation between these three aspects of my identity did not feel convoluted but it was a daily scheduled routine throughout most of my childhood. In fact, it felt quite normal and I was happy to meet others who shared similar experiences.

Nevertheless, I define myself as a Canadian and to me this consists of my ability to feel at home in my “Englishness”, “Frenchness”, and “Czechness”. They represent a part of my identity formation that was influenced by my parents, school and the various environments I was exposed to throughout my childhood.

Culture

Being born in Canada, raised in Ontario, and living in Czech at home exposed me to various unique aspects of Czech culture within a private, communal context. In many ways, these experiences represent “Canadian time-lapsed moments”, which I interpret to be a moment that is never really fixed. The cultural experience shifts in intensity with time. My mother viewed her Czech culture to be an important element of who she was, and this in turn proved to be the main reason why I was exposed to so much of it throughout my childhood. There appears to be no other initial reason. In fact, there are so many aspects of my mother that are culturally Czech it is hard for me to see anything else. So much of who she is rests on her homeland’s culture, from the way she decorates her home, to the design and way in which she built her cottage. All of these elements symbolize my mother’s cultural attachment to her background, and homeland.

For me, the way my mother expressed her cultural attachment to Czechoslovakia gave me a way of life at home. My Czech culture was a representation of a certain way of life, of living. For one, my mother spoke to me in Czech and was quite determined to have us speak back in Czech as well. For instance, we were the only family I knew that had duvets on every bed in the house. Actually, it seemed so very normal to me that I was quite surprised to find out that none of my friends had any duvets in their homes. I remember asking my mother why we had them and no one else did. Her reply was

always the same: everyone in Czechoslovakia uses them since “každěj potřebuje pořadnou peřinu” meaning, “everyone needs a proper duvet.” Then of course, there was the cutlery. It was such an odd looking set. The forks were three pronged and were wide. The blade of the knives was short and slanted and the spoons were rectangular in shape. Where did my mother find these eating utensils? It was so obvious they were not bought in Canada, and the answer didn’t surprise me since utensils such as ours could not have been purchased anywhere else *but* there, meaning Czechoslovakia. Such distinct material differences seemed strange to me since before the age of eight, I had never been to the Československá Socialistická Republika (ČSSR). Indeed these differences called into question a part of my cultural heritage and how I interpret its meaning in my life. I found it difficult to reconcile being in what seemed to me at times, an environment where I had been forced to speak Czech and do things my mother’s way, *the Czech way*, at home, which to me seemed pointless since I had never been to Czechoslovakia, and even if I wanted to go I couldn’t, for political reasons. The iron curtain was tightly fastened, separating East from West for most of my childhood. I did not see the rational for constantly maintaining this “upkeep” of my Czech heritage. My mother kept on insisting, and saying that we needed to know the Czech language and culture for the family. Family? What family? They were over there, and I was in Canada. In Canada, I only used Czech with my mother and her friends. So for me, there had to be more. There just had to be a better, more practical reason for maintaining my heritage Czech language and culture.

Going to Czech supplementary school helped me find a reason other than family. This experience put me in contact with other kids my age, who were going through the

same experiences with their own parents. The Czech supplementary school was an outlet that enabled all of the students to find a reason other than the home for maintaining their Czech culture and language. The supplementary school exposed us to different aspects of Czech history, language, culture and camaraderie, which were important for me. Even though the school did not function very long after I began attending, it still provided me with different meanings and contexts to interpret the Czech culture and language of my parent's homeland. For example, I remember appreciating being among other children who spoke Czech and whose parents came from Czechoslovakia.

Language

Within my identity of “Englishness”, “Frenchness”, and “Czechness” can be found three paralleled languages English, French and Czech. Each one of these languages is located within the “-nesses” of their prefix. I identify with each of these in different ways, and with different intensities. Throughout my childhood, I never fully understood why I felt differently towards each of them. Why did I have a different sense of attachment to each language and culture? Why were they not equally important to me? My “production” of each language was constructed within different contexts, places and times. I asked myself such questions because I felt they all constituted such a large part of my cultural fabric. It was as if without the three languages, I would have not only lost the ability to verbally communicate but I would have also lost a large part of my cultural identity. In other words, my linguistic as well as cultural production would be at a standstill. That is, I would not be as efficient at improving my Czech heritage if I simply focused on either the language or simply the culture.

My association and relationship with the English language is distant. I would not say that I feel any attachment to this language but it does represent a part of my “Englishness”. That is to say, I see the English language providing me with certain social advantages in Canada and abroad. It does not hold a place of heritage within my family, so a personally deep affection for it is most definitely not present. This lack of attachment to the English language seems rather odd because I was born and raised in Canada so logically, my attachment to one of my own country’s official languages should be more pronounced than it is.

My association and relationship with the French language is similar to that of English but with an added sense of confusion and, at times, a certain omnipresent flip-flap from recognition to misrecognition (Taylor, 1992) within my local Francophone community. This flip-flap occurs for two reasons: First, the French language holds no place of heritage within my own family. However, Canada has given the French language official language status federally but not provincially so in relation to my own heritage Czech language, I find this is a contradiction in terms. This differentiation is a contradiction because I understand the Czech language to be a heritage language of Canada, enriching Canada’s cultural mosaic. However, my own understanding of the French language is that it is one of the languages of the founding nations of Canada, which is why I understand, and agree with its official language status. Second of all, I attended a French as a first language school, not a French immersion school. This means I was taught the French language and culture as if I were coming from a Francophone background only to find out years later that Canada has defined me to be an “Allophone” meaning, a child whose background is neither English nor French. My personal link to

the French language is through school. The utility and meaning of the French language for me as a child, was found only within the Francophone school and community in Ontario. Not the home, not with family, and certainly not the larger community social settings of Ontario. To me, these domains were socially constructed spheres and were off limits. Therefore, school was the only place where I found a utility for the French language as a child. Of course, my parents and teachers told me about the importance of learning more than one language as well as the values an individual acquires from learning multiple languages. I didn't understand why French was not a language I could use outside school as often as English within the social communities of Ontario, within Canada.

This confusion and constant internal negotiation between French being accepted as an official language in Canada but not in Ontario, is the personal attachment I had to this language. It was an official language of my country and was supposedly, according to my francophone school and community, going to be widely spoken throughout Canada by the time I was an adult. This latter point proved not to be the case. Instead, what I found and what I believe still exists today in Ontario and other provinces in Canada with the possible exception of Quebec, is the social reality of the Francophone community being subjected to the status of a heritage minority. I believe this status to be inappropriate and a contradiction in terms since federally, it is an official language of Canada. This negation was a catalyst to my absolute confusion as to how I viewed my own relationship towards my "Frenchness" and my "Czechness". My "Frenchness" was something that already "officially" belonged to Canada as my "Englishness" because they were both given official language status unlike my own heritage Czech language.

These were languages I felt I had to learn as a child because they were the two official languages of Canada. This led me to believe as a child that there was some kind of double standard between the equality of both official languages. Unfortunately, as the years progressed, I began to see the status of the French language as equal to that of my heritage language, Czech. In other words, it was as though my “Frenchness” was on equal ground with my “Czechness”.

In moving forward with my “Czechness”, it was difficult for me to understand let alone agree with what I perceived to be the demotion of the French language to the status of a heritage language in Ontario. For me, my “Czechness” was personal. It was something that I had the choice to build on or just let fall by the wayside. This type of reasoning seemed rather normal to me. Czech language and culture were something my parents were bringing to Canada and decided to move forward with on their own. Canada as such, provided an open environment necessary for this to take place through its’ policy of multiculturalism. As a child, I felt that my “Czechness” was something to be worked on at home with family. I understood that the dislocation I felt within my social surroundings regarding my inability to use Czech anywhere and everywhere in Canada was real. However, in some ways this also reinforced my resolve to pursue every opportunity that enabled me to further my knowledge of this language and culture.

Anglophones in Ontario

As a first generation Canadian living in Canada, noteworthy is that I do not view myself as belonging to this particular “Anglophone” category Canada seems to designate to its citizenry. The term anglophone means any individual whose primary language is English or whose native language is English. So technically speaking, I do fit into this

rough definition of the term but I do not identify nor do I appreciate being automatically associated with it. My reasoning is not exactly straight forward. The difficulty resides in the way I view the term Canadian since I do not think it is a word that can be given one single definition. It is a word that is in constant flux by those who attempt to define it. I do feel a partial belonging to the term “Anglophone” but it does not represent the essence of who I am. I view it as a term that allows Canadian governmental bodies to function efficiently, but not necessarily fairly, when managing educational policies both at the federal and provincial levels in this country. I did not learn the English language from my parents, family friends or relatives. The fact that English was taught to me by individuals outside my family social network makes the English language impersonal and more professional. For example, I do not expect all Canadians to speak Czech since it is not an official language of Canada but I do expect Canadians to speak English since it is one of Canada’s official languages.

In my own personal experience within Ontario, a great deal of assimilation has taken place on a linguistic level into the official language of the province, and of the country meaning English. In other words, the English language has achieved dominance. This assimilation has caused other first generation Canadians to identify more with the term Anglophone than with any other classificatory category assigned to Canadians by the federal and/or provincial governments of Canada.

Francophones in Ontario

The Francophone community in the Cambridge, Kitchener-Waterloo area gradually began to establish itself around 1958, and has grown and thrived ever since. However, according to L’Action Française (2007), the Cambridge based Francophone

community journal, the membership to the Centre communautaire francophone de Cambridge, has been steadily declining from 246 members in March 2006 to 234 members in February of 2007. It is believed that the decrease in these membership figures corresponds to a younger generation not wanting to be part of a specific membership group (Centre communautaire francophone de Cambridge, personal communication, December, 2006). Despite the fluctuation in these numbers, the Francophone community itself is not on the decline since the number of Francophone elementary and high schools have been on the rise over the past four decades. When I attended the Francophone elementary school in Cambridge back in the early 1980s, there were only two elementary schools in the region, one in Cambridge and one in Kitchener. Also, the only available high school back then was located in Hamilton. Presently, and according to L'Action Française (2006), there are six elementary schools and two high schools to serve the Cambridge, Kitchener-Waterloo, Guelph and Hamilton regions. Even though I am not presently an active member of the Francophone community, I do owe them a great deal. It is the Francophone community, which permitted me to attend their Francophone school for nine years, and it is the school that taught me the French language.

While the Francophone community continues to grow in the region, its' fragility in terms of language and cultural maintenance remains omnipresent. I view this community's position within Ontario to be fragile simply because I do not see much of a difference between the Francophone community and the other heritage language minority groups in Ontario. Provincially, with the exception of New Brunswick and Quebec, French is not an official language but federally it is. The fact French has achieved

official status at the federal level gives this particular minority group a theoretical advantage over other minority groups outside the province of Quebec. All Francophone minority communities across Canada are protected under the minority language rights section of the Charter. Thus, the Francophone community in Ontario receives substantial funding from the federal government unlike some heritage language communities in the province. Francophone minority communities across the country are therefore advantageously positioned to direct, manage and administer their schools in contrast to other immersion schools and heritage language schools within Canada.

Czech Diaspora (Cambridge, Kitchener-Waterloo, Guelph Region)

It is important to mention that since no or very little documentation exists on this particular regional Czech diasporic community, the majority of the information contained in this section has been taken from one interview with M. Reinišová (personal communication, June 22, 2006). The relative beginnings of the Czech diaspora in the Cambridge, Kitchener-Waterloo, and Guelph region began to take shape in the late 1930s. In total, there were roughly three major waves of immigration. The first occurred in 1938 just before the Nazi occupation; the second took place after World War II during the communist coup d'état of 1948; and the last major wave of immigration took place just after the Soviet invasion in 1968.

Before 1968, the Czech diaspora had been steadily losing momentum in terms of activity since its' members were aging, and no longer had the initiative nor the interest in creating, promoting, and carrying out the various activities necessary to insure the survival of the Czechoslovak Association. However, once new immigrants began arriving shortly after the Soviet invasion in 1968, there began a revival of the Czech

diaspora as a whole. This is not to say there was complete unity and agreement between the immigration wave of people in 1948 and those of 1968. Many of those who came in 1948 viewed the new immigrants from 1968 as having been influenced by the communists. This point may be a valid one but because those who immigrated to Canada in 1968 lived under communism, they understood the way it functioned to a greater extent than the older generation of immigrants. Those who had just recently arrived were all too acutely aware of the importance of reviving, improving and redirecting the activities of the Czechoslovak Association in this region.

The immigrants from 1968 were deeply concerned about creating and providing various forms of resistance towards the communists in the ČSSR (Československá Socialistická Republika/Czechoslovak Socialist Republic). This naturally became the new purpose and direction of the Czechoslovak Association as well as the Czech diaspora in this region. The association became most active in the 1970s and 1980s; various media were used to resist and counter communism such as television, community journals, the Czech school, and the sponsorship of immigrants through the Canadian federal government.

The beginnings of Czech TV in the Cambridge, Kitchener-Waterloo, Guelph region, took shape around December of 1976 and continued until roughly 1987. Initially, the group aired one 30 min program with two to three reruns each month, after which they began to air one 1 hour program, with two to three reruns each month. The Czech TV program itself was set into motion by David Ševčík, who took an interest in initializing the idea. However, the program was never led by one person but always by a group of energetic individuals who felt the need to provide a voice for dissent, and whose

main audiences were those living in exile, here in Canada. The group in charge of Czech TV programming consisted of the following people: David Ševčík, Zbyněk Dvořáček, Vladimír Bubák, Standa Reiniš, and Milada Reinišová. Each program consisted of several segments including news (Czech and Slovak), political commentary, and then there was a segment dedicated to poetry, plays, culture and so on. Most of the information gathered was taken from exiled works from different sources such as journals, newspapers, books and magazines, which the Czech TV group received from the ČSSR and elsewhere. For the most part, it was David Ševčík who took charge of taping and editing all Czech TV programs that aired.

The programming selected by Czech TV was geared towards providing a form of resistance to communism while simultaneously providing the opportunity for intellectual dissidents to have their works disseminated here in Canada. An example of this would be the publication of works from dissidents through the 68 Publishers, located in Toronto. Some works selected by the group, and which aired on Czech TV were for instance, the world premier of Václav Havel's play Audience, and J. Škvorecký's Host do Domu. Some of the works produced by Czech TV were of such good quality that they were even used in regular programming by the local network. Czech TV programming was made possible by Rogers Cable through the Canadian federal multiculturalism act of 1988. Initially, multicultural programming was a free service. However, in the late 1980's the Czech diasporic community was told by Rogers Cable they would have to fund most of Czech programming themselves through advertisements. This was not something this Czech diasporic community was interested in pursuing.

Another form of resistance provided by the Czechoslovak diasporic community was the journal entitled *Dobry Den* (Good Day), whose original editors were M. Reinišová and S. Reiniš. This journal began in 1984 and still continues to provide a selection of writing from various contributors within the community. The late Vladimír Bubák was another longtime and well-known editor of this quarterly journal. He edited this journal from 1986 until his death in 2006. More importantly the journal *Západ*, which began in 1979 and continued right up until the fall of communism in 1989, was initiated by S. Reiniš, M. Šuchma, J. Škvorecký, and others. This journal was important to the Czech diasporic community since it had one of the largest readerships in comparison to any other publication. The federal government supported this very influential journal by providing it with a grant to help cover the cost of postage. Initially, the journal was sent to those who had an interest in the contents of the journal. In the years that followed, the journal began to build a solid list of subscribers and soon began sending issues to various Czech diasporas around the world. This journal ceased its activities soon after the fall of communism in 1989 simply because there was no longer a political need for the journal's distribution. With the fall of communism, many people within the diaspora focused their energies on the former ČSSR.

Not all publications ceased their activities, and the Toronto based newspaper *Nový Domov* is a prime example of one such a publication. *Nový Domov* began in 1950 as a biweekly newspaper publication and for a brief period in 1955 became a weekly publication after which, it returned to being a biweekly newspaper. This publication continues to enjoy a large readership through its' wide range of influential and intellectual contributors. This newspaper has also experienced many different editors

who themselves, were living in exile. Noteworthy is that after the coup d'état in 1948, many members of the Czechoslovak press who came to Canada, went to work for this publication. This newspaper currently has a large group of contributing editors on several continents, and it continues to be one of the longest running publications within the Czech diaspora in Canada.

The Czech diaspora was also active in teaching the Czech language to younger generations of the Czech community, through supplementary schools established by each Czech diaspora across Canada. The Czech supplementary school in the Cambridge, Kitchener-Waterloo, and Guelph region was initiated by G. Škarecká, D. Vlachová and M. Vejvodová in the 1970s. Initially, classes were held in the instructor's homes and then were transferred to education centers where classrooms were available for their use every Saturday morning. Since the maximum number of students who attended this region's Czech supplementary school remained around 20, the children were never split into groups according to language ability. As a result, students who were the least fluent learned the most, while students with advanced levels of language fluency did not benefit from the schooling as much as they could have since they were not grouped according to language ability (T. Reinišová, personal communication, June 22, 2006). The curriculum in the Czech supplementary school was not extremely rigid (G. Škarecká and M. Vejvodová, personal communication, December 27-30, 2005). For the most part, students learned Czech grammar and comprehension through games, songs or from a textbook, called a *slabikář* meaning "spelling-book [*sic*]" (Caha, Kopecká, Krámský and Poldauf, 1994, p.874). The *slabikář* was brought to Canada from the ČSSR from members of the Czech community. For a brief period, they also had Vladimír Bubák

who came in on Saturday's to provide students with Czechoslovak history lessons. Other elements of the curriculum included poetry, songs and plays, which were in some cases aired on Czech TV. Today, this region's Czech diasporic community no longer has a functioning Saturday school, and the reason is primarily due to a lack of long-term commitment. Every once in a while, the community tries to revive an interest but by and large fails to do so. In fairness to most of the Czech diasporic communities across Canada, some parents are now choosing to support heritage language acquisition within the home. In turn, they support this method of learning with trips to either and/or both, the Czech Republic and Slovakia to help their children hone and deepen their knowledge of their heritage language and culture. Camp Hostýn provides another choice for parents interested in exposing their children to Czech language and culture outside the home. Presently, only a handful of families in Canada have chosen to send their children to camp Hostýn to strengthen their knowledge of Czech/Slovak language and culture.

In 1976, the Czechoslovak Association signed an agreement with the federal government, which permitted the association to sponsor immigrants who were located in refugee camps in Germany and Austria. The Czechoslovak Association could sponsor both Czech and Slovak families, and were given a list by the federal government of possible candidates from which to choose. This particular sponsorship program was quite significant since the association would only need to sponsor the family for a period of 1 year instead of several, which was the case for individuals sponsoring their own family members. The Czechoslovak Association sponsored roughly 200 families under this particular agreement signed with the federal government.

As the years passed, this diaspora became quite successful in providing resistance to communism in the ČSSR. They exchanged books with the underground. The 1970s and 1980s represented the height of the cold war in this particular region, so having spies traveling in and out of the ČSSR during this period was quite normal. The Czech diasporic communities were so successful at helping dissidents living in the ČSSR that the communist felt the need to create certain kinds of reactionary tactics in order to try and disrupt the unity of these Czech diasporic communities. These reactionary tactics were done to try and stop any form of resistance against communism. These actions were also created to diminish any forms of support the Czech diaspora here in Canada could provide dissidents living in the ČSSR.

For example, those living in exile had to give up their ČSSR citizenship, which was something the Czechoslovak Association here in Canada did accept. Another more disturbing aspect however, was the issue of those who kept their citizenship and were granted permission by the communists to travel back to the ČSSR. In return, they had to align themselves with the communists and answer questions such as providing a description of the Czech diaspora in Canada, what activities were in place within the community, who organized them and so on. This kind of questioning was akin to spying and it did, to a certain extent, split the Czech diaspora.

Living under communism affected everyone as well as the diaspora as a whole differently. The disagreements between those who immigrated in 1948 and those who immigrated in 1968 were to some extent, caused by the effects of living under two different political and social systems. Even the organization of the Czech supplementary school was, as a whole affected by this exposure to communism. If one compared the

Czech diasporic community's supplementary school with other heritage language schools within the same region, the first major difference between the two would be its' organization. The Czech supplementary school, when it existed in this region, lacked structure in terms of the school's organization, and the setting was quite informal in nature. This was intentional since those who immigrated in 1968 were very reluctant to becoming involved with organizations in general (G. Škarecká, personal communication, February, 2007). As a result, individuals were quite hesitant to take part in activities which required this kind of commitment, even within the diaspora itself (E. Košacká, personal communication, February 10, 2007). Even within my own family I started to notice the residual effects of communism. I was also aware other Canadians would classify their behavior as odd only because they themselves had never been exposed to communism. My mother for instance, was and still is to this day, extremely private when it comes to voting and elections. For her, who and what party she votes for is of nobody's business but her own. No one has the right to know who you vote for unless the information is provided by your own free will and accord. My mother's reaction is directly related to her experiences when she lived in the ČSSR. I understood through my discussions with her that the democratic election process is a right, responsibility and a privilege. This democratic mindset was impossible in the ČSSR. Here in Canada, she still dislikes election officials at polling stations initializing her voting slip when she goes to vote.

My father also reacted oddly whenever he would order food from a restaurant by phone since he would give a fictitious name instead of his own. On another occasion, I remember he bought himself a Minolta camera with various different types of lenses, and

ended up putting tape over the word *Minolta* because he did not want anyone to know what kind of camera he owned. These reactions were all a direct result of their lived experiences in the ČSSR. It must be understood that anyone who went abroad for a brief period and returned to the ČSSR could be searched, observed, or questioned by the communists. My mother distinctly remembers returning from France only to have every inch of her belongings searched at the ČSSR border.

The personal yearnings an individual living in exile felt towards wanting to see their own family in the ČSSR also changed the dynamic of the Czech diaspora. The dynamics in the Czech diaspora in Canada were different because all of a sudden, everyone in the community became your extended family meaning, your grandmother, grandfather, aunt, uncle and so on simply because the option of visiting family was completely out of the question. The element of resisting communism and supporting dissidents living in the ČSSR, were the driving forces of the Czech diasporic community in this region. However, with the fall of communism in 1989, the momentum of the Czech diaspora here in Canada began to slowly but surely dissipate. Today, the Czech diasporic communities across Canada still remain active but not to the same extent as they once did. It can be said that the main reason for this change was due to the fall of communism.

After 1989, the focus turned towards returning to families and the homeland. The emphasis centered on the idea of rebuilding and revisiting what was, for so long, inaccessible to most living in exile. Even for younger generations born in Canada who felt a greater need to understand where they came from, and why their parents left in the first place, the focus also became a return to the homeland. This is an important point I

would like to stress because not all first generation Canadians I knew as a child whose parents immigrated to Canada from various parts of Europe, can understand what I have just stated. There are many first generation Canadians who were born in Canada but not in exile. Their parents immigrated to Canada and became citizens of this country.

However, the opportunity for these first generation Canadians to return to the country their parents chose to leave was, for the most part, within reach. This was not my case, and it most certainly continues not to be the case for other first generation Canadians of my own generation, and younger. Even though I was born in Canada, I was still born and for a large part of my life, living in “exile”. Prior to 1989, I could not just “go” to the ČSSR and visit family nor could they simply come over anytime they wanted. As a young Canadian living in cultural and linguistic exile, here in Canada, it was twice as difficult for me to maintain my knowledge of my own heritage language and culture. Others of my generation who I knew personally but who came from different heritage backgrounds namely from Western Europe, could go and have first hand access to their own heritage language and culture but not me. So it was an extraordinary feeling for someone in my position, who only managed to visit the ČSSR once for a few months as a child, to finally have the “right” to freely go back, visit family, and be in direct contact with my own culture and language. The excitement of having the possibility to help rebuild the Czech Republic was for me, a great feeling.

Czech Diaspora (Montreal Region)

My first experiences with the Czech diaspora in Montreal began when I started attending McGill University in the fall of 1994. By that time, I had been going back to the Czech Republic on a regular basis at least once a year which is the main reason I did

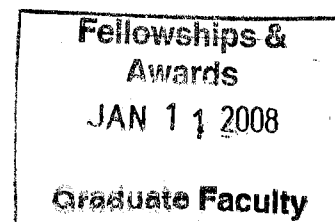
not feel the need to immerse myself within the Czech diaspora of Montreal. It was very difficult for me to find anyone in the community who was around my age. Most community members who could be characterized as active were usually those who immigrated to Canada in 1948 or 1968. For someone who was just getting used to living in Montreal and attending university, becoming active in the Czech community was far from my mind. However, moving away from home did create some issues for me since I no longer spoke Czech every day. Once I settled down in Montreal, it became apparent to me that I would need to find some kind of activity, which would help me remain in contact with the Czech language so, I began looking for Czech lessons either through my university or privately.

I began taking the only two Czech classes available through McGill University, which were both called “Czech for beginners”. I found the classes interesting but in terms of expanding my own vocabulary of the language, not much improved. However, I did learn quite a bit in terms of grammar and composition so in this respect, I did find the course enriching. Due to financial cutbacks, the university was not in a position to offer any other Czech courses within the department of Russian and Slavic Studies. Today, this university no longer offers Czech courses to students.

The Czech diaspora in Montreal did, at one time, have a Czech heritage language school. Today, the school no longer exists but the immigration wave of 1948 was quite dedicated and devoted to what was then called, the *Česká doplňovací škola v Montrealu* (Czech supplementary school in Montreal). This particular school was very well structured and organized since individuals involved with its’ development were immigrants who left Czechoslovakia during the coup d’état of 1948. This meant they

never lived under the influence of communism so they did not have any aversions to organizations. This last point accounts for the manner in which the community responded internally to the advancement of the Czech supplementary school and its' program development. This region's Czech diasporic community also used the slabikář and the poupata textbooks in their Czech supplementary school.

According to E. Košacká (personal communication, February 10, 2007) the Czech supplementary school in Montreal began in 1951 by Mr. V. Pavelka. In order to decentralize the Czech supplementary school from the Československá Národního Sdružení (Czechoslovak National Association) Montreal branch, the Rodičovské Sdružení (Parents' Association) was created. This latter association had the responsibility of handling the administrative affairs of the school in terms of finances and moral support. This association was also created with the idea that both the school staff and parents would be in a better position to respond effectively to the needs of the program and the children attending the Czech supplementary school. This meant that both parents and staff were in close contact with regards to the organization of transportation to and from school, extracurricular, social activities, and class time. Mr. V. Pavelka managed and administered the Czech supplementary school from 1951 to 1958 after which his daughter, E. Košacká, took over between 1962 and 1970. Subsequently, the Czech supplementary school closed due to low enrollment but was reopened by Mrs. Jeřábková who took charge between roughly 1976 and 1978. Despite many attempts to revive the Czech supplementary school in Montreal, it has yet to materialize. The reasons for the lack of interest vary from not having enough children enrolled in the program to a lack of parent interest in the school.



The Montreal Czech diaspora is active in many other different ways. In 1963, the community created the Montreal Bulletin, which is a community news bulletin presently published every month by A. Martinů (personal communication, January 16, 2007). This publication lists community events, dances, concerts, updates, commentary and articles by local members of the community. There is a seniors club, which holds monthly events on a regular basis, and there is also the annual bazaar, which provides a needed source of income for the disadvantaged of the Montreal Czech diaspora. This regional diaspora organizes, manages, and administers the children's summer camp Hostýn, which is the focus of my thesis.

ČSSR and the Czech Republic

My experience with the ČSSR as it was under communism and my experience with the Czech Republic after the fall of communism also influenced my interpretations of the camp and my own relationship with the Czech communities in Canada. I can understand older generations of Czechs when they describe their frustrations with the new system present in the Czech Republic. However, I also understand the dysfunction of communism as I experienced it when I was quite young. I remember leaving Canada for the first time with my brother in the summer of 1983. I was going to visit my aunt in England, and then I was going to spend the summer in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with my relatives, some of which I had never met. Trips like this were very uncommon back in 1983. My mother, who left the ČSSR under Dubček's period of *socialism with a human face*, was legally granted permission to leave the country, which was why we were given permission to go and visit family.

In the summer of 1995 I went to Prague, Czech Republic for about 3 months. This was a personal decision I had taken simply because ever since the fall of communism in 1989, I made a point of visiting family in Prague since I felt this was a place where I could experience and hone my heritage language and culture freely without restraint. This element of freedom to experience and explore this aspect of my identity was very important to my personal growth since I consistently felt a heavy social restraint not to fully explore this aspect of my identity in Canada. During that time, I attended a Czech summer language course offered by the Faculty of Philosophy at Charles University. This particular experience was quite enriching on many different fronts because the program consisted of an overwhelming majority of students whose parents had defected from former Czechoslovakia. As a consequence, these students had learned the Czech language and culture in another country within a contained, communal context. Some of my classmates came from Holland, Germany, Austria, Sweden, the United States and Canada. We all found ourselves at different levels of fluency and understanding of the Czech language and culture. I was able to appreciate how far advanced I was in comparison to other students from different parts of the world when it came to the maintenance of their Czech language and culture. This particular observation reinforced within me an intricate part of my own Canadian identity and allowed me to appreciate and understand the key importance and role my heritage language and culture played for me on a very personal level within Canada and the world. Having acquired a fundamental base of the Czech language and culture at home in Canada, thanks only to the determination of my parents, I was able to build on the Czech aspects of my Canadian identity. This Czech heritage base enabled me to enrich as well as broaden my Czech

linguistic and cultural awareness while attending these classes in Prague. When I came back to Canada, my own university gave me credit for these summer courses.

Summary

In this chapter, I provided readers with a glimpse into my own thoughts and impressions of certain experiences that have shaped certain parts of my being, and which influence the way I approach certain situations when they are presented to me. These experiences undoubtedly helped me negotiate my fieldwork observations, and data analysis of camp Hostýn in this thesis. In chapter 2, I discuss the theoretical framework used in my study.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

Overview of Chapter

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical framework I used to interpret the data collected during the fieldwork for my study. I situate and discuss the concept of diaspora focusing on the work of Braziel and Mannur (2003). I draw on Rampton's concept of "language loyalty" to situate and critically examine the legal term allophone within a Canadian context.

I take a social constructivist approach and attempt to contextualize, in part, Maguire's principle of how "children's cultural identities are socially derived, individually generated, enacted, and historically and politically situated" (Franklin, 1999, p.120) through active participation with the self and others. The perspective of social constructivists is that as human beings, we actively construct knowledge and make sense of already existing forms of knowledge through the creation of concepts (Schwandt, 2000). In other words, social constructivists understand the mind to be active, not passive, in the exercise of the construction of knowledge and that these constructions are influenced not only by historical but also by sociocultural forces. Social constructivists understand that "all knowledge claims and their evaluation take place within a conceptual framework through which the world is described and explained" (Schwandt, 2000, p.197).

This complex dialogic process from a social constructivist perspective is important for studying camp Hostýn since the activities, through meaningful social interaction, generate the opportunities for children to create and discover their own Czech

heritage language and culture. These opportunities also help the children contextualize their individual identity markers. Identifying these markers is important to understand how individuals within the younger generation living in the Czech diasporic community in Canada negotiate their own experiences with their Czech heritage language and culture. Understanding how the younger generation negotiates these experiences is important in identifying the shift in purpose within the Czech diasporic community in Canada. This shift in purpose is presently taking place between the older and younger generations in how they interpret and negotiate the meaning of the “here” and “there” between both generations, which in turn changes the dynamic of the past and future purpose of the Czech diasporic community in Canada.

Diaspora

Over the past decade, the term diaspora has become increasingly important and widely debated in academic circles. Tololyan (1996) points out that “up until the late sixties, on the rare occasions when western scholars thought of diasporas, they took the Jewish diaspora to be the paradigm case and the Armenian and Greek dispersions to be the noteworthy examples of it” (p.9). This means the concept of diaspora also ranges as an imagined community or scattering of the homeland. For the purposes of this study, I refer to Braziel and Mannur’s definition of the term diaspora: “we differentiate diaspora from transnationalism, however, in that diaspora refers specifically to the movement – forced or voluntary – of people from one or more nation-states to another” (Braziel and Mannur, 2003, p.8). They continue:

Part of the value (and necessity) of thinking about different diasporas in transnational settings is that it offers an alternative paradigm for national (or multinational, transnational, and even postnational) identification. Where

diaspora and diasporic persons are often considered imitations of the real citizens in the home state, theories of diaspora and transnationalism since the 1990s have offered ways out of the trappings of this hierarchical construct of nation and diaspora. (Brazier and Mannur, 2003, p.8)

I refer to forced movement as a people who leave a homeland for fear of political persecution and voluntary movement as those who leave a homeland without the threat of political persecution. Some scholars feel that these definitions I have just mentioned are too vague and call for further clarification. For example, Tololyan (1996) suggests:

The more exigent traditional paradigm emphasizes *doing* – individual and collective acts that support and maintain religious and communal institutions, or language, or philanthropy – as the behavior that underwrites identity and forestalls assimilation. (p.15)

Many reasons for the accelerated dialogue on the significance and meaning of diaspora exist. Brazier and Mannur (2003) see two pertinent reasons for this reality. The first is based on the notion that by studying the concept of diaspora, one must indirectly rethink the idea of nation and nation-state in relation to the concept and meaning of citizenry. The second reason resides in the ability of the debate around the term diaspora to generate dialogue around issues of power and authority created by globalization. In the first chapter, I discussed examples taken from personal experience, which generated dialogue on the topic of hegemony brought on by globalization.

The debate around meanings of diaspora should not simply focus on how the identities of those born into a diaspora are created but should also reflect an intellectual move forward towards a deeper reflection about the younger diasporian. This reflection towards the younger diasporic generation should focus on how these identities created within diasporas are lived out and experienced by those who were born within a specific

diasporic community (Brazier and Mannur, 2003). This dialogue between younger and older generation diasporians is necessary so that diasporas can be regarded as legitimate extensions and not warped configurations of a homeland or nation. For me, the Czech diasporic community in Canada represented a place where I could be introduced to the Czech language and culture. However, Brazier and Mannur (2003) suggest that asking younger generations born into these diasporas to look critically at their own lived diasporic experiences may not necessarily be something they will know how or will want to do, no matter how imperative such an inquiry is for a diasporic community, society, individual or country. Canada could be loosely defined as a country built on immigration and regarded as a nation that takes pride in its' vigorous multicultural policy as outlined in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988). However, I have yet to see my own Czech heritage community in Canada define itself, in a theoretical and scholarly sense, as a diaspora. Many in the Czech diasporic community feel they left their homeland voluntarily and therefore do not insist on defining the Czech communities in Canada as diasporic. This last statement is based on individual interviews I conducted with Czech diasporians living in Canada since I could not find any references.

For young Czech diasporians, the concept of location is an important point to consider. I define location as a site of difference and negotiated interaction, which allows the younger diasporic generation to look not only at their past but also their present and future (Brazier and Mannur, 2003). I define *site* as the five contextual thematic areas of the camp I discuss and analyze in greater detail in chapters 3 and 4. The areas are; activities, food, camp counselors, staff dynamics, and location. For the younger generation born into the Czech diaspora in Canada, location is an important consideration

since their personal reference points towards their heritage language and culture begins elsewhere. It begins “here” not “there”. The “there” is what the older generation from the Czech diaspora experienced, and the “here” is what the younger generation must negotiate. An obvious example would be the institutional use (O’Keefe, 2001) of the Czech language in the Czech Republic within its own governmental and private institutions. Over “there”, the Czech language is necessary in order to function normally on a daily basis. The Czech language is used at every level be it within the Czech government, within the school, home or otherwise. Over “here”, it is not used by Canadian governmental institutions, nor is it part of any major provincial curricula and is perhaps only used within the home, the Czech diasporic community and the Czech supplementary school contexts. For young diasporians born “here”, negotiating the reasons for maintaining the Czech language will be different since their reference points begin “here”, in Canada. Older diasporians have reference points that begin “there”, in the Czech Republic so naturally, their reasons for maintaining their connection with the Czech language will be different. As both generations within the diasporic community negotiate their own reference points of “here” and “there”, they are also negotiating and shaping or reshaping their own concept of identity and language affiliations.

Language affiliations

Rampton’s (1990) discussion in his article entitled “Displacing the ‘Native Speaker’: Expertise, Affiliation and Inheritance” regarding “language loyalty” may help better explain and understand the meaning of allophone within a Canadian context. His term “language loyalty” is split into two categories. The first category is “language

inheritance” and the other is “language affiliation”. Rampton (1990) explains these terms in this way:

...Both inheritance and affiliation are matters of social negotiation and conflict...The crucial difference between them is that affiliation refers to a connection between people and groups that are considered to be separate or different, whereas inheritance is concerned with the continuity between people and groups who are felt to be closely linked. Inheritance occurs *within* social boundaries, while affiliation takes place *across* them. (p.99)

To explain and illustrate these concepts in simpler terms, language inheritance in my case means the Czech language since I was born into the Czech diasporic community in Canada. However, my own language affiliations are both with the English and French languages since they are Canada’s official languages. Thus my language inheritance is negotiated *within* the Czech diasporic community in Canada, and my language affiliations are negotiated *across* Canada’s more structured, formal and official language social groups or settings. However, I argue that language inheritance does not necessarily mean language fluency since in my own case, I am only proficient in the Czech language but am fluent in my language affiliations, French and English. Nevertheless, Rampton’s concepts of “language inheritance” and “language affiliation” can help explain how other youth belonging to the Czech diasporic community in Canada learn the Czech language and negotiate their language affiliations.

To better understand this process, I step back briefly to discuss the Czech language since it has been described by some academics as being diglossic in its historic form. Diglossia is a term used to describe both the informal and formal uses of a language. The two linguistic forms influence how youth born and living within the Czech diasporic community in Canada are taught the Czech language. In turn, this also

influences how young Czech diasporians learn their own “language inheritance” and “language affiliations”. Tornquist-Plewa describes the first form of the Czech language as “the literary language (*spisovná čeština*) [which] is used in all official situations (administration, education, and so on) and in writing, while the other variety (*obecná čeština*) is used in private life as the spoken language” (Barbour and Carmichael, 2000, p.211). For the younger generation born into the Czech diaspora and living within this linguistic minority context in Canada, the use of the literary Czech language is minimal since the literary form is not normally used in informal settings. The spoken form of Czech is most often used within the Czech diasporic communities in Canada and the differences between these two forms of the Czech language are wide ranging. The very few Czech supplementary schools within the Czech diasporic communities that still exist within Canada do not emphasize the literary form of Czech as much as the spoken form. I argue that the lack of emphasis on the literary form of the Czech language within Czech supplementary schools, in Canada, does not directly mean language loss. It is possible to have individuals born in the Czech Republic who may not be as familiar with the literary form of the Czech language as they are with the spoken form. The utility (O’Keefe, 2001) of the literary form of the Czech language is supported in the Czech Republic by its institutions and education system. In Canada it is not, and in my own opinion, rightfully so. Therefore, the objective of the Czech supplementary schools within the Czech diasporic community in Canada, be they private or otherwise, is to teach younger Czech diasporians born in Canada the spoken form of the Czech language since it is the form most used verbally and in private life. However, the Czech supplementary schools do make the distinction between both forms when the lesson focuses on reading and

writing. However, the emphasis remains with the spoken form of the Czech language. I return back to Rampton's concepts of "language loyalty". My own personal negotiation between the two forms of the Czech language is subtle since I consider the literary form of the Czech language to be my "language affiliation" and the spoken form of the Czech language to be my "language inheritance".

While Rampton's (1990) concepts of language inheritance and language affiliation help articulate the meaning of allophone more so than the term native speaker or mother tongue, his concepts also have their limits. Rampton (1990) states at the end of his article that:

For many purposes, the concepts *expertise*, *inheritance*, and *affiliation* will be inappropriate, and they obviously leave out certain issues that are relevant to language and inter-group [*sic*] relations (for example, as they stand, they don't treat language enmity). Nevertheless, they help us to think about individual cases and about general situations more clearly than do the concepts *native speaker* and *mother tongue*. (p.100)

For youth living in Canada today, the need to evaluate the concepts of native speaker and mother tongue as well as how they are used and implemented in Canada is a necessary consideration since more and more Canadian youth are living in bilingual and/or multilingual contexts.

Language and identity politics

For younger generations born into and living in minority communities within Canada, biliteracy and multiliteracy are, if not have, become the norm for these young Canadians. Maguire discusses Vygotsky's principles of language as being social, symbolic, dialogic, communicative but not necessarily constant activities (Franklin,

1999). She goes on to discuss how a younger generation's "biliteracy development is deeply rooted in sociocultural historical forces" (Franklin, 1999). Bilingual or multilingual youth born into, and living in heritage language minority settings within Canada demands the reexamination of the term native speaker or mother tongue and Rampton's (1990) concept of "language loyalties", which will be discussed in this last section. Youth living within Canada's heritage language minority contexts also requires the reevaluation of the term allophone.

The term allophone is used within Canadian contexts by scholars, lawyers, educators, educational policy and law makers. It is used across Canada to define those living in Canada whose mother tongue is not French, English or Aboriginal. The term is commonly used among educators in Canada to define a child's eligibility to receive instruction in either English or French, depending on the specificity of each individual case. Policy makers in Canada also use the term allophone to describe Canadians who do not speak either English or French within the home context. From a linguistic perspective, Czech diasporians in Canada do not use the term allophone to describe themselves or the younger generation born into this diasporic community. I conducted several interviews with individuals within the Czech diasporic community in Canada, and not one person used or mentioned the term allophone when referring to the younger generation of Czech diasporians in Canada. However, I was told by older Czech diasporians in Canada that in theoretical terms the older generation refers to their youth as "children of Czech extraction". This term has been used to describe younger generations belonging to the Czech diasporic communities in Canada within a few academic theses in the Czech Republic. Unfortunately, to the best of my knowledge I

was not sent the references. These theses were brought to my attention in conversation with individuals from the older generation of the Czech diasporic community in Canada.

These definitions of the term allophone raise some important issues for the younger generation born into the Czech diaspora in Canada. Since this younger generation born in Canada can not be defined as immigrants themselves, the word Canadian seems a more appropriate term to use. Also, the term allophone does not distinguish between the younger generation of Czech diasporians born in Canada and those born in the Czech Republic but who immigrated to Canada later on since this distinction can be an important consideration in terms of language fluency and/or proficiency. The idea of allophone to mean native language or mother tongue, which the Canadian government defines as the first language learned and still understood, is also cause for discussion since this official vague definition of the term allophone by the Canadian government raises the issue of what constitutes language fluency. It also brings to surface the function and purpose of a language.

Tornquist-Plewa describes the function of language as “a medium of communication, a common marker of ethnic identity, and an integrating symbol for group unity and distinctiveness” (Barbour and Carmichael, 2000, p.220). For many minority communities living in Canada, the survival and growth of their heritage language is dependent on several factors since all heritage languages in Canada are lived out in minority settings. I define heritage language as any language other than French, English or Aboriginal languages. O’Keefe discusses that the francophone minority language in Canada, outside the province of Quebec, must be looked at from several different aspects in order to gain a better understanding as to how and even if, the French language will

grow within a Francophone community living in a minority setting. O'Keefe's theoretical aspects regarding the vitality of a language, which need to be considered in terms of the survival of a minority language are "demographic, symbolic, institutional, education, status and prestige, identity and utility" (O'Keefe, 2001, p.10-12). These aspects require a detailed reflection in terms of the symbolic, demographic, institutional and educational uses as well as the status, prestige, identity and utility of a minority language. For the Canadian Czech diasporic community, identity is the most pressing aspect to consider in terms of the vitality of the Czech language within Canada. O'Keefe (2001) explains the aspect of linguistic identity this way: "The sense of community can be an important consideration [for language vitality]. What is the value members attach to their identity as members of the linguistic community? How important is language to the personal identity?" (p.12).

Presently, the organizations within the Czech diasporic community such as the Czech and Slovak Association of Canada, do not seem to know how best to solve the issue of lack of interest among the younger generation born into the Czech diasporic community in Canada in becoming active within the Czech diasporic community. The editor of the community's newspaper *Nový Domov* has offered to publish works written by the younger generation of the Czech diasporic community in English since the majority of them do not speak or write in Czech. This option or idea is presently being discussed and considered within the Czech diasporic community. How a community recognizes (Taylor, 1992) and values its' own heritage language within a minority setting in Canada, could be a determining factor in that particular community's linguistic and cultural survival. For example, if the Czech diasporic community as a whole is

committed to maintaining the Czech language, they will find a way to work around the organizational difficulties of such endeavors and help secure the viability of their supplementary schools. However, the Czech supplementary schools are not the only issue here in terms of language maintenance. O’Keefe’s concept of linguistic identity extends, and is also an important consideration for individuals within the Czech diasporic community in Canada. They too, must attach value to the Czech language as a part of their own identity in order to ensure the survival of the Czech language within the Czech diasporic community in Canada.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Canadian government defines native language or mother tongue as the first language learned and still understood. I also discussed Rampton’s (1990) two categories of “language loyalty”, which are “language inheritance” and “language affiliation”. If I take these two concepts and relate them to Canada’s term used to define cultural and linguistic minority groups, which is “heritage minority cultural or linguistic group”, Rampton’s (1990) article argues that such terminology is not as defining as “language inheritance” and “language affiliation” for the following reasons:

[For one] whereas the terms mentioned can all be valuable concepts in *particular* settings, inheritance and affiliation point to aspects of loyalty that are relevant to *all* group situations, however they are defined (by family, class, gender, race, region, profession, etc.). [Secondly,] there is a tendency to think only of inheritance when terms like ethnic or community language are used, and as a result speakers may get fixed in language categories. [Thirdly,] affiliation and inheritance can be used to discuss the position of individuals as well as groups, and this is useful in discussion of education, which generally has to consider both.

(p.100)

To explain the terms “language inheritance” and “language affiliation” within a Canadian context, an individual born into the Czech diasporic community may negotiate his or her language inheritance *within* the Czech diasporic community by attending a Czech supplementary school but would negotiate his or her language affiliation *across* anglophone or francophone social settings by attending an English or French school. As Rampton articulates in his article, the term “language loyalty” invites discussion into the meaning and definition of native language and asks us to rethink this concept in a much more contextualized way. Within a Canadian context, the specificity of the terms “language inheritance” and “language affiliation” may also suggest a need to openly discuss in practice, the meanings Canada has given to its’ own definitions of the terms majority, official minority, minority or heritage languages.

The epistemological stance taken in this qualitative study is social constructivist (Schwandt, 2000), which in a larger sense means that human beings construct and negotiate different forms of existing knowledge. Interviews were the primary method and tool of inquiry used for the collection of data in this study. Both my methodology and methods are discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented and discussed the concept of diaspora and Rampton’s concept of “language loyalties” as the theoretical framework I used to interpret the data collected in this study. In the next chapter I discuss my research methodology and methods.

Chapter Three

Methodology and Methods

Overview of Chapter

In this chapter I discuss my methodology, my background and role as a researcher, my position, focus and choice of study. I also present the thematic questions for my inquiry, and how I gained access to the site of camp Hostýn. I describe the tools of inquiry I used and my rationale for choosing these tools. I also reflect on my role as a researcher in this inquiry.

Methodology

My interest in observing camp Hostýn stems from my decision to observe how Czech culture and language manifests itself in the physical and social constructs of the camp within a Canadian context. My objective of this qualitative inquiry is to investigate how, through an informal setting such as camp Hostýn, that Czech language and culture can be represented in different areas of the camp and therefore can be acquired and developed by the children actively participating. This investigation implies an assumption that such representations will be found in the camp. I also inquire how the Czech language, is influenced by the more dominant English language. This inquiry assumes that the Czech language is influenced by the English language, and this study aims to discover how these influences occur. My experience in learning my own heritage language and culture in informal minority settings, as well as having learned French within a minority setting in Canada enables me to understand, and locate the various linguistic influences and cultural representations within specific areas of the camp.

The epistemological underpinnings of this qualitative inquiry are social constructivist (Schwandt, 2000, p.435). In broad terms, social constructivism explains that we, as human beings, construct and make sense of knowledge dialogically. This means that we negotiate as well as construct all forms and concepts of knowledge. From a social constructivist perspective, individual human beings construct, and give meaning to surrounding existing forms of knowledge. In this study, I define knowledge as Czech heritage language and culture. A social constructivist position understands that “we do not construct our interpretations in isolation but against a backdrop of shared understandings, practices, language, and so forth.... knowledge is not disinterested, apolitical, and exclusive of affective and embodied aspects of human experience, but is in some sense ideological, political, and permeated with values.” (Schwandt, 2000, p.435-436). I seek to understand and provide interpretations of the various Czech language and cultural representations I collected in the different physical and social areas of the camp. I am interested in understanding how the children identify, negotiate, and make sense of the representations of their Czech heritage language and culture through the different areas of the camp.

Background, Role of Researcher, and Gaining Access

Before my arrival to the site of camp Hostýn, I began to reflect on what specific expectations I had as a researcher in terms of what I could and could not gain access to while conducting my fieldwork. I reflected on my own experiences as a child, and how living in three different cultural and linguistic environments impacted my own identity formations as an individual. I also considered how my own personal experiences would influence my fieldwork and data collection process. I understood that being a white, 29-

year-old female Canadian of Czech heritage, born and raised in the province of Ontario, and who had attended an official language minority elementary school, would indeed influence how I perceived the social and physical setting of camp Hostýn. I took great care to reflect on the factors that made my minority French cultural and linguistic environment viable, as well as the factors involved in the maintenance of the minority heritage Czech language and culture within my home. Identifying these factors within my own lived experiences was essential for my data collection and later on, for the analysis of the data I collected.

The amount of Czech language and culture that camp Hostýn could provide those attending the camp was modest simply because the one to three week sessions were rather short and took place once a year. Even if the camp activities were an overwhelming success, the lack of regularity over a longer period of time was already, a serious set back to the continuity and momentum created during the camp session. Therefore, this continuity had to be maintained by other people such as the children's parents.

I was aware that being exposed to French 7 hours per day, 5 days a week, for 10 months every year, for an overall total of 9 consecutive years, enabled me to become fluent in the French language and culture. Living at home for almost 2 decades enabled me to become proficient in my own Czech language and culture. I define a solid foundation as my own ability to fluently reintegrate myself, and understand the francophone community reality of those living outside the province of Quebec within Canada. In turn, I also define my secure foundation in my own Czech heritage language

and culture, as my own ability to reintegrate myself within either the Czech community in Canada or that of the Czech Republic on a reasonably functional level.

In terms of my own experiences and what interested me in observing camp Hostýn were the factors that helped create these fragile minority cultural and linguistic pockets. I was interested in knowing what types of factors enabled the children to dialogically negotiate their Czech heritage language and culture. Based on my own experience in the francophone, elementary school in Ontario, I also knew that within a classroom context, it was much easier to manage the maintenance of a minority language and culture. The instructor and textbooks played enormous roles in these respects. However, the classroom was not my research focus in this inquiry; I was primarily dealing with an informal setting.

I became interested in camp Hostýn as a possible area of inquiry when I was told by the Czech diasporic community that it was a site where Czech language and culture was being instilled rather successfully. The camp had drawn the attention of various Czech diasporas across Canada, the United States as well as citizens living in the Czech Republic. I obtained verbal consent by the Hostýn Association and the camp director prior to my arrival. I obtained written consent from the camp director and the three camp counselors once I came to the research site (Appendix A). No images or photographs presented in this study provide visual representations of the children attending the camp since I did not obtain written consent from the parents. Thus, I used different tools of inquiry to collect data over the course of my fieldwork process. I conducted 28 formally written interviews with the children who attended the camp and two formal interviews with camp counselors using a MD audio recorder. I also recorded approximately 6 hours

of video footage. I kept a journal and also used field notes. My journal was more structured than my field notes since I wrote the latter as I conducted my fieldwork.

It was important that my presence not disrupt the functioning of the camp; I did not want to hinder the flow of the larger as well as smaller group dynamics, which unfolded during my fieldwork session. Initially, I thought I could succeed in not influencing the flow and evolution of the camp session for the children participating but I soon realized that this would not occur since I felt that my very presence was cause for disruption. For example, many of the children only spoke Czech when I or the camp counselors were present during an activity. Attempting to minimize my presence from disrupting the natural flow of the camp activities was something I constantly struggled with throughout my fieldwork.

Position, Focus and Choice of Study

In selecting camp Hostýn as my thesis topic, I was interested in investigating how an informal setting such as a camp, could provide representations of Czech language and or culture. In other words, where does Czech language or culture occur in the camp and how is it constructed? What areas of the camp provided representations of cultural negotiation? What areas of the camp provided representations of linguistic negotiation?

My decision to conduct a qualitative case study of camp Hostýn stems from my interest in seeing alternative forms of heritage language learning in informal settings within Canada such as participating in various Czech social functions. As the local Czech diaspora in Montreal, Quebec is quite small, the community does not offer a Czech supplementary school for children whose heritage language within a Canadian context is Czech.

Contextual Significance and Meaning of Camp

I spent some time thinking about the meaning of a summer camp and why parents send their children to these sorts of recreational areas. Most camps have a certain objective such as having specific programs in certain areas. These areas could be sports, the arts, academics or a combination of other subjects. Camp Hostýn, as it was presented to me by parents who had already sent their children in previous years, demonstrated a specific focus in the area of Czech language and cultural acquisition. How the camp demonstrated and reflected the Czech language and culture became the focus of my thesis. I knew that Czech cultural and linguistic representations would be reflected in various parts of the camp but where and how? I began looking at the camp as a whole. I then looked at possible areas where the Czech language and culture could be represented. I now describe these areas and their contextual meanings:

Activities

The activities offered to the children attending the camp are the primary focus of this thesis. Since there are no textbooks and no classrooms, the activities are the principal medium of the transmission of Czech language and/or culture. The activities which I examine in chapter four, provide children with the ability to focus and improve specific elements of their own heritage language or culture, be it through becoming more familiar with the Czech alphabet, to becoming more at ease in conversing in Czech, and appreciating to a greater extent certain Czech food.

Food

The meals at the camp are also very important to the transmission of Czech culture among the children. They provide all those attending the camp culinary exposure

to Czech culture. For many children, some of the dishes such as buchty or fruit dumplings that are served at the camp are culturally foreign since within their own home contexts, Czech food is not part of their daily diet.

Camp counselors

There were three camp counselors for the entire session I observed. Given my own background, I expected the camp counselors to be fully fluent in Czech and reasonably fluent in both English and French. The head counselor had already been working at the camp in previous years but for the remaining counselors, this was to be their first experience. I was interested in seeing how and what types of activities they would prepare for the camp session. Would the camp counselors prepare the activities in advance or would they simply improvise on the spot? How attentive would they be at ensuring that the activities had a cultural and linguistic value to them? I was also interested in seeing if the camp director played an adequate and supportive role in this respect or not.

Staff dynamics

I focused my attention on the communication and displays of teamwork between the counselors before, during and after an activity had been presented to the camp session as a whole. Was the head counselor creating a positive environment for all counselors to present their opinions and reflections regarding certain activities? I also looked to see if the staff dynamics between the counselors played a role in the successful outcome of any given activity, and if their group dynamic influenced the children's perception of the activity.

Location

Politics and finances aside, the location sets the tone for the camp session and provides a periphery for the types of activities the camp counselors will be in a position to offer the children attending any given camp period. The location also helps create activities, which promote the nature aspects of Czech culture. I also look at the camp counselors' ability to maintain as best as possible, a Czech language atmosphere throughout the entire period of any given camp session. Even though some of the children lack a base and need help as well as guidance in the Czech language, the utmost should be done to maintain the use of Czech, in a positive and nurturing way. Within the context of camp Hostýn, this sort of guidance can only come from the camp counselors, the camp director and the children.

Thematic Questions for Promotion of Czech Language and Culture

To find the appropriate thematic questions, I looked at the realities of the camp. For example, I was aware the budget for the camp was quite small and the amount of children attending each session was not very large, which meant there would be limitations in the camp program. I also knew it was very possible I would find a variety of age groups and language abilities. This last point would play a crucial role in the types of activities the camp would be in a position to offer. Therefore, the questions I focused on during my fieldwork processes were divided into two different categories: language and culture.

I focused on how a camp area stressed Czech cultural values such as learning basic outdoor skills or how to make a Czech dish. I reflected on the objectives of a specific activity in terms of cultural proficiency. In other words, I looked at how the

activity enabled children to utilize and build on their Czech cultural *know-how*. For example, the guláš activity best illustrates this point since the children had to make this Eastern European dish from scratch. I also reflected on the cultural proficiencies a child needed to have before commencing the activity in order to fully benefit from the activity's learning process. I concentrated on the way in which the Czech language was represented. For example, what was the overall objective of the language activity? What kind of language proficiency did the child need to successfully complete the activity? How important was teamwork to the overall language development of each member of the group?

My research questions were concentrated in five contextual thematic areas: activities, food, camp counselors, staff dynamics, and location. In each contextual area, I asked the following questions:

1. How did the Czech language represent itself in this thematic area of the camp?
2. How did the Czech culture represent itself in this thematic area of the camp?

History, Location and Access to Camp Hostýn

As illustrated in figure 1, camp Hostýn is located in the woody terrain of the Laurentian Mountains roughly 80 kilometers north east of Montreal, Quebec. The camp property is about 23 acres in size. In October 2003, the Hostýn Association recently purchased a lakefront lot of 0.53 acres in size along Lake Lafond. The beach is located about 1 kilometer from the campground, and is accessible by foot. The camp property is carved out within the confines of larger forest vegetation.

History

Camp Hostýn was founded in 1954, by a Czech Jesuit father named Bohuslav Janíček. Father Janíček was a very respected member of the Czech community who

Figure 1 Area map of camp Hostýn



recently passed away in 2002. Through his initiative, Father Janíček offered an affordable Czech summer camp for children of Czech and Slovak immigrants surrounded by the beautiful Laurentian Mountains. During the camp's first year, he rented an abandoned farm and the 25 children who participated in the 5 week session that year, slept in tents. In 1955, Father Janíček

bought 23 acres of this abandoned farm and with several volunteers, began building a permanent summer camp. Under the direction of Father Janíček, there were no organized activities. Parents dropped off their children, and the children kept themselves busy throughout the day until their parents came to pick them up a few weeks later (A.

Martinů, personal communication, January 16, 2007). Father Janíček and the group of volunteers built the kitchen along with rooms for the cooks and by May 9, 1955, the camp was officially run by the charitable organization called the Czechoslovak Welfare Association. In 1956, the common dinning room was built and in 1967 they installed running water along with electricity. In 1959, the first cabins were built; these remain in use to the present day. Over the years, 100s of children have attended this summer camp. Up until recently, the children came not only from Montreal, but also from Cleveland,

Chicago, Toledo, Toronto, London, Hamilton, Windsor, Ottawa, New York, Texas, Switzerland and most recently, even from the Czech Republic.

According to the Hostýn Association (J. Maxant, personal communication, July 3, 2004), when Father Janíček retired in 1992, he gave the camp to Montreal's Jesuits due to a lack of enrollment in the camp. The new owners of the camp, Loyola High School, which is a private Montreal boys school, made some modifications to the existing site. However, they did not make use of the camp and over time, this lack of use resulted in the deterioration of certain existing buildings located on the site. In 1998, camp Hostýn was transferred from Loyola High School to the Hostýn Association. In 2002 and according to J. Novotná (personal communication, January 29, 2007), the Hostýn Association joined forces with Toronto's Masaryk Memorial Institute to reinstate the summer camp for the region's children and remains in operation to this day.

In that year, the Masaryk Memorial Institute had 67 applicants: 39 girls and 28 boys. From the total number of applicants, 3 came from the Czech Republic, 4 came from Quebec, 45 came from Ontario, 4 came from British Columbia, and 11 came from the United States. Within the 67, 1 child signed up for 5 days, 1 child signed up for 1 week, 53 signed up for 2 weeks, 9 signed up for 3 weeks, and 3 signed up for 4 weeks. In subsequent years such as in 2004, enrollment dropped to 39 but in 2005, there was a slight increase to 61. Thus, one can see the fluctuation in camp attendance.

During the 2002 camp session, the Masaryk Memorial Institute not only helped finance the camp but also provided the Hostýn Association with various kinds of assistance such as how the camp should be run, what preparations would be needed to ensure a successful session, and the kinds of activities that should be implement during

the camp session. The Masaryk Memorial Institute specifically stipulated in their correspondence with camp Hostýn, that one of the activity periods must be Czech language. At a minimum, Czech should be offered as an activity for approximately 30 min every day (J. Novotná, personal communication, June 14, 2002). After the events of 2002 and for logistical reasons the Masaryk Memorial Institute no longer helps organize, finance, or manage the summer camp.

Location: A walkabout of the location

When one walks up the main driveway of the camp, one views a large main building at the far back right of the camp property. The main building, which has four large rooms on the second floor for camp personnel, is also rented to members of the Hostýn Association. There are two bathrooms, one large kitchen, a large common dinning room and one administration office within this main building. The kitchen is equipped with modern facilities and has a large commercial propane cooking range. It also contains a walk-in refrigerator, a large freezer, and several smaller refrigerators. The dinning room has several large windows and can seat roughly 60 people. The outdoor assembly area located in the middle of the property next to the main building, has benches, flower beds, and two flag masts. On one flag mast flies the Czech flag and on the other flag mast flies the Slovak flag. The volleyball field, outdoor cinema, and picnic area are located along the outer edge of the assembly area. The picnic area has an outdoor kitchen equipped with running water, an electrical stove, and two refrigerators. The Hostýn Association also uses this outdoor kitchen to host a variety of community gatherings such as pig roasts and Czech film events. The boys' camp is located below the outdoor assembly area across from the main road, and consists of 11 cabins arranged

in a circle and one larger cabin designated for the boys' head counselor. In the middle of the circle is a space reserved for evening bonfires. Behind these cabins are three outhouses. Next to the large cabin circle is the location of the boys' large clubhouse used for dances, crafts, meetings, and other camp activities. The clubhouse can accommodate roughly 75 individuals, and has a smaller second floor which can sleep four people.

The girls' camp is located at the opposite end of the boys' camp and is arranged in roughly the same way. There are 11 cabins arranged in a circle, and one larger cabin, designated for the girls' counselors. Each smaller cabin can accommodate up to three campers and is equipped with electricity, three beds, clothes hangers, and storage shelves. In the middle of the circle is a space reserved for evening bonfires. To the left of the girls' cabins can be found the bathroom which is fully equipped with hot and cold running water, toilettes, showers, and sinks. Next to the bathroom is the location of the girls' clubhouse that can accommodate roughly 75 people. The clubhouse is used for indoor games, movie nights and other camp activities. At one edge of the girls' camp is a small chapel that can hold around 30 people. Since the camp is no longer faith based, the chapel is not used during the camp sessions. However, the bell located at the top of the chapel was brought in from Saskatchewan, and is rung to assemble the campers in the assembly area next to the main building. The camp's soccer field is located about 2 min by foot from the assembly area and is primarily used for various field games and sports. The medical building is located next to the main building and has two rooms with a bathroom on the second floor. The ground floor of the medical building is equipped with a shower, a sink area, a washing machine, and a dryer. The camp's lakefront property along Lake Lafond is within a short walking distance from the main camp area.

My access to camp

The Montreal Czech community offers a Czech summer language camp, which is operational during the summer months and open to any child who wants to be exposed to the Czech language and culture for a brief but intense, period of time. The minimum stay period for each session is 1 week while the maximum can be up to 3 weeks. In 2002, the Masaryk Memorial Institute along with some of the Czech community's most prominent members, contributed financially to the reopening of the Czech summer camp.

According to the Masaryktown booklet, the role of the Masaryk Memorial Institute is, in part, to "provide a cultural and educational center for the general benefit of people of Czechoslovak origin" (p. 19). The camp is financed through the application fees paid for by the individuals attending the camp, and the Hostýn Association is subsidized by the income generated from these summer sessions. The Hostýn Association is located in Montreal and is dedicated to promoting activities for the local Czech community in the region. Many members of the community donate their time to help make the camp a reality.

I am fortunate enough to know the director of camp Hostýn, which is how I was able to gain relative easy access to the site. The Hostýn Association gave me permission to attend one 2 week session at the camp. I did have one apprehension about choosing camp Hostýn for my study. I voiced my concern to the camp director before accepting to use this particular camp as my focus point for my research. Within the Czech diasporic community in Montreal, there is disagreement between the Hostýn Association and several members of the local Czech diaspora over certain events, which transpired at camp Hostýn in 2002. These events resulted in an ongoing lawsuit between members

within the local Czech diasporic community, and to this day, remains a difficult topic of discussion for many in the Czech diasporic community. I was not interested in becoming part of the internal administrative feud since this was not the purpose of my study. I addressed my concerns before I began my inquiry resulting in a smooth fieldwork experience. Any names used in this thesis are fictitious except for the name of the camp and the founder of the camp mentioned in the historical section of this chapter. The Hostýn Association has given permission to use the official name of the camp.

Initially, the director did not have any experience running a camp when he took on this position. He immigrated to Canada several years ago and has been volunteering his time at the camp for many years. As a result, he has gained significant knowledge and managerial experience as to how the camp should be administered. His children also attended camp Hostýn when they were young and not long ago, he had the pleasure of seeing his grandson participate in the summer camp.

Data Collection Process at Camp Hostýn and Rationale for Methods

When I first arrived at camp Hostýn, one of the first things I did was to take a long walk around the property. I looked around the girls' quarters, then I walked around the volleyball and outdoor cinema area. I made my way towards the back end of the property behind the dining hall, and then towards the boys quarters and down towards the soccer field. I had the initial impression that the property held great potential for a successful camp session. As I made my way back up towards the main building, I noticed that both the Czech and Slovak flags were flying.

My fieldwork was conducted during an intense 2 week period between July 3, 2004 and July 17, 2004. I chose carefully how best to document a particular activity.

Several methodological questions emerged during my data collection process. Would a video camera serve one activity better over another? Are field notes more appropriate for activity A instead of activity B? Is it best to take still photos or is the video camera more appropriate? Is it a verbal, visual or textual game being observed? What medium is most appropriate for what activity? These were some of the questions I had to ask myself every day before observing the events of a particular day.

Field notes and journal

The moment I arrived at the camp, I began writing field notes. I wrote down anything I could think of that seemed relevant to my research. I reserved one side of the sheet for reflexive commentary and the other for observations. The following excerpt is one of my first journal entries upon arrival:

I've been trying to get to know the regular schedule here at the camp. So far, it goes as follows:

7:30-8:00 wake-up

15min. exercise

wash up

breakfast

activity 1 etc...

The rest I'm not sure about yet but I'm sure it will come around....spoke with camp counselor who came directly from Prague to camp Hostýn. We had a nice discussion about how the kids speak Czech and the differences [that exist] in the spoken Czech language in Canada vs. in the Czech Republic. (journal excerpt, July 2004)

What I didn't articulate in more detail was the differences in language. Our discussion revolved around specific examples, which I did not write down in my journal but managed to retrieve later on when I went over my formally translated and transcribed

interview with this particular counselor. It was only later that I began to write my journal entries in more detail. In the next example, I articulate how the children tried to construct their Czech sentence during the phrase activity:

It was interesting to watch the groups work out the sentence. Some kids really have not had much practice at reading and spelling Czech, so they were trying to put people who could spell and read Czech [together]. It was interesting to read and watch them try and put together the sentence. They were trying to make out each word out loud some of them but they had to be careful so the other teams wouldn't hear what they were saying.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

Throughout the entire camp session, I used my journal and field notes to describe sometimes half a day, a full day or just a single specific activity. I found my journal useful for times where I would have wanted to interject in the way an activity was being administered. For example, if the camp counselor would be speaking in English too often, I felt the urge to let them know. However, I refrained from doing so and simply reflected my thoughts in my journal. My field notes were useful at the beginning of my field work to understand how the camp is organized and structured. The first example is an excerpt taken from my earlier field notes where I roughly noted the daily schedule of the camp:

Denní Program (Daily Program)

Budíček (wake-up call), Roztvička (morning exercise), Hygiena (morning hygiene), Snídaně (breakfast), Prohlídka úklidu (cabin inspection), Dopolnední program I (morning program I)

(field notes, July 2004)

Even though I had reserved the back side of every sheet in my journal for field note taking, I realized early on in my work that my journal was a bit awkward to have on my

person throughout the day. Had I been observing a classroom setting, I would not have felt hindered by the journal but since I was observing camp activities and how the camp was organized, single sheets of paper were more useful in some cases. The preceeding example from my field notes helped me prepare for the scheduled activities throughout the day. I would look at the daily program and organize myself accordingly. I tried to be as descriptive as possible since I felt that writing field notes posed the least amount of disruption to any given activity.

The next excerpt from my journal describes my frustration on one occasion after the daily activities ended:

As far as the language goes, I'm seeing mostly older kids talking English and sometimes Czech while the younger kids are more prone to spontaneously start talking Czech amongst themselves. Some discussions are in English with a bit of Czech mixed in. The Czech camp Hostýn seems to be a place where these campers can really explore and exchange their knowledge and thoughts on Czech language and culture with each other.... Today the counselors were speaking English with the kids. Why do they do this? The fact that the kids don't speak it amongst themselves is normal but the counselors should be holding up with the Czech language. However, if this is not a priority for the camp then you can't really do anything. This is unfortunate, really unfortunate.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

This journal excerpt illustrates my own reflexivity about the important role the counselors play in constructing an area where the children can use the Czech language at the camp. I did not feel it was appropriate for me to be voicing my concerns when the counselors were in the middle of an activity. I wanted to observe the camp in a 'natural state'. This meant it was important for me to observe the camp's daily program without interference after which I would articulate my observations in my journal.

Video camera

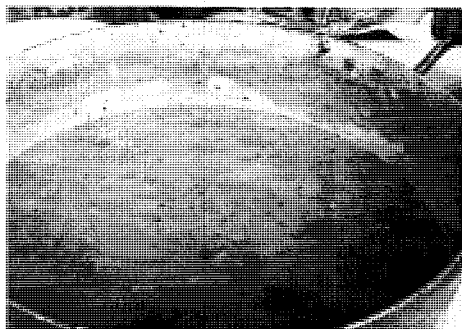
I used a video camera during the day and night to film specific activities planned by the counselors. Throughout my field work session, I filmed and documented a total of 6 hours worth of various activities. As my particular research site was not classroom based, and therefore not constrained to a particular room or space, it was difficult for me to take multiple observations at the same time. So for instance, if I were filming an activity, I would also write down the day's events in my journal before going to bed. For example, if the children were drawing, I would take samples of their artwork and photograph or video tape them drawing as well as make notes in my journal. If the activities were physical, verbal and textual in nature, then I would use the video camera and take samples of the written work as evidence as well as write a detailed description of the activity in my journal before retiring for the night. The following example along with

Figure 2 Cabin inspection results

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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figure 3 shows how my journal notes and video camera describe in greater detail the gouláš (goulash) activity, which took place in July 2004:

Figure 3
Gouláš soup prepared by camp counselors



In the end, group one (1) finished making their gouláš (goulash) first then it was group two (2) and group three (3). The winner of the event was group two (2). They really did a good job with their spices and flour consistency. Group one (1) did not have much flavour and their flour was clumpy.

Group three (3) was very thick and chunky but had flavour (good effort with the spices). (journal excerpt, July 2004)

My journal entry described the way each soup tasted, which is something the video footage was not able to do. Taping my comments could have also been possible, but the journal entry provided an acceptable alternative to my data collection process.

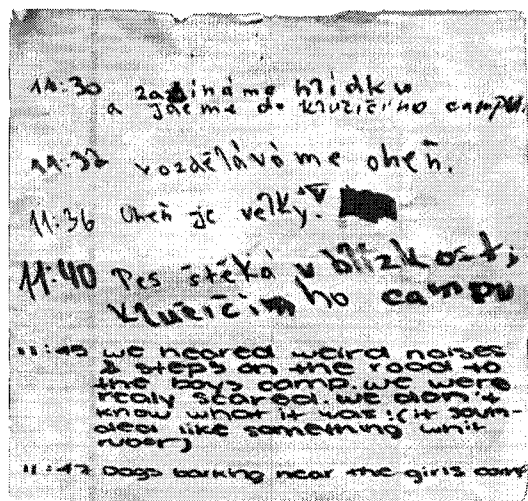
Disposable camera

The disposable camera I used as a tool to collect data was less intrusive than the video camera but also had its limitations. The photos from the disposable camera did not prove to be extremely useful during my analysis since I initially wanted to use them to illustrate the symbolic textual negotiation between the children and the different contextual areas of the camp. My comments in my journal would not suffice to articulate this negotiation. Unfortunately, the images from the disposable camera for this purpose were either over or under exposed. In this respect, the video camera was much more useful for my data collection since I was able to collect some of these important symbolic textual negotiations in digital form.

For example, one of the activities the children participated in was called *Night Watch*. This activity consisted of the children watching over the camp in small groups at

night. Each group was given a specific shift and a detailed account of what they encountered during their particular shift would have to be written down. The next morning during breakfast, the head counselor would read out loud to everyone the entries from each group. On a few occasions I reflected on this activity in my journal but realized that I could not accurately describe the activity without an excerpt of their own text, which is why the image of the written entries became important. The following text represents my own comments in my journal on the night watch activity. Figure 4, next to my journal excerpt represents the entries of what one group encountered during their night watch shift of the camp property:

Figure 4
Entries from one shift of night watch



The last entry went something like:

'Hear noises in the garbage can. We look in the can. There is garbage.' ...Most kids write in English but there are a few that write in Czech. Mostly, those that write in Czech are much more comfortable in that language as compared to those that write in English.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

Interviews

Over the course of my 2 week data collection period, I conducted a total of 28 formal interviews with children as well as two formal interviews with two of the three camp counselors. During the initial stages of my interviews, I began asking the children how many times they attended the camp and why they chose to go. I was also interested in knowing why their parents sent them to the camp. Some of the responses I received

from the children were transcribed as follows:

Interviewer: What is your family background and why did you come to the camp this year?

Camper One: Both my mother and father are Czech. They speak to me in Czech and I respond in English. It is my third time here and I'm here because it's fun and has a good reputation.

Camper Two: Both of my parents are Czech and we speak half Czech, and half English at home. Partial reason for coming to the camp is because it's a Czech camp and the other reason is to see old friends and meet up with them. It's my third time here.

Camper Three: Both of my parents are Czech and they speak it at home. I came here because it's a Czech camp, this is why my parents picked this camp. It's my third year and I like the atmosphere. I'm also going to the Czech Republic once the camp session ends. (formal questionnaire excerpts, July 2004)

The majority of the children who attended the camp were there in part, to improve their Czech language and culture. However, the children were also there to enjoy the activities prepared for them by the camp counselors.

I also used informal interviews when discussing with some of the children how they learned Czech and if they spoke the language at home as well as any thoughts they had about the camp. Usually, these informal interviews were recorded in my journal at the end of the day. I did not write every specific detail of these informal interviews in my journal but wrote about the most interesting aspects pertaining to my research that emerged from the generalities of our conversations. The following is an excerpt of one such informal interview:

It reminded me of the discussion I had with the girls at the beach on Sunday. We all talked about Czech and Slovak culture (meaning, cartoons, food, candy etc...). Eventhough this discussion was at times in English, most of it was either in Czech

or Slovak. I really liked it. The older kids might not be as spontaneous to speak Czech but they know it and speak it at home (the girls at least).

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

These sorts of informal interviews occurred much later on during my fieldwork session.

It was important to establish a fraternal bond with the children before I could begin conversing with them about their home environment and their families.

Formal interviews with the counselors allowed me to gain specific insight into how they felt about the program they were implementing at the camp. I also felt that through formal interviews I could understand to a greater degree the group dynamics among the counselors. In the following excerpt from one of my translated, transcribed interviews from Czech into English, one of the camp counselors describes the working dynamics among all three counselors and the program at the camp:

In the Czech Republic the camp was better structured. There was a gradual momentum being built with the activities. There was one main activity throughout the week and every day an activity was built on top of another activity so by the end of the week, the children saw the learning impact of what they had done throughout their entire time at the camp. But here, I didn't like the fact that it was not organized. You never know when you will have to prepare something. You are always waiting for the head counselor who is very dominant. I'm not sure if the head counselor is looking for initiative from us, to go and do something with the kids. Or, if the head counselor wants to prepare everything on their own and then the rest of us would just help out with things here and there. But since there are more facilities here at the camp, the range of variety in terms of activities to choose from is wider, which was not a possibility in the Czech Republic. Back there, it was much more limited.

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt with camp counselor, July 2004)

During my observations, I was aware that the daily program was planned the night before or in some cases, the morning of any given day. This last minute planning contributed to the disorganization of some of the activities at the camp.

I spoke with the children informally regarding the environment in which they grew up. I asked them questions such as who spoke Czech at home? How did you learn to speak French and English? Who taught you Czech? How often do you speak Czech at home? Once the camp session ended, I also took the opportunity to speak briefly with parents when they arrived to pick up their children. I wanted to know how often they spoke Czech at home with their children. I noted that some parents conversed with me in Czech but would switch to English when they met up with their children. This undermined the goals of the camp.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the contexts in which I gathered my data, and the tools of inquiry I used. I also discussed my field work and data collection process as well as the various questions I asked myself as I observed the progress of the camp. In the next chapter, I discuss in greater detail my analysis of the data collected at the camp.

Chapter Four

Data and Data Analysis

Overview of Chapter

In this chapter, I present excerpts from the data I collected at camp Hostýn. These excerpts illustrate the data in relation to my primary research questions: (1) How did the Czech language represent itself in this thematic area of the camp? (2) How did the Czech culture represent itself in this thematic area of the camp? I have organized the data into five contextual areas. I offer critical interpretive commentary situated within my theoretical framework after each major contextual area.

I've spoken with the head counselor a few times already over the past two weeks about the camp. He is here for the kids and to make sure they have a good time and work on their Czech as much as practicably possible. The camp (in this regard can do little more) is a place where it can provide an 'atmosphere' to work on the Czech language and provide certain Czech cultural elements. It is a camp and exposes the kids to Czech cultural camping activities. This is why I like counselor from the Czech Republic at the camp. She provides the present Czech element to the 'cultural and linguistic' aspects of the camp. The Slovak counselor provides the Slovak element, and the head counselor provides the Czech, English, and French elements to the camp, 'Canadian' style...The head counselor does his best to speak Czech to the children but does switch to English at times, which is normal. The Czech counselor speaks in English but goes back into Czech. She likes to work on her English. The Slovak counselor also speaks some English but usually only when necessary.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

As my fieldwork at the camp came to a close, I reflected on the overall meaning of the camp. This excerpt from my journal represents a part of that reflection and indirectly demonstrates the important role the counselors play in promoting both Czech

language and culture at the camp. In analyzing my data, I noticed an emergence of either Czech language or Czech cultural representations taking form within certain areas of the camp. The areas I discuss in this chapter provided spaces where the children were able to dialogically and constructively negotiate either their Czech heritage culture or language. The data in this chapter is organized and presented around five different contextual areas of the camp: activities, food, camp counselors, staff dynamics, and location. Within each contextual area of the camp I present a compilation of my data sets, and provide interpretive commentary to these examples.

Activities

Most camps provide activities that reflect the overall purpose of their learning objectives, and these different activities are meant to stimulate children in participating in camp life. During my 2 week fieldwork session at the camp, many activities were created and implemented. The focus of these activities ranged from physical, to cultural as well as linguistic but not all readily showed signs of Czech cultural or linguistic representations. The following three activities demonstrated forms of either Czech cultural or linguistic representations. The first two activities are the UNO card game and the fort building activity, which occurred simultaneously. The third activity is the phrase game, which took place in the forest on camp property at night. The fort building activity started early in the morning and lasted until the following day. One of my earlier journal entries on that particular day describes the fort activity:

The group was split into two smaller groups and was instructed about the days' events. Today they [the children] will be building shelters in the woods. They will spend the night in them and will have to keep their fires going all night.

...The younger kids will go to the beach in the afternoon because the construction of the shelters will take about the whole day.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

Once the larger group was split into two smaller groups, the head counselor explained the fort activity to the children in the following way:

Head counselor: "Team, follow your leaders."

Voice of camper in the background: "I don't have a leader."

Head counselor: "Yes, you do. You guys, you guys listen. You don't come to see me. You don't come to see me, teams. Your leader [pointing to one group], it's camper 1. Your leader [pointing to the other group], it's camper 2. He's going to deal with you guys. Camper 2 is going to come and see me, he's going to tell me. Hey listen, this guy it's not working. I'm going to take care of that person. 'Cause everyone has to work together to be able to sleep well tonight. Same here [looking at other group], Everyone, okay. Gentlemen. You guys. Camper 1, he's the one whose gonna tell me. It's not working, whatever. You guys go see Camper 1, he's going to give you orders. He will tell you what you have to do. And you have to listen, down to every detail. Don't come after me. Do you hear me? So, Camper 2 is your leader [pointing to the other group]. You will follow him and he will tell you what to do. You must listen to him, okay? Ah [bending down to one camper, who only understands French], you see Camper 1? That there, is your captain. He will tell you what to do and you must do it, okay? So you can sleep well tonight, okay? [Now looking at the entire group] Let's go! [They all follow the head counselor into the forest]"

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

After the head counselor selected the spot in the forest where one group was to build their fort, he rounded up all the campers and gave the following specific instructions to one of the group leaders:

Head counselor to Camper 2: "Hey, this will be a large fort for fifteen people, okay? Plus two counselors, and two counselors. So I'm just going to show them

[the other group] the spot. I will show them where it is [the next spot for the fort], and then I will come back and we will build it together, okay?"

Camper 2: "Alright."

Head counselor: "Camper 1, come here everyone. I will now show you where you will build [your fort]."

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

Camper 2 with his group stay behind while the rest follow the head counselor to the next building site. Once they arrive at the site, the head counselor explains the following to Camper 1, the leader of the remaining group as illustrated in this next entry:

Head Counselor to Camper 1: "You'll put one from here to here. From here to here, that's going to be solid enough. So then, one board here, another board here. Camper 1, you know what's an octagon?"

Camper 1: "Yeah."

Head counselor: "One side, one side. One side, the other side. One post right here...there are fifteen of you and here, there are cut trees everywhere that have needles so from that, put them here. ...Get to work. To work gentlemen, let's go. Yeah, yeah, yeah. If you think this kind of wood will help you [picking up a piece of dry wood from the ground]. You guys think that wood like this [breaks the piece of wood effortlessly], do get it solid. Gentlemen, solid, let's go!"

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

As the morning progressed, I checked up on each group periodically. I paid close attention to how the children were speaking with one another and with the counselors. In the next journal entry I explain what I observed as I visited each group as the fort building activity progressed:

Both teams speak a mixture of English and Czech amongst themselves and Czech with the camp counselors. This is something that I have noticed at the camp so far. The younger kids are more prone to spontaneously start speaking Czech in comparison to the older kids/campers.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

As the older children from each group continued building the forts, I went down to observe the younger children who went to the beach. There were various spontaneous Czech conversations that occurred among the younger group. One of my most successful observations at the beach took place during a card game of UNO. The translated conversation from Czech reads as follows:

Camp counselor: "Well, once we start playing then you will understand."

Camper 1: "Yes, I have seven [cards], yes."

Camper 1: "And what does it mean 'reverse'?"

Camp Counselor: "Other direction."

Camper 1: "Whose turn is it?"

Camper 2: "I'm starting."

Camper 1: "Who plays now?"

Camp Counselor: "You [camper 1], no? Who put the two down? You? [pointing to camper 2]"

Camper 1: "Can I play this [card]?"

Camp counselor: "Yes, you can."

Camper 1: "Can I play the red [card]?"

Camp counselor: "Yes."

Camper 2: "I didn't say UNO dang it!"

Camp counselor: "Don't you have a four? Not even a green [card]?"

Camper 1: "Should I pick up a card [then]?"

Camp counselor: "Yeah, then you should pick up [a card]. UNO. Can you play? I won. There."

Camper 1: "And the rest can't continue playing?"

Camp counselor: "You can finish the game, yes. Then next time we will finish playing."

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

I found this activity to be a success because it occurred spontaneously; it was not an official activity set up by the camp counselors but rather it was an impromptu gathering

of the children spontaneously conversing in Czech. Later on in the afternoon, the younger children left the beach and went back to their teams to help finish building the forts. The more difficult aspects of building had been completed and the remaining work was manageable enough for the small children to handle. Many of the children chatted among one another, in both Czech and English, as they finalized their forts. In this next dialogue, group leader 2 spoke only English while the rest of the campers responded in Czech and later on in English:

Younger Camper (in Czech): "What should I do?"

Group Leader 2: "Oh, hi. Where were you?"

Younger Camper (in English): "At the beach."

Group Leader 2: "You were at the beach for six hours?"

Younger Camper (in English): "Yes, we were."

Voice 1 of camper (in English): "Start doing something!"

Group Leader 2: "Start putting branches on the walls. Go ask, go talk to..."

Voice 2 of camper to group leader 2 (in Czech): "In Czech, in Czech to the younger camper."

Voice 2 of camper to the younger camper (in Czech): "Go and pull some green stuff on the side so it looks a bit fuller, okay?"

Younger Camper: "Umm."

Another Younger Camper (in Czech): "I should also put green stuff?"

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

As afternoon turned into evening, each group managed to finish their forts in time to sleep in them overnight. I slept next to one of the forts and woke up periodically to videotape each fort and to write journal entries. Figures 1 and 2 show how both groups progressed throughout the day to completing their forts. I also include one of my final

entries from my journal for this activity:

Again, as far as the language goes, I'm seeing mostly older kids talking English and sometimes Czech while the younger kids are more prone to spontaneously start talking Czech amongst themselves.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

Figure 1 shows fort one being built

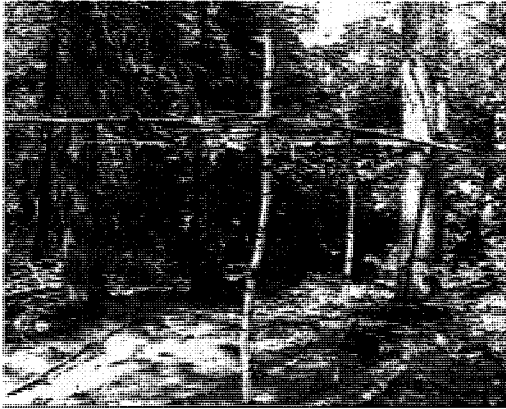
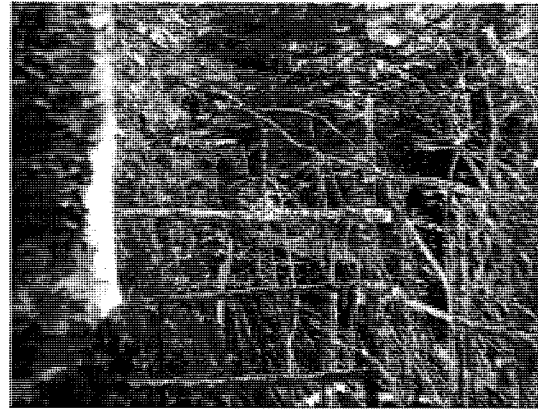


Figure 2 shows fort two being built



Throughout the fort activity, the children within each group communicated with one another using both English and Czech. For those children who were born within the Czech diasporic community in Canada, the use of their “English language affiliation” was prominent throughout their discussions with each other. Some of the older children would use their “Czech language inheritance” when conversing with the younger children but would switch back to their “English language affiliation” when speaking with the older children in their group. When explaining and conversing with the children, the camp counselors would switch between their own “Czech language inheritance” and “English language affiliation”. This switch between the camp counselor’s “language affiliation” and “language inheritance” would occur depending on the children’s comprehension of either the Czech or English languages. The card game played by the younger group of children demonstrates the use of the Czech language, both in its

“language affiliation” and “language inheritance” forms since these younger children were either, born and raised within the Czech diasporic community in Canada or in the Czech Republic.

The next activity to depict representations of Czech language came from the phrase game. This particular activity was described to me by one of the camp counselors in the following manner:

Now we are going to play a night game, which will start around ten in the evening. And the homework will be to find letters located throughout the forest and from these, they will have to build a sentence that is, written in Czech, that is. So now we are going to prepare, which means we have to select the ground area where the game will take place and place the letters.

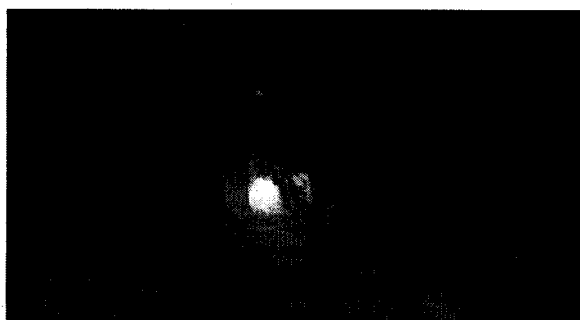
(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

The preparations took place the afternoon before the activity began. Both counselors took great care in selecting the area in this activity in order to make it as safe as possible for the children when they would be roaming through the designated area at night.

Figure 3
Selected entrance of activity



Figure 4
Entrance of activity at night



As the counselors made the preparations for this phrase game activity, they both reflected informally on how the same activity played out the week before with a different group of children:

Camp Counselor 1 (in Czech): “That was fun, the first group. I had the two smallest campers and they did the activity the best because they were Czech.”

Camp Counselor 2 (in Czech): "With us, they did it [the activity] completely wrong. Mostly, they had a mess with what letter belongs where because they didn't have a writing system so then they had it completely mixed up."

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

Later on that night, at around 10 p.m., the children were brought out near the entrance of the designated perimeter of the activity. Three leaders were chosen to head each group, and they in turn, selected their own team members. The head counselor then proceeded to explain the activity to the children in detail as illustrated in this next audio excerpt from the video:

Voice 1 from one team member (in English): "Okay, speak, speak Czech to us, come on!"

Voice 2 from another team member (in English): "Who has two Czech parents and speaks fluent Czech at home!?"

Voice 1 from one team member (in Czech): "Doesn't she, doesn't she?"

Head Counselor (in Czech): "Listen! It doesn't mean that one group has six, the second group has six, and the other has five. It does not matter. Okay. It doesn't matter at all. Now, we will go into the forest where a game has been prepared for you. Each counselor will have one team, and we will send one, always one into the forest. It is [the perimeter] marked with orange cones, so you can't get lost. We never lost anyone. Nothing ever happened to anyone, nothing will ever happen to anyone, and no one will ever get lost. Okay. If by chance something, and you wouldn't know where you are, stay in one place and start screaming. I or another counselor, will be there in three minutes. Another thing. We will always send one person into the forest. And that person will have to run and find a paper where is written one letter, and on there is perhaps one number. So then perhaps if, if the word is, maybe, I don't know, locomotive, then it will be L1. So then L is the first letter of the entire sentence. Locomotive, 02. Perhaps you've got somewhere in the sentence a comma. Then you will only see the comma, a small comma and a number."

Figure 5
Letters placed up top and down

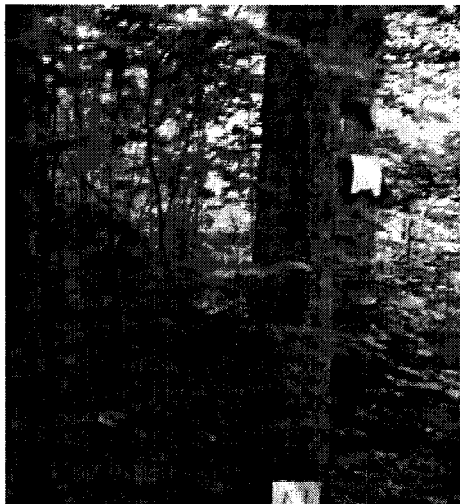
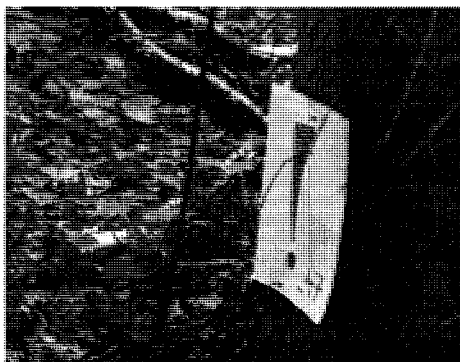


Figure 6
Letter placed near the ground



So then, you will do perhaps, you will do lines, and then put each letter into these lines. Each person can only bring one letter at a time. Just one small letter and always come back. Should a counselor hear that someone brought back two letters, then the first letter will be accepted. They [the letters] are everywhere. They can be up top. They can be down. They can be on a maple tree or it can be on the ground. You must not tear them down [the sheets] or your team will be disqualified. The first team to figure out the word or the sentence, wins. You don't need to have all the letters, you can guess what it is but you must know what it is, in the sentence. How many letters?"

Camp Counselor (in Czech): "47."

Head Counselor (in Czech): "47."

Camper's voice (in English): "What!"

Another Camper's voice (in English): "In the word, in the word."

Head counselor (now in English): "Yeah, no. It's a sentence. It's a sentence with 47, 47 spaces, okay?"

Voice of camper (in English): "We don't take another number, we just write it down?"

Head Counselor (in English): "No, no. You remember!"

Voice of camper (in English): "Or remember."

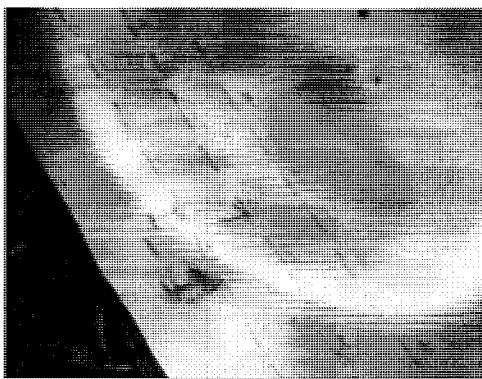
Head Counselor (in English): "You see 01, 01 you run back to the team and 01 and the other one runs in. We are going to give you each, one paper and one pen. So it goes one by one, you have to bring back one letter."

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

As the activity began, I moved from one group to the other to see how well they each progressed. In my journal I wrote *“it’s interesting to see them [the children] talk to each other in English and then read and sound out the letters in Czech.”* (journal excerpt, July 2004).

These next sets of text demonstrate how each group worked together to build the sentence:

Figure 7
One group organized their sentence



Group Leader 1 (in Czech): “So then, we have the other [letter] like this one? Or is the other one like this?” [motioning quietly from one letter to the other on their sheet]
Team member (in Czech): “The second one.”

Group Leader 1 (in Czech): “It will probably be another one [letter] on the end. Enjoy, enjoy your nice...girls. It could be girls, enjoy your...”

Camp Counselor to group 1 (in Czech): “Quietly, the others over there can hear you.”

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

Group Leader 2: “e, i right?”

Team member: “yeah, good, i.”

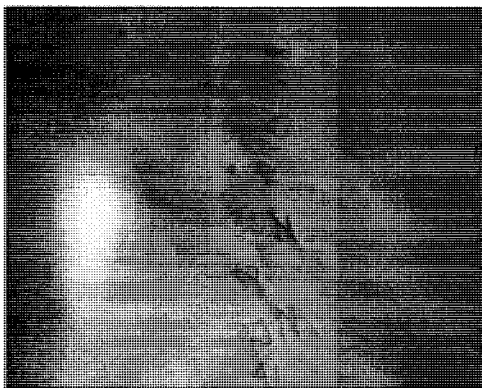
Group Leader 2: “e, i. e like hard or soft?”

Team member: “Soft, soft”

Another team member: “Soft is normal e”

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

Figure 8
Another group organized their sentence

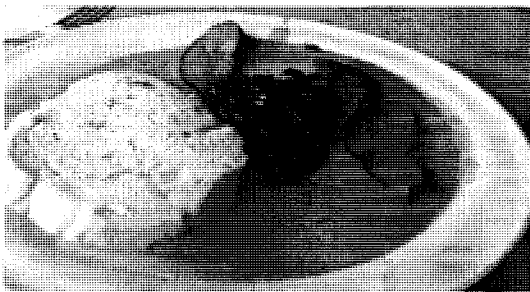


These excerpts of dialogue between some of the children provide examples of how they negotiated as a group and individually, between their own “Czech language inheritance” and their “English language affiliation” both in oral and written form. The children discussed Czech word formations and the structure of Czech grammar using both their “Czech language inheritance” and “English language affiliations”.

Food

The meals served at the camp provided opportunities for open dialogue among the children to express and negotiate their thoughts on Czech food. During week 1 of my fieldwork, the camp had two cooks and during week 2 there were three. The budget for food was not made available but from my own observations, the cooks were given a budget and seemed to create meals according to their allotted funds. What initially surprised me was the variety of Czech meals being served at the camp, especially Czech dishes with dumplings since they had to be made from scratch, and in large quantities. As I analyzed my data collected detailing the food at camp Hostýn, I began to notice that some of the meals created a Czech cultural, and sometimes linguistic, dialogue between the children and the camp counselors. In this section I discuss three meal events, which demonstrated either Czech linguistic or Czech cultural representations. On one occasion the cooks prepared for lunch *svíčková*, which is a very typical Czech dish. This meal consists of beef with a cream sauce and bread dumplings.

Figure 9 *Svíčková* being served at the camp



When I asked the camp counselor from the Czech Republic to comment on the meal, she mentioned that *“you put cranberries [over the meat and sauce] except that Czech*

cranberries are like cranberries, and do not look like marmalade.” (translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004). I also wrote in my journal that during this meal the children engaged in a discussion about Czech food:

The table talk around the table is how many dumplings can you eat? What Czech meals do you like? Which ones do you get sick of? Which ones do you love? What is your dumpling record? One camper mentions that she can never get sick of svičková or rajská. Everyone really likes this meal. Kids are asking for seconds and thirds! Yeah, a really good Czech meal...Lunch is now over and one camper ate 14 dumplings for lunch! I can't believe it. Another camper ate 12...just nuts! Now, the competition is still going...One bowl of jello equals one dumpling. He is now going to eat four bowls of jello to win.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

This excerpt demonstrates how the food at the camp initiated discussion among the children about their own knowledge on Czech culture. The conversations between the children took place through both their “English language affiliation” and “Czech language inheritance”.

Another meal the camp organized for the children was one, which required them to make their own lunch. The children were split into three groups and had to make a guláš soup. This is a typical Czech dish, which requires effort to get the right flavour and consistency. Each group received: a pot, knife, cutting board, potatoes, onions, salt, pepper, paprika, flour, oil, salami, and spoon. In my journal I wrote about the guláš activity in this way:

The counselors will also make their own guláš lunch. The counselors will not be competing against the other groups. As before, each group was given the ingredients, a bowl [pot], wooden spoon, knife, cutting board and potatoe peeler. I checked every group: team one (1) was down by the boys clubhouse, team two

Figure 10
Group 2 making their soup in the rain

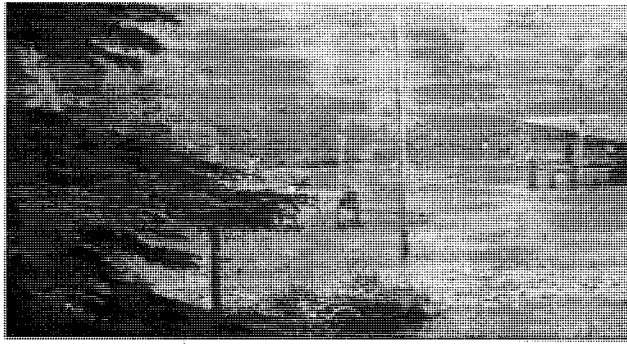
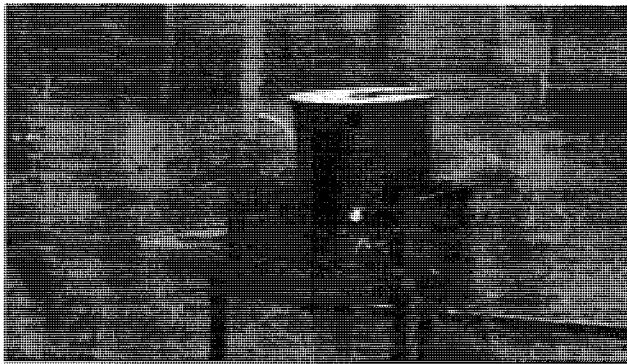


Figure 11
A detailed look at group 2's efforts



(2) was in front of the "letní kino" [outdoor cinema] and the third group was up by the girls cabins. The counselors fire was behind the kitchen. I asked the camp counselors to 'fill us in' on what we are going to start cooking first. After that, it started to rain. They all [the groups] continued to make their guláš. It was really great! It was pouring outside! The rain was truly a heavy, heavy downpour for 30-40 minutes.

However, every group stayed with their guláš and continued to tend to their fires. They just did not give up until the task was done regardless of the obstacles. I'm really glad I got to observe that. Group two was all that I could observe because I had a view of them from the inside. Really fun. One group was pretty smart by putting a large piece of wood over the pot so it covered the fire as well (hence sheltering the fire from the rain)

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

Before it started to rain, and as I walked from group to group, I became aware that as the children were discussing how to make the guláš, some of them were speaking in Czech. For example, "You don't put water first, right? Put in the oil and...all of the oil?" was one of the discussions in Czech between members of one group. Once each group finished making their guláš, they brought their soup into the dining hall where they had it for lunch and gave a portion of it to the staff. The staff tasted all the soups prepared by each group and selected a winner. Group two ended up winning the competition since

they had the best flavour and thickness. Figures 12, 13, and 14 illustrate the final presentation of the guláš soup for each group:

Figure 12
Group 1's soup



Figure 13
Group 2's soup

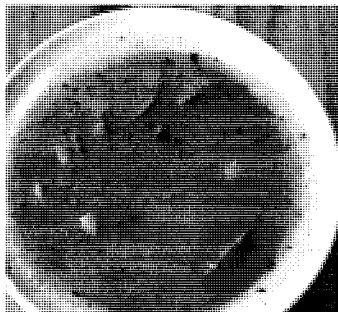
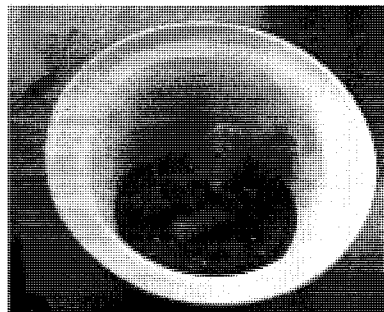


Figure 14
Group 3's soup



The guláš activity demonstrated how the children in each group communicated with each other in both their “Czech language inheritance” and “English language affiliation” forms. Through active participation, this activity also created individual and group dialogue around Czech language and culture since the children had to make the soup themselves.

There was also a breakfast meal, which I found demonstrated a difference between Czech culture and “Canadian” culture. In the Czech Republic, it is not uncommon to have a buchta with coffee or tea in the morning. A buchta is basically

Figure 15



baked dough with a filling and icing sugar on top. Figure 15 illustrates how the buchty were served at the camp.

What I found interesting but not surprising was that many of the children didn't care for the buchty and preferred to eat cereal for breakfast. I was not surprised since for me personally, buchty are rather bland in taste and require some getting used to. I wrote about this observation on two

occasions in my journal in the following way:

[In the morning] we had breakfast (buchta and cereal). Not many kids liked the buchta and as a result many of them opted for the North American bowl of cereal. ...This morning we are having mákový buchty and čaj [tea] or kafe [coffee]. We are also having cereal for those who prefer it. Very Czech breakfast.
(journal excerpt, July 2004)

This last example demonstrates how, through the active dialogue between the self and others, many of the children discussed their preference for either cereal or buchty. Many of the children discussed among each other their own Czech or Canadian cultural preferences through either their “Czech language inheritance” or their “English language affiliation”.

Camp Counselors

There were three camp counselors at the camp. One came from the Czech Republic and the other two counselors were from Canada. The working dynamic between the counselors is important since the counselors together construct the social dynamics necessary for the presence of the Czech language and culture among the entire group of children. In analyzing my data from my interviews with the counselors, certain themes began to emerge. For one, the counselors reflected on how often they spoke Czech with the children. The counselors also reflected on their group dynamics, and their impressions of the camp program.

When the camp counselor from the Czech Republic thought about how much Czech was spoken at the camp during the interview she said that:

In terms of language, I think we could use Czech here a little more. Initially, the Head Counselor did say [to speak] Czech but I don't think he speaks Czech as much as he could either. I get the feeling that he uses more English than he

should of example, even with kids that understand Czech but also, those kids that come from Europe would rather practice their English so they try and use English more than Czech. So naturally they have a greater interest in learning or speaking English. ...I speak English because yes, it's true that I don't really think about it and sometimes it's because I would like to practice my English (this is also true) or you have the feeling/impression that they [the children] don't understand what you are saying so then, well, I mean I could also speak more Czech, I don't know hmm. I also think about the counselors that come from Europe. So on the one hand you have them [here] for the Czech but then it also takes them some time before they get used to their surroundings.

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

When I interviewed the Slovak counselor and asked her about the use of the Czech and Slovak languages at the camp, she provided this reflection:

We were also told that we should emphasize the Czech and Slovak. We were told that they should learn some Czech and / or improve on their Czech skills. And if they don't understand then we should explain it in English. But the parents emphasized that we should be speaking to the kids in Czech and Slovak. ...I was surprised at how much the kids knew Czech. I thought some would [know Czech] and others wouldn't but I was surprised that we could work on the Czech and Slovak languages as much as we could, and more importantly with the kids. And these kids were born here and were raised here [in Canada].

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

These two excerpts demonstrate the importance the camp counselors felt in using both the Czech and English languages with the children throughout the camp session. The camp counselors articulate when and why they use the Czech language rather than the English language and vice versa. They also mention the children's ability to use their "Czech language inheritance" in contrast to their "English language affiliation". The

camp counselors also discuss the reasons for maintaining a balance between the use of English and Czech.

In my interviews with both counselors, I noticed they provided similar yet distinct reflections on the perceived dynamic between the counselors. The camp counselor from the Czech Republic had the following reflections on the communication, team work, activity follow through and group dynamics of the counselors:

I have the feeling that we never do anything on our own because we are waiting for the head counselor. I think this is also because of the way the group dynamics between all three of us has worked out. It is true that the head counselor is the most dominant and he knows how to work with the kids, they have the greatest respect for him out of all three of us, plus he also knows how things work here and the other camp counselor does not have more initiative. The camp counselor that was here last week was more energetic and we worked rather well together and because of that we were able to do more things with the kids. I have the feeling that [now] when I'm with the other camp counselor, most of it has to be done by myself. I feel as if she doesn't support me so I would rather wait for the head counselor to come and help out instead of just being there completely alone. ...For example, with the kids, I feel it is good for the counselors to stand together in front of the kids. Take the Olympics, of course you will have kids saying "over there, those guys cheated" but the counselors should be there to say "no, that's the end of the debate". But then the kids start to talk back and then you have the other camp counselor who says that "the other group did this or that" so all of a sudden, you have her hitting you in from another side and then the whole thing falls apart, the kids then get the sense they can do what they like since the counselors can't decide together. ...I guess we should work more together, the three of us and talk about it but we need to sit down every other night and plan out the activities / program ahead of time, and at the same time discuss between the three of us what is not working in terms of the group / team dynamics, what

bothers us and discuss issues which we find problematic. (translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

The Slovak camp counselor also reflected on the group dynamics during her interview but focused more on the entire camp as a whole by saying *“the worst situation would have to be the interpersonal interaction here at the camp. This kind of thing does not belong among the kids and the camp. Things could be better but I know that it’s for a short time so I’m not paying too much attention to it.”* (translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004) She also goes on to discuss the working dynamics with the head counselor and says that *“he tries to be dominant but he is also approachable. If there is something that I’ve got to say or on my mind in terms of the language then you can speak to him about it. He has suggestions and ideas. He is open, and pays attention to what others have to say.”* (translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

Both camp counselors discuss their own frustrations with the lack of team work between all camp counselors. The camp counselor from the Czech Republic mentions her frustration in having to prepare and follow through on most of the activities presented to the children. The Slovak camp counselor mentions briefly the lack of interpersonal interaction between the camp counselors as a whole but does articulate the group’s ability to listen and problem solve as a group when necessary.

I observed the working dynamics among the counselors on several occasions. The accompanying text demonstrates how the counselors discuss among themselves the various alternative activities they would like to plan and organize for the children in the

upcoming week:

Camp Counselor 1: "We could also teach them [the children] to make a fire without paper and without their bugs and these kinds of sprays. You know, perhaps when they do the guláš..."

Head Counselor: "Yeah, for the guláš they do that, without paper, without paper."

Camp Counselor 1: "I would do, maybe we would have some sort of fire split, and maybe..."

Head Counselor (not letting her finish her thought): "They will get three matches."

Camp Counselor 1 (trying to politely suggest an idea): "But that's not a lot."

Head Counselor: "It's not too little, three matches."

Camp Counselor 1 (still trying to make her suggestion heard): "Then I would do it in such a way that they would have to take their fire from our own [the counselors] fire."

Head Counselor (ignoring her suggestion and moving ahead with his own idea): "They can use bark instead of paper and if they properly prepare it [their fire], then one match will be enough."

Camp Counselor 1 (realizing that her suggestion is not being heard): "And how many groups will we have for it?"

Head Counselor: "We are three, so there will be three groups."

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

This last example also demonstrates how the camp counselors negotiate with one another through active dialogue in creating and preparing subsequent activities for the children at the camp. The different negotiating styles of the camp counselors are also articulated.

The camp program that was created and implemented by the counselors was in some instances well structured and in others, not as much. When I asked the Slovak

camp counselor her thoughts on the camp program, she responded by saying:

For the activities we are only thinking about what to do next, it is not mostly about language. The language issue is secondary. I even notice with the Head Counselor, that the language is not the main priority. We put together the activities and the Czech is there but from my point of view, I don't see it as being a priority. And regarding the daily program, the priority is to keep the kids busy, and that they have fun but language falls secondary. It is mostly in Czech but there are also kids here that don't speak Czech so we have to keep the English language available. ...It could be better organized. The program could be organized two months in advance and not the day or night before. If someone took an interest in this then it would be possible.

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

When I asked the camp counselor from the Czech Republic to reflect on the camp program, she responded with this explanation:

What I don't like about it here is that [we] are not well organized. You never know what is going to happen. You don't know what is going on and if you should be preparing something for the kids. ...And here, well, I have the impression that it's from hour to hour. So what are we going to do now, well let's play something. I guess this is good too. I would have to say that the first camp session was even more improvised than this one. Afterwards, I had the impression that we didn't do much of anything. Or that we realized there were many things which we did not manage to do because we didn't have the time for it. For example, we didn't do the hike or the Olympic were right at the end, the day before the camp session ended. ...I would try and ask the head counselor if I could take either a morning or an afternoon and organize it myself but I'm not sure if the children would respond to my leadership. The head counselor is so revered by the children. For example, he might come up with an activity that is, well, just idiotic but he is able to present the activity in such a way that it is interesting to the kids. ...Then I also have the feeling that if we tell him something

or provide suggestions, he doesn't listen to what we have to say. He will just say yeah, yeah, and then will continue doing the activity his own way.

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

Both camp counselors articulate the lack of organization in terms of activity preparation for the camp program. The Slovak camp counselor mentions that language is not one of the primary elements in the creation of camp activities. More emphasis is placed on making sure the children are busy and active during the camp session. The inclusion of the Czech language and culture is secondary. The camp counselor from the Czech Republic mentions there is a consistent lack of organization and preparation of the camp activities. She also mentions issues of leadership coordination between the camp counselors, which contribute to the lack of organization in the camp program.

As week 1 progressed into week 2, I began to notice deterioration in the daily program at the camp. I wrote and reflected on this disorganization in my journal as this next excerpt illustrates:

In fact, there was no 'official' activity this morning. A group did however go into the woods to look for mushrooms. It was confusing this morning, not very organized because half of the camp didn't even know that they went looking for mushrooms. I'm not super impressed with this. Too much 'morning, afternoon and evening rest' for my taste!...I think the counselors could use some time off. They seem tired and in reality, it is 5 weeks straight of work and are in need of some kind of rest. This is what (in my view) contributed to the disorganization to this morning's activity.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

In each interview, I asked the camp counselors to reflect on whether they should have a

day off during the session, they both responded positively:

Camp Counselor 1: "I think it would be good if we had 1 day off, yes, that would be a good idea. It would be a good idea to have 1 day off between the sessions, that would be good. Or, it would be great to have two counselors in each camp. Two in the boys' camp and two in the girls' camp. Then you could have two counselors putting the program together and then the other two would have a bit of a break. Then they could change."

Camp Counselor 2: "It's a lot, 6 weeks every day, in one straight session, without a break. And everyday you have to be up for the wake-up and be alert. Either we have a day off, or the entire camp has a day off, the counselors and the kids. Or you have a scheduled program and you have one counselor that takes the day off."

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

Both camp counselors articulate the need for a break during the 6 week camp session.

One camp counselor mentions that since the sessions are quite long, it is difficult to remain alert and implement the camp program everyday. It is possible that the camp counselors fatigue during the session contributed to the lack of proper organization and preparation needed to implement the camp activities.

Staff Dynamics

The dynamic tension between the counselors was not the only dynamic, which I observed at the camp. I noticed that there existed a dynamic tension between the entire staff meaning, the camp counselors, the cooking staff and the camp director. This next section does not directly address issues of Czech language or cultural representations but rather represents data illustrating the different dynamics between the various levels of staff.

During week 1, I began to notice a shortage of food when the children came in for their meals. The shortage was more in the sense that the children could not have seconds, and I found this rather odd since I never experienced this at camp myself. I reflected on this point in my journal:

There is one thing that I do find rather annoying (and so do the other camp counselors), and that is that the cooks don't make enough of each meal for the kids. You would think after a week and a half [the camp session began before I arrived to do my fieldwork] that they would have an idea of how much kids would eat. However, I am willing to admit that maybe their budget is too low – I don't know. All I do know is that the kids are hungry and rarely do they get to have seconds. Even the Head Counselor gave up his meal so a camper could have seconds today (that happened at dinner). ...At four we had snack – melon and bublanina. There was not enough to eat this time around. I think we could have also had juice.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

Towards the end of week 2 of my fieldwork I asked one of the camp counselors to reflect on the dynamics among the cooking staff. She explained that:

Now it is good but [last week] the food was without taste. Even the organization of certain things for example...that over there we didn't wash some plates or scrape the plates enough. It was really chaotic. You just never knew what you should do and then you would try and help them out by bringing them [the cooks] the dirty plates but then they ask 'what are you doing here? There are too many people whirling around here.' Or if we have to prepare the plates, cups etc. and [for example] my activity took longer than expected, and they already had lunch finished. Then why didn't they set the table if they are waiting for us, and we are coming in late and all they have to tell us is that they have been waiting for you...well why don't they at least go and set the table? Why should we have to do everything if we don't have enough time ourselves?

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

I also spoke with the second camp counselor who reflected on the food, and not necessarily the dynamics of the cooking staff. She says *“the food is fine. They seem to be mixing the Czech food with the English rather well. They try, they have good soups, it’s home made, the food is good.”* (translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004). Both camp counselors mention the quality of the food and that there is a balance between Czech and “Canadian” meals. They also discuss their frustration in the lack of proper communication between them and the cooking staff.

There was also tension between the camp counselors and the director of the camp. One of the camp counselors reflected on what really bothered them about the camp:

What really bothered me about this camp is that everything is taken here as if it were a business deal. How they talk about money here is really way over the top. That we [the camp] can’t spend any of the money, not even a dollar. ...The camp is there for the kids and it was built for the kids, so why shouldn’t they be able to get their money back? And even the director, he is not able to sit down and talk to the kids in a positive way. You know, more like ‘why don’t you like it? What is wrong with the camp?’ No, instead he just says no, you are here for two, three weeks. You know he takes it right away as if he is losing money. And then he tells us or makes us feel like it’s our fault, that Hostýn is losing money. You have to try harder so they stay longer, you have to make it more interesting for them. Every week means money for the camp. He doesn’t use these words but it is the feeling he conveys to us. Or if a kid wants to leave earlier then he presents it to us as if it’s our fault. The camp is losing money because of your [the counselors] bad work. ...But I was surprised that the camp did cover the cost for the counselor that went with the children on the camp outing. ...And what does the director do in the office the whole day? I don’t understand that? Don’t tell me it takes him that long to put together the brochure. And what are they fighting about? What about those Czech kids in the U.S. that could have come up? Why are they

fighting? The children from the U.S. could have come up, I mean it's not that far for them. It's really unfortunate that they are fighting amongst each other.

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

In fairness to the camp and the director, I was aware that the camp heavily relies on donations. In my journal, I reflected on this point: *"the budget is low and they [the camp] rely on donations for equipment. ...The beach front: parents have asked that they [the camp] build a soccer field or volleyball 'field' however, this is not possible because the city will not allow it, and therefore can not get the permits."* (journal excerpt, July 2004). On another occasion, I summed up my reflections in this excerpt from my journal:

After dinner the Head Counselor will be taking the evening off because some of his friends are going to visit. I suspect that he will leave in the evening to party. All the counselors are tired and could use a day off before the next group of kids arrive. I feel there is a little tension and stress between the three of them. But I only think it's because they are all tired – they need an afternoon, evening off just to 're-group' [sic]. One of the camper's parents want to take some of the campers to this outdoor adventure place...tomorrow. A few other campers also wanted to go but the camp does not have the budget for it. In the end, the final decision is to send some of the campers and one camp counselor. I hope the camp will be able to provide this activity for the campers in the future. A good team building experience. The evening activity consisted of not very much – what can I say – the group was tired and the kids just wanted to relax.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

The budget of the camp is low and this is reflected in the types of activities offered. In my journal entry I indicate the interest in expanding some of the camp activities but also mention the need for a budget increase. The camp counselor from the Czech Republic

also discusses the pressure put on the counselors to maximize the profit of the camp and mentions the disappointment in the divisions within the Czech diasporic communities.

Location

Location influences how the camp is able to construct either Czech linguistic or Czech cultural representations. In this study, the property area of camp Hostýn in Quebec, Canada along with the activities, play crucial roles in the construction of these Czech linguistic and cultural representations. The location of camp Hostýn highly influences the camp's program, and how the children and the camp counselors speak among themselves.

For example, in this next excerpt from my journal I discuss the difficulties the camp counselors faced in finding films in either English or Czech. Since they didn't prepare this activity in advance, their resources were limited. However, the film activity did take place, which meant they were able to obtain the materials necessary to complete the activity:

Two of the camp counselors went to rent a couple of films for the kids this evening but the movie rental store only had films in French and none in English. I would prefer to have them show Czech movies but I guess they have not got the resources for them. ...The head counselor got hold of some movies ... a Czech film is among them but they decided to watch an English movie instead.

(journal excerpt, July 2004)

I also asked one of the camp counselors to reflect on the film activity and why it was not such a great success. In my interview, the camp counselor provided this next reflection and explanation:

It's about speaking much more with the kids in Czech or maybe even the film, but then that might not interest them either since they didn't watch it. The summer

outdoor cinema would be interesting, that could work. But the best would be to speak to them more in Czech. But I think they will show an English film instead of a Czech film. The Czech films are probably more complicated for the kids to understand, maybe even the jokes are maybe, even for the period, since they never lived under communism then they won't understand the point of the discussion or joke in Czech.

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

The camp counselor mentions the need to focus more on speaking Czech with the children so that they have the opportunities to use their own “Czech language inheritance” as often as possible throughout the camp session. She also mentions the difficulty in finding appropriate Czech films that would be of interest to the children since none of them experienced communism. This last observation identifies that children’s cultural identities are generated through the active participation in activities that allow them to dialogically negotiate their own “here” and “there” with the self and other.

When I asked the camp counselor from the Czech Republic to reflect on the differences between camps back home and camp Hostýn, she provided the following insight and examples during our interview:

Well, I leaned some of the new activities and when somebody meets new people, different leadership styles at the camp, even the kids you realize that we are all quite different. How different? I would say for one, what disappointed me was the fact that the kids here are lazier. For example, we are cleaning in the clubhouse, and they just sit there and it would never occur to them to help out or ask if there is something they could do. This already happened to me several times where you are working and they are just sitting there and talking amongst themselves. Or if they could go and pull out a game from the clubhouse and we say no because there will be a mess again. I am also under the impression that

some of the activities which I know would not interest our kids, like playing the activity three times during the camp session would definitely not pass in the Czech Republic but here, the kids still like to play it. In the Czech Republic we play the sports activities several times during 1 session but most of the time we don't want to repeat the game. Here there is greater comfort and they eat the food, they don't have to wash the dishes. Whereas in the Czech Republic, every group had kitchen duty meaning they cooked and cleaned. But the food there was not so great you know buchty and that kind of thing. Or we were not allowed to take a discman with us, radio because there was no electricity.

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

The camp counselor from the Czech Republic also reflected on the advantages of camp Hostýn as opposed to those resources available in the Czech Republic:

There are a lot of options here as opposed to the camps in the Czech Republic. Even when the weather is bad, there are many options here since there are more facilities. At the camps in the Czech Republic, you just have tents and that's about it. There is no clubhouse, T.V. or video. Over there you have a few sports fields and that's about it. In the Czech Republic, if it rains then we do arts and crafts in the dining area.

(translated and transcribed interview excerpt, July 2004)

The camp counselor from the Czech Republic discusses the differences between camp in the Czech Republic and camp Hostýn. She mentions what activities were provided “here” as opposed to “there” and offers possible reasons for their provision. She also discusses how in Canada, there are greater opportunities for the camp counselors to create interesting activities for the children. There is no mention of maximizing the creation of opportunities that would encourage children to actively participate, individually or in a group, in activities that would help them contextualize their individual identity markers and discover their Czech heritage language and culture.

This next example provides the only explanatory ‘follow through’ that occurred after the completion of an activity. During my data collection process, there was never any summation regarding the purpose of the activity that was organized by the camp counselors. The summation of the guláš activity was presented in a *camp ceremonial awards* style in this way:

So then look, the cooks and the rest of the staff voted and the best guláš is group number two, which is, the group over here. The best guláš. The others had clumpy flour or there was something wrong with the potatoes but that does not matter. We will do this [activity] again so you can learn it and try it again a second time. It's mostly so you would learn how to make a fire. I congratulate all of you because it rained and you all still made your guláš. Excellent. Super. With the way it rained [today] there are people out there whose fire would have gone out and they would not have had anything. Everyone ate. Good. You all passed. It was excellent.

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

On several occasions throughout the day, the children would all meet at a designated area for *line up*. Once everyone would be gathered together, announcements and the daily program would be discussed among the children and the camp counselors. This next example demonstrates how the camp counselor was able to turn one line up gathering into an opportunity for all the children to speak Czech:

Head Counselor (angrily in Czech): “I said line up, which means get in line and not that you go to the back and...get to it! So do 16 because of your extra nonsense. Everyone count in Czech.”

One camper starts doing push ups while the rest of the group counts in Czech.

All the children (in Czech): “...7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.”

Head Counselor (in Czech): “16, and one more because you were gabbing so you get one extra. Get to it! And so you don’t gab anymore, you get two more.”

The camper does two more push ups.

All the children (in Czech): "One, two."

Head Counselor (in Czech): "Get back in line."

(translated and transcribed excerpt from video, July 2004)

The summation of the guláš activity by the head counselor provides the children with the opportunity to reflect on their own active participation in this activity and how it may have provided the opportunity for them to dialogically negotiate between their own "Czech language inheritance" and "English language affiliation". The summation also helps the children reflect on how, through meaningful group interaction, they may have been able to create and discover different aspects of their own Czech language and culture. The line up excerpt also demonstrates how the head counselor was able to generate an opportunity for the children to switch from their own "English language affiliation" to their "Czech language inheritance" since initially, the children began counting the numbers in English and only switched to Czech once the head counselor told them to do so.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the various examples of Czech language and culture contexts that emerged in the five contextual areas of the camp during my observations. I also presented interpretive commentary to the examples given in relation to my primary research questions. In the next chapter I provide reflective understandings and discuss the implications of this study.

Chapter Five

Reflective Understanding & Implications of Study

Reflecting on Camp Hostýn

Initially, the prospect of studying the camp intrigued me because I saw this area as holding a certain kind of potential for first generation Canadians interested in maintaining either their Czech cultural or linguistic heritage, and perhaps even both. Many of the activities presented at the camp provided spaces where the children could, for the most part, identify, negotiate and make sense of the Czech cultural and linguistic representations they dialogically created. These representations were generated through the children's own participation in the activities presented to them as was illustrated in the phrase game and guláš activities I described in chapter four.

However, the majority of the activities did not substantially create spaces where the children could construct and dialogically negotiate their own Czech heritage language and cultural aspects of their identities. For example, the bingo activity did not provide opportunities for the children to dialogically negotiate their Czech heritage language or culture. This activity generated little opportunity for the children to negotiate between the self and other because it was not a team oriented activity thereby providing minimal constructive dialogue about Czech language or culture. Also, the film activity did not enable the children to relate to the issues addressed in the selected Czech film chosen. In broad terms, the majority of the themes addressed in the film dealt with the social impact of communism from a particular perspective. More reflection and organization is needed when creating the camp program so that the majority of the activities provide opportunities where the children can negotiate these cultural and linguistic spaces. The

camp needs to prepare the activities in advance, be organized and reflect on how the Czech language and culture will be introduced in the activity. The camp provided the children with some great activities that generated active discussion on Czech language and culture but as a whole, many of the activities could have been much more successful had the camp counselors prepared in advance for them. For this advance preparation to happen, the camp and the association need to make Czech language and culture content a priority in the camp program. This lack of consistent emphasis on both the Czech culture and language was reflected in the camp program during my data collection.

There seems to be a shift in the camp administration's attitude towards prioritizing the Czech language and culture into the daily program. Instead, the camp seems to want to emphasize to a greater extent the recreational activities to be offered. The administration is still requiring the camp counselors to be fluent in Czech, French and English. However, as demonstrated in the analysis chapter, the language fluency alone of a camp counselor is not enough to create spaces where children would be able to dialogically negotiate their own Czech cultural and linguistic heritage. For example, during the fort building activity, the camp counselors spoke Czech but the children responded back in English. I observed children working on their own comprehension of the Czech language but not their oral skills.

What was interesting for me as a researcher was how the phrase game activity revealed that the older generation knows little of how the younger generation negotiates and makes sense of the representations of their own Czech language and culture. My discussions with the camp counselor from the Czech Republic also made me realize how little the younger generation knows about their own Czech heritage past. What surprised

me even more was how uninterested the children seemed to be in trying to understand the Czech film, which discussed the social implications of communism. Initially, I attributed this lack of interest as having more to do with the children being tired. However in retrospect, I still wonder if my assessment was correct since they did not seem to see the films' relevance to their lives, which could account for the children's lack of interest.

The older generation needs to demonstrate a greater interest in the younger generation's reference points to their Czech heritage language and culture. For many of the children at camp Hostýn these reference points begin in Canada, which requires them to negotiate and value their own heritage past differently from the older generation. This lack of interest or "overlooking" of what signifies the "here" and "there" for whom, is a problem within the Czech diaspora and needs to be identified, as well as dialogically addressed by both the older and the younger generations within the Canadian Czech diaspora. For example, the younger generation does not seem to show a dedicated interest in certain Czech diasporic organizations such as the Czech and Slovak Association of Canada. The Czech and Slovak Association of Canada understands there is low membership enrollment within their organization and recognizes the need for some kind of change but does not know how to address this problem. Addressing the younger generation regarding this issue and others might be a good place to start a meaningful dialogue within the Czech diasporic community.

Implications for Policymakers and Language Educators

Canada's policy on multiculturalism theoretically allows some minority heritage groups to receive financial support at both the federal as well as some provincial levels to help foster and promote their own heritage language and culture so they may actively

contribute to the diversity of Canadian society. Government programs are in place to help assist minority groups organize cultural activities and help support heritage language schools.

In Canada, the Czech diaspora has had significant difficulty in obtaining and maintaining the student numbers necessary to warrant and benefit from governmental support when trying to establish heritage supplementary school programs. The reasons cited in most Czech diasporic communities in Canada are a lack of interest or low enrollment. Interestingly enough, many Czech supplementary schools have been opening up privately, which indicates an interest within the Czech diaspora for these particular schools. Personally, I argue the interest in these Czech supplementary schools has always been present but the problem resides in the commitment to maintain the schools from both the majority of parents and the Czech diasporic community. The privately run Czech supplementary schools are functioning simply because an individual with teaching experience has an interest in opening up a Czech heritage culture and language program. In terms of “classroom” based learning, I believe these privately run supplementary Czech schools are the best way to ensure the survival of the Czech language and culture in Canada. From the privately run schools I have seen, the teachers are very competent and able to make the lessons interesting for the children. They provide a classroom environment from their own home by turning one room in their home into a classroom complete with a white board and individual seating. These teachers also know how to create lesson plans geared towards children who are living in a heritage language and cultural minority context in Canada. For example, these Czech language teachers will create lessons focused more on explaining Czech grammar instead of emphasizing Czech

vocabulary since many of the children already have a broad knowledge of Czech words.

The children simply do not know how to explain why they speak the way they do.

However, Canadian policymakers and language educators within the Czech diaspora in Canada need to better understand how these children negotiate their own heritage culture and language as well as what they need to continue to do so. Programs specifically focused on assisting these children to dialogically negotiate their cultural identities in meaningful ways are essential for children learning their heritage language and culture in minority contexts. Many of the teachers to whom I have spoken within the Czech diasporic community in Ontario are aware that the younger generation born into the Czech diaspora in Canada negotiates their Czech heritage language and culture differently. For example, children born into the Czech diasporic community may already have a vocabulary base but will need to understand how Czech grammar is used and organized. Good teachers are able to present and explain Czech grammar to these children in a way that is accessible to them. While Czech grammar textbooks have improved over the years, they are still not very useful for teachers who are teaching these children in Canada, and often require the teacher to create different lessons plans suitable to their needs.

As helpful as the Consulate General of the Czech Republic in Toronto has been, the pedagogical material they have recently provided these Czech heritage language teachers to help support their classes is not geared towards children learning the Czech language or culture within a minority context in Canada. The Czech diasporic community in Canada and the parents should be responsible for providing the resources necessary for the Czech supplementary schools in Canada. The diasporic community

should also utilize the newly available resources offered by the Czech government through their Ministry of External Affairs. Aside from pedagogical material, the support comes in different forms such as through semester studies abroad and conference workshops in the Czech Republic for instructors teaching Czech abroad or through programs where Czech instructors come to Canada to help organize various cultural community projects and create new contacts.

Implications for Czech Diaspora in Canada

The Canadian Czech diasporic community needs to reflect on the diaspora's position and discuss anew the purpose and meaning of the Czech diasporic community. Does the community even consider itself a diasporic community? How does the Czech diasporic community want to reflect on its past and negotiate its present and future? Who should be involved in this dialogic negotiation? Will the younger generation be allowed to become active participants in this process and if so, how? Do they even have an interest in finding a new meaning for the Czech diasporic community in Canada? Should the Czech consulate become more active in supporting the Czech diasporic community? How can they help in this process? These are some of the questions that need to be asked and critically examined by both the older and younger generations within the Czech diasporic communities across Canada today.

To critically negotiate the new purpose of the Czech diaspora in Canada, more emphasis must be placed on understanding how the younger generation in the diasporic community negotiates their heritage language(s) and culture(s). Phrases from the older generation within the Czech diaspora such as “there are not enough children interested” or “these are children of Czech extraction” suggests either a lack of interest in or

understanding towards the younger generation of Canadians within the Czech diasporic community in Canada. If the younger Czech generation did not have an interest in learning the Czech language and culture then the existing privately run Czech supplementary schools would not have a presence within the diasporic communities in Canada.

One professional teacher of Czech origin currently has created a private Czech supplementary school in her own home. She has two groups and custom designs each lesson in order to accommodate everyone's needs within each group. Each group comes in once a week and the lessons are one hour and a half in length. There is no break. This new privately run "school" brings a new dynamic to the Czech diasporic community in the greater Toronto area as well as the different groups within the Czech community in the region. She has already taken under her tutelage two students from the Czech supplementary school in the downtown Toronto area and is currently seeking more students. She also has an interest in offering Czech courses electronically although at this point, it is not clear what levels of teaching will be available. The Consulate General of the Czech Republic in Toronto has taken note of the fact that she has begun to establish herself as a viable alternative to the limited existing Czech language learning options within the Czech community in the area.

The Czech supplementary school in the downtown Toronto area is also privately run and has several students enrolled. Classes are held once a week in the Czech diasporic community's church and last two hours. The last half hour is spent practicing and learning traditional Czech songs, which are usually performed a few times over the course of the year at festivals and other social engagements prepared by the various

organizations within the Czech diasporic community. There are two teachers; each is in charge of one group. One teacher teaches the younger children (ages 4-6), and the other teaches the older children (ages 7 and up). The rooms used by the teachers are not suitable for serious and efficient language learning but even though the prevailing limitations exist, the children enjoy being there and are provided with an opportunity to speak and interact with other children in Czech. The children are not provided with individual textbooks but are given copies of pages from Czech textbooks before each class. Other materials used range from cue cards or flash cards to educational magazines containing teacher aids for use in class. Individualized lesson plans created by the Czech heritage language teachers seem to be the most appropriate to use for the Czech supplementary schools at present since they can assess their students needs accordingly. These pedagogical practices I have just described are not the best way to teach heritage languages. However, I understand why these practices are being used since the budget of the Czech supplementary school is very low, there is also a lack of proper pedagogical textbooks and the room used by the heritage language teachers is not meant for classroom learning.

I believe the narrow interpretations I have heard within the Czech diasporic community such as “children are not demonstrating enough interest” from the older generation do not initiate meaningful points of departure in understanding how and in what ways this younger generation of Canadians negotiates their own Czech heritage language and culture. While it may be true that the younger generation in the Czech diaspora in Canada has not shown great interest in some of the current organizations

within the diasporic community, this simply indicates a change in direction for the Czech diaspora and it is this issue, which needs to be addressed.

The younger generation must also critically question the meaning of their own Czech heritage language, culture and identity. They must learn to identify and critically negotiate what the “here” and “there” means for them. How much of their Czech heritage language and culture do they want to keep and how much do they want to let go? What is too “hard” to maintain and why? What is “easier” to maintain and why? This personal dialogic negotiation may lead the younger generation towards new understandings of what they may lose and gain in terms of their own Czech language and culture. By doing this, they may be able to not only articulate more clearly the new position and direction of the Czech diasporic community in Canada but they will also be better positioned to justify, defend and find new personal meaning to the word Canadian.

In order to answer these questions on Czech heritage language, culture and identity, future studies should attempt to detail the interconnecting introspective negotiations between the Czech diasporic communities across Canada, their Czech heritage language schools (be they private or otherwise), and the individual Czech diasporic community members themselves.

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Appendix A

MCGILL UNIVERSITY / FACULTY OF EDUCATION
CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY FOR FUNDED AND NON FUNDED RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMANS
CHECKLIST (2 copies)
(Updated September 2003)

The items indicated below require your attention before the Ethical Review Board can process and approve your research project. Please make sure to include all of them and refer to the attached Ethical Research Procedures and Ethical Research Guidelines. *Incomplete applications and or applications with errors will be sent back to the applicant.*

1. ☐ Indicate the Type of Review :
Full Review _____ Expedited Review ☒
Annual Renewal of Approved Project _____
Departmental Approval as Part of Undergraduate or Graduate Course Work _____
2. ☒ Two (2) copies of the Certificate of Ethical Acceptability for **Funded and Non Funded Research Involving Humans**.
It includes:
 - name of the applicant and signature
 - name of the supervisor and signature (if applicable)
 - title of the research project
 - degree program (if applicable)
 - granting agency (if applicable)
3. ☒ Two (2) copies of a clear, comprehensible Statement of Ethics of Proposed Research with both your signature and your supervisor's signature.
(Refer to form - items 1 to 6).
4. ☒ Two (2) copies of an abstract or brief summary (1-2 pages) of the research proposal.
5. ☒ **Submission requirements:**
 - A. For **Expedited Review** submit **2** copies of the certificate, statement forms, and summary (1-2 pages) or abstract of the research proposal.
 - B. For **Full Review** submit **8** copies of the certificate, statement forms, and the entire proposal.
 - C. For **Departmental Review** submit to the researcher's home department **2** copies of the completed statement form and the certificate signed by the Department Chair, or Designate.
6. ☒ Two (2) copies of informed consent form(s) and procedures for obtaining free and informed consent.
The informed consent must be written in language that is appropriate for the participants.
7. ☐ If applicable, two (2) copies of the instrument to be used for collecting the data (e.g. questionnaire, interview, etc.) or, if using a commercial test, include two (2) copies of the test and a brief description of it.
8. ☐ Any other certificate of ethics which funding agencies may require.
9. ☐ For Review of Research in other jurisdictions or countries: Submit a copy of Ethics Review Approval from the relevant agency or institution for research to be performed outside the jurisdiction or country of the institute which employs the researcher.

IMPORTANT POLICY STATEMENTS:

- Approval of ethics acceptability must be obtained before data collection for a funded or non funded project.
- All funded and non funded research undertaken at McGill University must be verifiable where possible (McGill Research Policy).
- All researchers must be able to have respondents confirm that they gave specific data where possible.
- Confidentiality must be ensured. It can be generally achieved by establishing a system such as matching identification numbers with names and placing the names in a sealed envelope that is kept in a secure place.
- The exact procedures used should be clearly explained in (6.1) of the statement of ethics form.
- All researchers in the Faculty of Education must obtain the name and informed consent of all research participants 18 years of age or older. For populations under 18, in most circumstances, informed consent must be obtained from parents or guardians as well as children.

Submit to the Office of the Associate Dean (Research & Graduate Students)
Faculty of Education, Room 230
Telephones: (514) 398-7039 Fax: (514) 398-1527

BRIEF SUMMARY

Background

My intention for pursuing this study stems from a direct sub-category of a larger project I have been researching and investigating over the past two years. My larger project is entitled Project Bilingual for a United Canada/Projet Bilingue pour l'Unite Canadienne (PBUC). In Part D under Section II (4) of my report, I discuss the role of multiculturalism within a Canadian context and the role the family unit, school unit as well as the community unit play in helping create what I refer to in my report as the Canadian Identity. It is this particular section which I would like to investigate in greater detail.

By spending a minimum of two weeks at Camp Hostýn, which is a Czech children's camp situated north of Montreal, it will be possible to observe the daily activities and interactions of the camp administrators and its' campers to see how Czech language and culture is stimulated and honed within the camp on a daily basis. Interviews and observation will be the main sources of inquiry.

Methodology of Research

Purpose and Plan of Action

The purpose of this particular thesis research will be to look at the ways in which Camp Hostýn helps stimulate, hone and sustain Czech language and culture within Canada among youth. The plan of action will be to observe and interview the camp director, administrators, camp councilors, and campers.

Collection of Data

The observation component will be done by using a video camera and observing specific camp activities throughout the day. Factual as well as reflective notes will be taken throughout the observation segment of the research. A questionnaire will be prepared and distributed prior to conducting the interview segment of the research. The interviews will be taped (when possible) so as to provide a true and accurate report of their outcomes.

Possible questions for the interviews are as follows:

1. Why did you come to this camp?
2. Is your heritage language/culture important to you and your family? Why or why not?
3. Where did you learn to speak Czech or Slovak?
4. Do you speak Czech all of the time here at the camp? Why or why not?
5. How do you instill the Czech language into the daily activities of the camp? Why are there not any Czech classes offered as activities this year?
6. What is the purpose of this camp? Describe its' strengths and weaknesses.

Analytical Process of Results

The results of my fieldwork will be analyzed and compared. Further research will be conducted on a theoretical level with the help and guidance of my supervising professor. I also anticipate researching local Czech and Slovak community centers across Canada, which may very well mean the creation of subsequent interviews for all parties involved in the fieldwork portion of my thesis investigations.

Qualifications

One major qualification I see at this time is my lack of theoretical knowledge on the above-mentioned subject. However, I do not anticipate this particular point to be a major setback seeing as I will be under the supervision and guidance of my supervising professor.

Future Potential Areas of Research

Other areas to be investigated even further would be to interview the parents who have chosen to send their child/children to Camp Hostýn as well as other members of the Czech communities across Canada.

A. Theresa Dejmek
Department of Integrated Studies in Education
Faculty of Education
McGill University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Date: _____

To:

Dear _____,

My name is Theresa Dejmek and I am a student in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education, Faculty of Education at McGill University. I am conducting research on the issue of maintenance of Czech language and culture within Canada for my Master's thesis and would like to ask for your cooperation in completing this study.

The purpose of this research project, "Camp Hostýn: A Case Study" is to describe how this particular Czech camp helps maintain, foster and hone Czech language and culture in Canada among youth. I would like to observe how this particular camp, through its' daily activities and interactions, helps create an environment where the Czech language and culture is fostered and honed among its' campers.

Potential participants will be contacted through Camp Hostýn, various non-governmental organizations or associations and personal acquaintances in Montreal, the Czech Republic and in other provinces and cities across Canada. Informed consent will be obtained both orally and in written form. Consent will be obtained from the parents or guardians in the event the participants are minors. Campers and staff will be observed with the use of a video camera or by way of note taking. These particular methods will be used during the observational component of the study. Individual, face-to-face, semi-structured audio-taped interviews will take place over one session of approximately 60 minutes. Participants may be involved in a focus group discussion on similar issues with campers. Consent will be obtained from the camp director and camp counselors, as necessary. Notes, video and/or audio tapes will be labeled with identification codes, carried securely with the researcher and stored in a locked room to ensure confidentiality. Identifiable characteristics will be replaced with pseudonyms in the dissemination of results, in the form of a thesis and possibly at a conference. Participants taking part in a discussion will be asked to respect other participants' privacy and confidentiality. They may choose to identify themselves with a pseudonym. Participants are free to withdraw from the study with no justification and penalty at any point during the study.

Individual interviews with the participant are intended to provide them with the opportunity to self-reflect on their cultural identity and related experience within the camp and otherwise. The participant is free to reveal or withhold information and all information shared with the researcher will remain confidential. A focus group discussion is dependent on participants' willingness to share their experiences and perspectives on issues of identity within the camp and otherwise. In this way, all participants who give consent to participation in a discussion are asked to respect differences in ideas and opinion, and protect each other's privacy and confidentiality. The session is intended to expose each other to different perspectives on how they view their heritage language and culture, which in turn, will hopefully lead to individual learning and growth.

I ask you now to please read the attached informed consent form for a detailed description of the responsibilities and implications of your participation in the study. Should you have further comments or questions, please feel free to get in touch with me by phone or e-mail.

I thank you in advance for your time and consideration in the participation in this study and look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Best regards,

A. Theresa Dejmek

INFORMED CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (Camper)

This is to state that I, _____, agree to participate in the research project
(your name)

entitled: _____

conducted by: _____

Upon participating in this study, I will:

- be observed participating and interacting in the daily camp activities as well as with other campers and staff at Camp Hostýn;
- answer questions regarding my experiences at Camp Hostýn and in Canada as well as issues surrounding my national, ethnic and/or racial identity in an individual interview with the researcher;
- discuss my experiences at Camp Hostýn and in Canada as well as issues surrounding my national, ethnic and/or racial identity with other participants or campers;
- maintain other participants' privacy, confidentiality and anonymity by refraining from sharing information from the discussion elsewhere with other people; and
- respect other participants' right to their opinion and ideas

I understand the purpose of this study and know about the risks, benefits and inconveniences that this research project entails. I understand that I am free to withdraw at anytime from the study without any penalty or prejudice. I understand how confidentiality will be maintained during this research project as well as the fact that this research will not affect my full participation in the camp's activities. Furthermore, I understand the anticipated uses of data, especially with respect to publication, communication and dissemination of results.

I have read the above and I understand all of the above conditions. I freely consent and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name (please print): _____

Name of school: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

INFORMED CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (Parents/Guardian)

This is to state I, _____, parent/guardian of _____,
(your name) (child's name)
agree that my child will participate in the research project entitled:

conducted by: _____

Upon my child's participation in this study, I give consent to:

- my child being observed participating and interacting in the daily camp activities as well as with other campers and staff at Camp Hostýn;
- my child answering questions regarding his/her experiences at Camp Hostýn and in Canada as well as issues surrounding his/her national, ethnic and/or racial identity in an individual interview with the researcher; and
- my child discussing his/her experiences at Camp Hostýn and in Canada as well as issues surrounding his/her national, ethnic and/or racial identity with other participants or campers.

I understand the purpose of this study and know about the risks, benefits and inconveniences that this research project entails. I understand that I am free to withdraw at anytime from the study without any penalty or prejudice. I understand how confidentiality will be maintained during this research project as well as the fact that this research will not affect my child's full participation in the camp's activities. Furthermore, I understand the anticipated uses of data, especially with respect to publication, communication and dissemination of results.

I have read the above and I understand all of the above conditions. I freely consent and voluntarily agree to have my child participate in this study.

Child's Name (please print): _____

Parent's Name (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

INFORMED CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (Camp Hostýn – Camp Director)

This is to state that I, _____ of
(your name) (your title)

(name of institution)

I agree to participate in the research project entitled:

conducted by: _____

Upon participating in this study, I will:

- give consent to the researcher to recruit staff members from Camp Hostýn and conduct an interview or discussion regarding the purpose and activities conducted at Camp Hostýn;
- give consent to the researcher to recruit campers from Camp Hostýn and conduct an interview or discussion regarding the campers' experiences at Camp Hostýn and in Canada as well as issues surrounding their national, ethnic and/or racial identity;
- give consent to the researcher to observe the campers participate and interact in the daily camp activities as well as with other campers and staff at Camp Hostýn;
- answer questions regarding issues surrounding campers' national, ethnic and/or racial identity in an interview with the researcher;
- maintain other participants' privacy, confidentiality and anonymity by refraining from sharing information from the discussion elsewhere with other people; and
- respect other participants' right to their opinion and ideas.

I understand the purpose of this study and know about the risks, benefits and inconveniences that this research project entails. I understand that I am free to withdraw at anytime from the study without any penalty or prejudice. I understand how confidentiality will be maintained during this research project as well as the fact that this research will not affect the campers' full participation in the camp's activities. Furthermore, I understand the anticipated uses of data, especially with respect to publication, communication and dissemination of results.

I have read the above and I understand all of the above conditions. I freely consent and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name (please print): _____

Title: _____ Name of institution: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

INFORMED CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (Camp Hostýn – Camp Counselor)

This is to state that I, _____, _____ of
(your name) (your title)
_____ agree to participate in the research
(name of institution)
project entitled: _____

conducted by: _____

Upon participating in this study, I will:

- give consent to the researcher to recruit campers of my group and conduct an interview or discussion regarding campers' experiences at Camp Hostýn and in Canada as well issues surrounding their national, ethnic and/or racial identity;
- answer questions regarding issues surrounding campers' national, ethnic and/or racial identity in an interview with the researcher;
- answer questions regarding issues surrounding the purpose and daily activities of Camp Hostýn;
- maintain other participants' privacy, confidentiality and anonymity by refraining from sharing information from the discussion elsewhere with other people; and
- respect other participants' right to their opinion and ideas.

I understand the purpose of this study and know about the risks, benefits and inconveniences that this research project entails. I understand that I am free to withdraw at anytime from the study without any penalty or prejudice. I understand how confidentiality will be maintained during this research project as well as the fact that this research will not affect the campers' full participation in the camp's activities. Furthermore, I understand the anticipated uses of data, especially with respect to publication, communication and dissemination of results.

I have read the above and I understand all of the above conditions. I freely consent and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name (please print): _____

Title: _____ Name of institution: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

INFORMED CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (Non-profit organization)

This is to state that I, _____, _____ of _____
(your name) (your title)
_____ agree to participate in the research
(name of organization)
project entitled _____
conducted by: _____

Upon participating in this study, I will:

- give consent to the researcher to recruit members affiliated with the organization for this study and conduct an interview or discussion regarding their experiences and issues surrounding the maintenance of Czech language and culture within Canada;
- answer questions regarding issues surrounding the maintenance of Czech language and culture within Canada in my context in an interview with the researcher;
- discuss with the members experiences and issues surrounding the maintenance of Czech language and culture within Canada;
- maintain other participants' privacy, confidentiality and anonymity by refraining from sharing information from the discussion elsewhere with other people; and
- respect other participants' right to their opinion and ideas.

I understand the purpose of this study and know about the risks, benefits and inconveniences that this research project entails. I understand that I am free to withdraw at anytime from the study without any penalty or prejudice. I understand how confidentiality will be maintained during this research project as well as the fact that this research will not affect the campers' full participation in the camp's activities. Furthermore, I understand the anticipated uses of data, especially with respect to publication, communication and dissemination of results.

I have read the above and I understand all of the above conditions. I freely consent and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name (please print): _____

Title: _____ Name of organization: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____