HISPANIC (HYBRIDITY) IN CANADA
THE MAKING AND UNMAKING OF A DIASPORA

by

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Abstract

Ethnic media are powerful, and yet overlooked, spaces that immigrants and ethnic minorities establish to address issues that are not discussed in the dominant host society media. With the international migration of over five million people each year from majority to minority world nations, the emergence of ethnic media in countries around the world has increased significantly; however, relatively little is understood about the ways in which these spaces are used by immigrants and ethnic minorities. This thesis adds to a relatively new area of study in sociology, international development, and alternative media studies and investigates the ways in which Spanish-language ethnic media acts as a ‘Third Space’ where Hispanics disseminate, negotiate, (re)construct, and (re)articulate new notions of hybrid Hispanic-Canadian identity, an identity that operates against, and engages with, multiple-forms of difference and exclusion within Canada. A qualitative discourse analysis of 18 articles from Spanish-language ethnic media source *El Correo Canadiense* reveals the ways in which Hispanics in Canada negotiate hybridized identity by using ethnic media as a space to create a discourse that acts counter-hegemonically to Canadian mass-media. The findings also reveal the ways in which Hispanics are aiming to engage Canadians in the process of de- and re-construction of preconceived notions of what it means to “be Hispanic” in a transnational context.

**Keywords:** Hispanic, diaspora, ethnic media, hybridity, ethnic identity, Third Space, immigrants, ethnic minorities
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Each year, over five million people cross international borders from majority to minority world countries (Human Development Report (HDR) 2009). Of these minority world countries, Canada is a popular destination country for immigrants. The foreign-born now represent 19.8 percent of Canada’s 2006 population, the highest proportion since 1931, when 22 percent of the population was foreign-born (Statistics Canada 2009). Statistics Canada (2009) has found that the foreign-born population in Canada has nearly tripled in the past 75 years. This increase has been directly attributed to two main factors: the increasing number of immigrants permitted in Canada annually, and the slow Canadian population growth rate.

In 2004, it was estimated that of Canada’s visible minority population, 18 percent were immigrants (Statistics Canada 2004). Furthermore, projections suggest that if current growth rates continue, the visible minority population will be between 6,313,000 and 8,530,000 by 2017 (ibid). This influx of immigrants is a direct reflection of the 1967 amendments made to The Immigration Act. Prior to this date, high priority was given to white immigrants from European countries, systematically excluding those from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. In 1967, changes to immigration policies removed barriers based on race, religion, and national origin, and established more equitable criteria for immigrant selection\(^1\). As a result of these changes there has been an

\(^1\) Arat-Koç (1999) demonstrates how the so-called non-discriminatory immigration policies are still gender, race, and nationality biased in spite of the changes introduced since the late 1960s. She also analyzes how differential rights to services exist not only between immigrants and Canadian citizens, but also between
increase in non-European immigrants to Canada\(^2\) (Chard and Renaud 1999; Shiva and Driedger 1999; Simmons 1993) (For more on this discussion, see chapter 2). The new system, based on points, was established to select immigrants that best met the ‘adaptability criteria,’ which was defined by: knowledge of English or French, job skills, age, and level of schooling (Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) 2008; Simmons 1993).

Of this new wave of immigrants, Hispanics have become one of the fastest growing diasporas\(^3\) in Canada (Statistics Canada 2007). While the Hispanic diaspora in Canada is said to make up one of the largest non-European ethnic groups in Canada (Statistics Canada 2007), there is significant contestation surrounding who exactly forms a part of this diaspora. For the purpose of this thesis, I employ the conceptualization and criteria outlined by the Canadian Hispanic Congress (CHC 2009) which aims to encompass the heterogeneity of the population that comes from more than twenty different countries and reports over twenty different ethnic origins. In order to be considered ‘Hispanic,’ there are four principle criteria, of which individuals must possess at least one, to be considered Hispanic. Hispanics are\(^4\):

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\(^2\) I use the term ‘majority world’ to refer to regions which have formerly been called the ‘developing world,’ ‘Third World,’ and ‘global South’ to name but a few. It is representative of what is, rather than what it lacks. It also takes into account experiences of those in communist and former communist nations, often referred to as the ‘Second World’ as these nations are often left out of the development discourse. The term also acts to represent that those individuals form a ‘majority’ of humankind. The term ‘minority world’ refers to countries/regions which have previously been referred to as the ‘developed world,’ ‘First World,’ and ‘global North.’

\(^3\) Diaspora is defined as people with a common origin who reside, more or less on a permanent basis, outside the orders of the ethnic or religious homeland – whether that homeland is real or symbolic, independent or under foreign control. Diaspora members identify themselves, or are identified by others – inside and outside their homeland – as part of the homeland national community, and as such are often called upon to participate, or are entangled, in homeland-related affairs (Tetty and Puplampu 2005:4).

\(^4\) This definition of ‘Hispanic’ originates from the Canadian Hispanic Congress (2009) and therefore despite the inconsistencies with the data represented in the conceptualization, the definition remains
(1) individuals whose mother tongue is Spanish;

(2) individuals who were born in one of the twenty-two countries, identified by the CHC, to be ‘Hispanic’ or ‘Spanish-speaking’ (see Appendix A);

(3) individuals who reported at least one ethnic origin, such as: ‘Spanish,’ ‘Mexican,’ ‘Chilean,’ or other Latin, Central, or South American origin;

(4) the children of immigrants whose parent(s) were born in one of the identified countries outlined by Statistics Canada (see Appendix A) (CHC 2009; Ginieniewicz 2007; Statistics Canada 2007).

Under this definition figures from the 2006 Census posit that the current number of Hispanics residing in Canada is 741,760 and studies suggest that if the current demographic trend continues, that Spanish will be one of the most spoken languages in the city of Toronto by 2016 (Schugurensky and Ginieniewicz 2007). Moreover, the ‘Latin American’ diaspora in Canada is said to be growing considerably faster than the overall Canadian population. Between 1996 and 2001, Census data found that the number of individuals reporting ‘Latin American’ origins rose by 32 percent, while the overall Canadian population grew by only 4 percent (Statistics Canada 2007); however, despite the increasing number of Hispanics within our border, I have noticed a scarcity of research on this diaspora.

In light of the tremendous amount of Hispanic migration that has occurred to Canada over the past few decades it cannot be negated that the cultural landscape of the

unchanged in order to maintain the authenticity of the conceptualization; however, through this thesis I maintain that the Hispanic diaspora is composed of over twenty different countries and over twenty different ethnic origins.

I employ the use of the term ‘Latin American’ here as the Statistics Canada publication, from which the data is drawn, bases its figures on the number of individuals who reported ‘Latin American’ origins in the 1996 and 2001 Census (Statistics Canada 2007).
nation is obviously changing. The importance of studying Hispanics and Hispanic identity in the Canadian context is significant as the image of Canadian multiculturalism is changing daily to reflect the diversity of immigrant and ethnic groups that it represents. While at first glance, ethnic identity is perceived as something that is personal and contained to the ethnic groups that it seeks to identify, this is not the case as ethnic identity is a multifaceted and complex notion. In order to be fully understood it needs to be dismantled and situated in the current socio-political context of the times.

This study is particularly timely given the recent Bill pending legislation in Arizona which has brought Hispanic immigration and identity back into US media headlines. This new Bill would require all individuals, especially immigrants of color, in particular Hispanics, to carry legal documents legitimizing their presence on US soil (Archibold 2010). The objective of this new Bill, according to Arizona State officials, is to cut down on the number of illegal Hispanic immigrants within their state borders; however, the Bill also raises a number of concerns about racial profiling, discrimination, and ‘Othering’ of Hispanics (ibid). This Bill has raised discussions in many other US States about passing similar Bills, and remains a highly controversial and contested issue. These recent media headlines raise some important questions about multiculturalism, diversity, and tolerance of immigration in North America. The legislation has been met by significant numbers of individuals who both support, and oppose, the suggested changes. This leaves one to reflect on the nature of immigrant and ethnic minority identity in the host country, the motivations for creating labels, and the impact that these labels have on immigrants and members of ethnic minority groups.
In the US context, the Hispanic diaspora has received considerable attention both in the media and in the literature. This is due in large part to the sheer scale of the Latino presence within the US. In the Canadian context there is a significant body on Latin American country-specific literature; however there is a relative dearth of literature on ‘Hispanics’ in Canada. Research on Latin Americans/Hispanics as a diaspora has been limited to a few key studies (see below) that focus primarily on Latin Americans/Hispanics in the larger Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) in Canada, such as Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Vancouver. These studies include discussions on: integration (Black and Leithner 1988; Subervi-Vélez 1986), community profiles (Armony, Barriga and Schugurensky 2004; Ginieniewicz and Schugurensky 2006; Mata 1985; Veronis 2006), political participation (Black 1987; Chui, Curtis and Lambert 1991; Schugurensky and Ginieniewicz 2007; Siemiatycki and Saloojee 2002; Simard 1991; Veronis 2006), and immigrant identities (Dunn and Mahtani 2001). The purpose of this particular study is to contribute to the limited body of literature on the Hispanic diaspora in Canada and focuses on Hispanic identity.

Still viewed as an emergent area of study, the formation and retention of immigrant ethnic identities is receiving increasing attention in Canada. In the early stages of this endeavour, I found myself encountering an abundance of literature that dealt with the issue of immigrant and ethnic minority group ‘identifiers’ and ‘labels.’ The literature, primarily based in the US context, discusses issues of: homogenization through identity labels such as Hispanic, Latino/a, and Latin American, the search for identity in a transnational context, the construction of identity in the media, the roots of Hispanic identity, and the feelings of invisibility resulting from statistical underrepresentation as a
result of labels (see chapter 2). From these readings, I began to wonder (1) how Hispanic identity labels are constructed; and (2) who constructs these labels? As a German-Canadian, born in Canada to German immigrant parents, I myself am a living example of the process of hybridized identity construction. Throughout much of my life I was often asked which culture I identified most strongly with, German or Canadian? From a very young age I was made conscious of my hybridized ‘German-Canadian’ identity and wondered why, in such a multicultural nation, that I had to choose one over the other? I have spent a good part of my life trying to make sense of what it means to have a hybridized identity in Canada, and the implications that these labels carry with them. While I have attempted to deconstruct my own hyphenated ‘German-Canadian’ label and repackage it in a way that fits my lived experiences, I became curious about the ways in which other immigrants, children of immigrants, and ethnic minorities understood hybridized identity. Ultimately, it was through reading Evangelia Tastsoglou’s work on ethnic identity and hybridity (see below), that I greatly increased my own personal, and subsequently academic, awareness and passion in this area of study.

The study of ethnic identity formation, in the host country, is a critical area of investigation. In the Canadian context, there is a need for a better understanding of identity construction among specific ethnic groups, as little is known about these processes (Tastsoglou 2001), especially for the Hispanic diaspora. Furthermore, there is a need to understand the differences between and among ethnic groups in relation to ethnic identity retention and the factors that account for these changes (ibid). The study of ethnic identity helps us to understand the situations and feelings that immigrant and ethnic minorities encounter in their new host countries (Chen 2000) as they negotiate
their own identities with their ‘new’ hyphenated and hybrid Canadian identities. For ethnic minorities, this increased understanding of hyphenated and hybrid identity assists them in creating and understanding their newly assumed roles. It is believed that a strong sense of ethnic identity can result in increased self-confidence, stronger mental health, facilitated integration, positive impacts on learning and educational attainment, and subsequently increased social mobility among immigrants and ethnic minorities (Tastsoglou 2001; Chen 2000). For the members of the host country, it is believed that an increased understanding of ethnic identity facilitates an environment where respect, tolerance, and learning about these new cultures are fostered (Chen 2000). From the readings on ethnic identity, I began to think about how ethnic identity is constructed in the host country, and how immigrants make sense of the hyphenated and hybrid identities they assume. I began to wonder, what does it really mean to be a hyphenated-Canadian?

As previously discussed, the debate in the US context, surrounding Hispanic identity, is diverse; however, what is apparent is that there is a strong sense of Hispanic ‘community’ and Hispanic identity within the nation. In the Canadian context, the construction of hybrid Hispanic identity takes a very different path. Hispanics in Canada are not as numerous as their American counterparts, they do not share the same proximity to the US-Mexican border, and the nature of their immigration to Canada is quite different from that of the US context (see chapter 2). Therefore, it can be assumed that Hispanic-Canadian identity will differ greatly from Hispanic-American identity.

The hyphenated identities assumed by ethnic minorities are referred to throughout this thesis as hybridity. The concept of hybridity occupies a central place in post-colonial discourse and has recently become a key concept for debates on culture and identity
formation. For the purpose of this particular study, hybridity refers to a blending process that occurs when two or more identities come together, and it is from this blending process that a new ‘form’ or ‘space’ results. This new form is a hybrid of hyphenated identity, which incorporates two or more cultures (Bhabha 1994); for example, Mexican-Canadian or Hispanic-Canadian. Bhabha (1994) explains that by embracing hybrid identities, ethnic minorities affirm cultural differences in ways that resist essentialism. This act of resistance allows for ethnic minorities to take back their identities from the dominant host country culture, and to conceive of their differences as positive. In this thesis, I examine the ways Hispanics theorize and represent hybridity as a product of transnational migration to Canada, and the resultant dissemination, negotiation, (re)construction, and (re)articulation of Hispanic identity within Canada. Bhabha (1994) proposes that nationalities, identities, and ethnicities are all characterized by hybridity (see chapter 3). He also suggests that the production of hybridity requires a ‘Third Space’ (see below). This led me to formulate three questions: (1) what shape does this ‘Third Space’ take, (2) does this ‘Third Space’ exist within the Hispanic diaspora, and (3) how is hybrid Hispanic identity being discussed in this ‘Third Space?’

While the task of constructing one’s sense of identity can be quite ambiguous, the task of finding a space in which to complete such as task can be even more challenging. Studies suggest that immigrant integration into the host-country takes between 1-3 years (Granillo 2005). During this period, it has been shown that immigrants turn to the things that are ‘familiar’ to assist them in integrating into their new society. Immigrants often

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6 Some individuals may even shift between hybrid identities, Mexican-Canadian and Hispanic-Canadian, depending on the context (for more on this discussion, see chapter 4).
locate ethnic food markets, cultural groups, and ethnic media shortly after their arrival and the Hispanic diaspora in Canada is no exception. In addition, ethnic media play an important role within the receiving country as they not only aim to preserve culture by maintaining individual and collective identities, but the media also provide immigrants with critical information on host country news, events, and integration/assimilation programs (Bai 2005; Lin and Song 2006; Subervi-Vélez 1986). In Canada there are currently two daily Spanish-language ethnic newspapers, and a number of smaller local Spanish-language media across the country (see Appendix C). Taking this into account, and returning to the diaspora in question, this led me to start generating questions about the role of Spanish-language ethnic media in Hispanic identity formation. It is from this idea that I began to formulate the question that guides this study: Is Spanish-language ethnic media a space where Hispanics explore their hybridized Hispanic-Canadian identity? Theoretically, Spanish-language ethnic media assume the role of what Bhabha (1994) refers to as a ‘Third Space.’ According to Bhabha (1994), ‘Third Space’ is a site for resistance, struggle, and negotiation for immigrants and ethnic minorities. It provides spatial politics of inclusion, rather than exclusion that, “initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation” (ibid:1) (see chapter 3).

Despite the fact that some scholars have argued that there is no ‘Third Space’ in transnational practices (Smith and Guarnizo 1998), I argue the contrary in this thesis. I propose that Spanish-language ethnic media act as a ‘Third Space,’ where Hispanics can disseminate, negotiate, (re)construct, and (re)articulate new notions of identity that

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7 In the Canadian context, ethnic media is also referred to as ‘third media’ (Fleras 1994a; Fleras 1994b; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Mahtani 2001) (For more on this discussion, see chapter 4).
operate against, and engage with, multiple-forms of difference and exclusion within Canada.

**ORGANIZATION OF THESIS**

This thesis is organized into five subsequent chapters. Chapter one, the Introduction, addresses the motivation and significance for the study. I begin with an overview of the scope of immigration to Canada and the role of the Hispanic diaspora within this phenomenon. I then outline some of the key concepts used throughout this thesis, such as Hispanic, hybridity, and ‘Third Space,’ and introduce the questions and motivations that guide this study.

Chapter two is a review of the literature that begins with an overview of the Hispanic diaspora in Canada. In this section, I provide a history of the different waves of Hispanic immigration to Canada, as well as a conceptual and demographic profile of the Hispanic diaspora in Canada. The aim of this section is to give the reader an overview of the significance and scope of the diaspora in the Canadian context. The second part of the chapter is a literature review, which has been divided into three key sections that review the literature on: (1) Hispanics in Canada, (2) Canadian and US mass media, and (3) ethnic media in context. By focusing on these three areas of the literature, the reader is able to gain an understanding of the linkages between immigrants, ethnic minorities, and the media, and how this study expands from the literature.

Chapter three presents the theoretical and conceptual framework used and the methodology employed in this study. The chapter begins with a discussion on post-
structuralism and post-colonialism, to ground the study in the current theoretical period. The theoretical and conceptual framework intertwines Foucault’s notion of ‘language as discourse,’ Widdowson’s (2004) notion of media as producers of text and discourse, and Bhabha’s (1994) notion of ‘Third Space’ in relation to ethnic media to show how Spanish-language ethnic media acts as a ‘Third Space’ to negotiate hybridized identity.

The second part of this chapter is a discussion of the methodological approaches and research design employed in this study. It includes an overview of the methodological approaches used, the rationale behind choosing *El Correo Canadiense* as the site for media analysis, methods of data collection, sample characteristics, data analysis methods, and some conceptual considerations.

Chapter four consists of the findings and discussion. The chapter begins by showing how Spanish-language ethnic media acts as a ‘Third Space’ for Hispanics through six key thematic findings that emerged from the study (see above). The second part of the chapter is the discussion which begins by grounding the findings in the political economy of *El Correo Canadiense*. From there a discussion of the socio-cultural context of Hispanic immigration to Canada and Hispanic identity is used to support and ground the various findings of the study.

Chapter five is the conclusion where I return to the initial research question that guided this study and provide a brief synthesis of the findings. I then provide the wider social implications of the study and directions for future research.

Before embarking on this work, I would like to offer the reader a few points of clarification as well as a caution about my interpretation. While I am attentive to my position as a researcher who is not a member of the diaspora in question, I am myself part
of the discourse on hybridity and ‘Third Space.’ As a German-Canadian, born in Canada to German immigrant parents, I am a living example of the process of creating culture and identity. I recognize the contestation and political issues that surround identity construction within and among ethnic diasporas, and that each ethnic group faces different processes of identity construction in the host country. I am particularly aware of the notion that many of the individuals within the Hispanic diaspora may not identify with the term ‘Hispanic,’ and rather identify more strongly with a subgroup identifier that relates back to their nation of origin or their ethnic background. While I am primarily interested in the construction of hybridized group/diasporic identities in the Canadian context, I recognize that the discourse on subgroup national and ethnic identifiers forms a significant part of the discussion on identity within this study, and that the findings may be reflective of this. I have been attentive to the instances where these subgroup identifiers emerge in the articles, and I have included them in the discussion where they relate directly to the discourse on hybridized group identity.

A second consideration is the political economy of the ethnic media itself. It cannot be ignored that the issues covered by the ethnic media and journalists in question are heavily influenced by the political agendas of the media owners. Studies suggest that given the differences in political orientations, cultural backgrounds, and religious beliefs between the owners of ethnic media and its readership, that the perspectives portrayed in the articles may not be fully representative of the views of the whole community (Ojo 2006). It is for this reason that I have included as many voices as possible that emerge within this space of ethnic media including the voices of the journalists and also the voices of the diasporic members who were interviewed. In including these voices, I
remain conscious of the power relations that are present within ethnic media and between members of the diaspora. First, one must be aware of the agendas driving the journalists to write the articles in question whether they be motivated by the political interests of the owners of ethnic media or whether they be motivated by the personal interests of the journalists themselves. These motivations directly impact not only the power relations within and between members of the diaspora, but also directly impact the media content. Second, it is important to remain conscious of which voices are selected by journalists to be included in the articles, as with any type of reportage, the individuals interviewed and the quotations employed are only a ‘snapshot’ of the whole interview and/or story, and should be interpreted as such. The power relations of representation are actively played out within ethnic media daily in the ways in which the editorial team and journalists choose to represent the issues that are written about and which members of the diaspora are included in the dialogue. Inherently in including some voices and perspectives, other are silenced creating power relations of representation that need to be acknowledge. Third, it is crucial to keep in mind that while I have included as many voices as possible within this thesis, in an attempt to represent many different points of view within this ‘Third Space’ of ethnic media, that I am also embedded within the power relations of representation; however, I remain conscious of the ways in which I am a part of this structure. In an attempt to overcome this issue, I have also chosen to include regular columns, opinion pieces, and letters to the editor in this study. It is my belief that this mosaic of perspectives will allow for a broader range of voices and perspectives on Hispanic identity to emerge from the articles.
Ultimately, it is my hope that this thesis can serve as a building block for future interdisciplinary research on identity, hybridity, and ‘Third Space’ as it relates to the Hispanic diaspora as well as other ethnic diasporas. Furthermore, it is my objective, in collaboration with the journalists, whose pieces are included in this study, to make the findings easily accessible to the readership of Spanish-language ethnic media in the hope that they will open up this ‘Third Space’ to more discussion.
Chapter 2

The Hispanic Diaspora in Context and Literature Review

In this chapter, I begin by outlining a brief immigration history of the Hispanic diaspora in Canada. I also touch on Hispanic settlement in Toronto the location of the largest Hispanic diaspora in the nation. The project of creating an immigration history was made difficult by the dearth of literature on Hispanics in Canada. Therefore, I rely on several sources such as the latest Census data, academic texts, and Hispanic diaspora organization websites like that of the Canadian Hispanic Congress (CHC). Formulating a migration history of the Hispanic diaspora is significant for this study, as Brah (1996:192) notes that “the question is not simply about who travels, but when, how and under what circumstances?” Situating the diaspora involves an investigation of the ‘push-pull’ factors of migration (ibid). Following Brah’s (1996) framework, I give a general overview of immigration patterns to Canada by the Hispanic diaspora, highlighting the heterogeneity of the diaspora. The second part of this chapter provides a review of the literature on Hispanics in Canada\(^8\), on Canadian and US mass media, and on ethnic media.

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\(^8\) Many of the authors, throughout this literature review, have very different takes on what it means to be Hispanic. They use different descriptors, and labels to describe identity, heritage, and experience of the individuals, groups, and communities in question. I choose to retain those labels, when the authors used them, as I do not feel it is my place to edit their use of identifying labels, and thus they will appear interchangeably throughout this chapter.
For the purpose of this study, I have situated the Hispanic ‘community’ within the notion of diaspora. Diaspora is defined by Tetty and Puplampu (2005:4) as,

People with a common origin who reside, more or less on a permanent basis, outside the borders of the ethnic or religious homeland – whether that homeland is real or symbolic, independent or under foreign control. Diaspora members identify themselves, or are identified by others – inside and outside their homeland – as part of the homeland national community, and as such are often called upon to participate, or are entangled, in homeland-related affairs.

I choose to characterize Hispanics in Canada as both a diaspora and as a ‘transnational network of immigrant communities’ (see Veronis 2006), whose origins encompass over twenty different countries and over twenty different ethnic origins within Canada; hence, the diaspora is very heterogeneous. Their ‘unity’ is ultimately defined by their ‘difference,’ and it is precisely this difference that Brah (1996:183) attempts to highlight,

[T]he concept of diaspora I wish to propose here is embedded within a multi-axial understanding of power; one that problematises the notion of ‘minority/majority’ (...) and highlights the ways in which a group constituted as a ‘minority’ along one dimension of differentiation may be constructed as a ‘majority’ along another.

Unlike the terms minority/majority or community/ies, “the concept of the diaspora centers on the configurations of power which differentiate diasporas internally as well as situate them in relation to one another” (ibid:183). Brah (1996) continues with the discussion of mutual dependence in the call to position various marginalities and centralities of a diaspora within historical and contemporary elements, “not in tandem, but in their diasynchronic relationality” (190). In focusing on Hispanics as a diaspora, I emphasize the heterogeneity within and between the groups represented, between the local and the global, and the way in which, in their very nature, they occupy an ‘in-
between’ space. Conceptualizing the Hispanics in Canada as a diaspora allows me to: (1) consider the interrelated concepts of historical migration to Canada, (2) show how they constitute a ‘transnational network of immigrant communities’ within Canada (Veronis 2006), and (3) show how they constitute an ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1983) from which ethnic media emerges.

**History of Hispanic Migration to Canada**

The significant influx of Hispanic immigrants to Canada since the 1960s is attributed to the reduction of discriminatory barriers that immigrants faced prior to 1967. Prior to amendments made to *The Immigration Act* in 1967, high priority was given to Caucasian immigrants from European countries, systematically excluding those from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Studies suggest that before 1961, white Europeans comprised over 90 percent of all immigrants coming to Canada, which stands in sharp contrast to figures from 1991 to 2001, where only 20 percent of immigrants came from Europe\(^9\) (Chard and Renaud 1999; Statistics Canada 2004). In 1967, changes to the immigration policy removed barriers to immigration based on sex, race, worldview, and national origin, and established more equitable criteria for immigrant selection\(^10\). As a result of these changes, there has been an increase in individuals from

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\(^9\) It is believed that these changes stem from amendments made to the *Immigration Act* in 1967 (Chard and Renaud 1999).

\(^10\) Arat-Koç (1999) demonstrates how the so-called non-discriminatory immigration policies are still gender, race, and nationality biased in spite of the changes introduced since the late 1960s. She also analyzes how differential rights to services exist not only between immigrants and Canadian citizens, but also between various immigration classes. Arat-Koç’s (1999) main concern is with the inequities and the forms of dependencies that this differential treatment of immigrants generates.
non-European countries and regions, such as Latin America\textsuperscript{11}, that have immigrated to Canada\textsuperscript{12} (Chard and Renaud 1999; Shiva and Driedger 1999; Simmons 1993). A new system, based on points, was established to select immigrants that best met the ‘adaptability criteria,’ which was defined by: knowledge of English or French, job skills, age, and level of schooling (CIC 2008; Simmons 1993).

In 2001, Statistics Canada identified about 4 million persons in Canada’s population as visible minorities, that is, not Caucasian. Studies have found that visible minorities represented 18 percent of the total population of Canada in 2001, up from 5 percent of the population in 1971 (Statistics Canada 2004). Almost 75 percent of these visible minorities currently live in one of Canada’s three largest Metropolitan Areas - Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal (Statistics Canada 2004). Immigration to Canada has been cited as one of the single largest components of population growth within the nation (Armony et al. 2004; Ojo 2006) and ‘Latin Americans\textsuperscript{13}’ have been cited as one of the largest non-European ethnic groups in the nation (Statistics Canada 2007). Statistics Canada (2007) found that, between 1996 and 2001, the number of individuals reporting ‘Latin American’ origins rose 32 percent, while the overall Canadian population only rose by 4 percent. Using the previous term of ‘Latin American,’ Statistics Canada 2001 Census data reported 244,400 people of ‘Latin American’ origins in Canada; however,

\textsuperscript{11} I employ the term ‘Latin America’ in this thesis when referring to the geographical region of origin from which Hispanics originate.

\textsuperscript{12} I use the term ‘majority world’ to refer to regions which have formerly been called the ‘developing world,’ ‘Third World,’ and ‘global South’ to name but a few. It is representative of what is, rather than what it lacks. It also takes into account experiences of those in communist and former communist nations, often referred to as the ‘Second World’ as these nations are often left out of the development discourse. The term also acts to represent that those individuals form a ‘majority’ of humankind. The term ‘minority world’ refers to countries/regions which have previously been referred to as the ‘developed world’, ‘First World’, and ‘global North.’

\textsuperscript{13} I employ the use of the term ‘Latin American’ here as the Statistics Canada publication, from which the data is drawn, bases its figures on the number of individuals who reported ‘Latin American’ origins in the 1996 and 2001 Census (Statistics Canada 2007).
under the new definition of ‘Hispanic’ the Census data found the population of this diaspora to be over 741,760\textsuperscript{14,15} (see Tables 1 and 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Population – Place of Birth</th>
<th>Total – Population of Canada</th>
<th>Hispanic (Spanish speaking)\textsuperscript{16}</th>
<th>All others (not-Hispanic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>31,241,030</td>
<td>741,760</td>
<td>30,499,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>24,716,835</td>
<td>302,380</td>
<td>24,414,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic (Spanish speaking) countries</td>
<td>298,370</td>
<td>11,890</td>
<td>286,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>331,890</td>
<td>331,890</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>3,860</td>
<td>3,860</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>43,835</td>
<td>43,835</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>16,255</td>
<td>16,255</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>63,395</td>
<td>63,395</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>9,300</td>
<td>9,300</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>2,935</td>
<td>2,935</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>9,480</td>
<td>9,480</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>6,960</td>
<td>6,960</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>20,050</td>
<td>20,050</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>4,235</td>
<td>4,235</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>27,515</td>
<td>27,515</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>42,815</td>
<td>42,815</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>14,060</td>
<td>14,060</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>8,030</td>
<td>8,030</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>23,505</td>
<td>23,505</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>7,150</td>
<td>7,150</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>11,665</td>
<td>11,665</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>10,965</td>
<td>10,965</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean and other South America</td>
<td>423,530</td>
<td>21,365</td>
<td>402,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>2,348,520</td>
<td>17,965</td>
<td>2,330,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>401,465</td>
<td>5,675</td>
<td>395,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>2,660,330</td>
<td>50,115</td>
<td>2,610,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania and other</td>
<td>60,090</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>59,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Custom Tables for the CHC from 2006 Census (CHC 2009)

\textsuperscript{14} This figure excludes people who did not identify themselves as ‘Hispanic’ in the Census, and many who did not complete the census due to fear (particularly those without migration documents) or for other reasons, leading some scholars to believe that the figures may indeed be higher (Schugurensky and Ginieniewicz 2007).

\textsuperscript{15} These figures do not take into account the diverse numbers of indigenous groups throughout Latin America (Statistics Canada 2001).

\textsuperscript{16} The “Hispanic” (Spanish speaking) population, as defined by the CHC (2009), is “any individual whose country of origin, or that of his/her ancestors, has Spanish as one of its official, or majority, languages.” The concept of “Hispanic” (Spanish speaking) is one that refers to the linguistic and cultural heritage of the population with direct ties to the Spanish speaking countries, or ancestors who have Spanish speaking heritage.
Table 2: Population by ethnic origin showing “Hispanic” (Spanish-speaking) population, and all others, Canada, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total – Population of Canada</th>
<th>Hispanic (Spanish speaking)</th>
<th>All others (not Hispanic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Hispanic” Ethnic Origins(^\text{17})</td>
<td>640,505</td>
<td>640,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>14,110</td>
<td>14,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican, n.o.s.</td>
<td>12,195</td>
<td>12,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>2,020</td>
<td>2,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal from Central/South America</td>
<td>12,865</td>
<td>12,865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentinian</td>
<td>13,975</td>
<td>13,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivian</td>
<td>3,035</td>
<td>3,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>38,175</td>
<td>38,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombian</td>
<td>44,100</td>
<td>44,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rican</td>
<td>3,445</td>
<td>3,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuadorian</td>
<td>16,490</td>
<td>16,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemalan</td>
<td>18,205</td>
<td>18,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>4,900</td>
<td>4,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduran</td>
<td>5,845</td>
<td>5,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maya</td>
<td>4,620</td>
<td>4,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>61,505</td>
<td>61,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaraguan</td>
<td>11,150</td>
<td>11,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panamanian</td>
<td>3,580</td>
<td>3,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguayan</td>
<td>1,990</td>
<td>1,995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peruvian</td>
<td>25,970</td>
<td>25,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvadorean</td>
<td>59,140</td>
<td>59,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguayan</td>
<td>4,550</td>
<td>4,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuelan</td>
<td>10,475</td>
<td>10,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin, Central or South American, n.i.e.</td>
<td>22,470</td>
<td>22,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>325,730</td>
<td>325,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic ethnic origins</td>
<td>30,928,805</td>
<td>429,540</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Custom tables for the CHC from 2006 Census (CHC 2009)

Canada is, and continues to be, one of the top receiving nations of immigrants globally; however, Hispanics constitute a relatively new wave of immigrants (Mata 1985; 17 Ethnic origin, in general, refers to the ethnic or cultural origins of the respondent’s ancestors. “Hispanic” ethnic origin is an aggregation of the over twenty different ethnic origins reported in the 2006 Census, in which the CHC identified to comprise the “Hispanic” (Spanish speaking) population. The 2006 Census ethnic origin question asked, “what were the ethnic or cultural origins of this person’s ancestors?” Some respondents may choose to provide very specific ethnic origins in the census, while others may choose to give more general responses. This means that two respondents with the same ethnic ancestry could have different response patterns and thus, could be counted as having different ethnic origins. Respondents were asked to specify as many origins as applicable. The sum of ethnic origins will not be equal to the population, because respondents with multiple responses will be included multiple times (CHC 2009).
Studies suggest that prior to the 1960s, there was virtually no immigration to Canada from Latin America; however, since the 1960s, there has been a significant shift in the number of Hispanics living on Canadian soil (Mata 1985; Simmons 1993). Over this period, the top five sending countries of Hispanic immigrants to Canada have been: Mexico (63,395), El Salvador (43,840), Colombia (42,815), Chile (27,515), and Peru (23,505) (see Table 3) (CHC 2009).

As a diaspora, Hispanics are very heterogeneous; however, their heterogeneity cannot truly be understood without considering the history of their migration to Canada (Veronis 2006). Since the 1960s, migratory flows from Latin American to Canada indicate that immigration is characterized by the specific circumstances that led individuals to leave their countries (Simmons 1993). The three main push factors that drove individuals to leave appear to be: in response to a particular crisis in the country of origin, economic push-pull factors both in the home and host country, and international circumstances such as changes to immigration policy, which favored entry into Canada (Simmons 1993). Hispanic immigration to Canada has occurred in five primary ‘waves’ (see Table 4): (1) the ‘Lead Wave,’ (2) the ‘Andean Wave,’ (3) the ‘Coup Wave,’ (4) the ‘Central American Wave,’ and (5) the ‘New Wave of Professional Immigrants’ (Garay 2000; Mata 1985; Schugurensky and Ginieniewicz 2007; Simmons 1993). The scope of the influx of Hispanic immigrants to Canada since the 1960s is outlined in Table 3 (see below), which gives a more accurate numeration of the different waves of Hispanic immigrants to Canada by place of birth, period of immigration, and immigrant status.
residents |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total – place of birth</td>
<td>741,760</td>
<td>307,820</td>
<td>403,680</td>
<td>64,165</td>
<td>339,515</td>
<td>32,485</td>
<td>115,025</td>
<td>96,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-immigrants</td>
<td>302,380</td>
<td>301,885</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrants 2003 to 2006</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 2003</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001 to 2002</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991 to 2000</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981 to 1990</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971 to 1980</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961 to 1970</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1961</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>29,820</td>
<td>3,900</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>1,150</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Custom tables for the CHC from 2006 Census (CHC 2009)
### Waves of Hispanic Immigration to Toronto

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waves of Immigration</th>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Demographic Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lead Wave</strong></td>
<td>1956 – 1965</td>
<td>• South Americans of European decent: urban intelligentsia from major Latin American cities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Andean Wave</strong></td>
<td>1973 – 1975</td>
<td>• Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Peruvians (economic refugees) were admitted in higher proportions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• High estimates of illegal immigrants from Peru and Guatemala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Mostly blue-collar groups; skilled and unskilled laborers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Chilean intelligentsia, professionals and skilled laborers. Some blue-collar workers among Argentineans and Uruguayans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central American Wave</strong></td>
<td>1983 – present</td>
<td>• Salvadorans and Guatemalans: mostly urban poor, rural middle classes and peasantry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Lower average educational levels than the Lead, or Coup, waves, and perhaps little less skill specialization than the Andean wave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Wave of Professional Immigrants</strong></td>
<td>1990s – present</td>
<td>• Professionals (“skilled workers” and “business” class immigrants) from throughout Latin America.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data from Mata (1985) and Simmons (1993)

### Waves of Hispanic Immigrants

The first “Lead Wave” of Hispanics came to Canada shortly after changes to the Canadian immigration policy between 1956 and 1969 and occurred in two stages. The first stage, occurring from 1956-1965, consisted of immigrants that were primarily of European decent and were members of urban intelligentsia from the major Latin American cities. The second stage, occurring from 1965-1969, was composed of blue-
collar individuals from Venezuela, Argentina, and Peru. Overall, immigrants stemmed from Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela. These countries were noted as some of the most industrialized in the Latin American core at the time (Mata 1985; Simmons 1993).

The “Andean Wave” occurred from 1973-1975, and the influx of immigrants during this period is attributed to the 1973 Canadian amnesty agreement that allowed thousands of Ecuadorians and Colombians, who were living with any kind of legal status, into Canada. Many of the individuals who immigrated during this period were skilled or unskilled blue-collar workers (Mata 1985; Simmons 1993).

The “Coup Wave” of the 1970s includes individuals from Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. The largest proportion of Hispanic immigrants in this wave were Chileans, who formed part of the Chilean intelligentsia of the 1970s and who were fleeing Pinochet’s regime. Chilean immigration was biased towards highly educated individuals, professionals, and skilled workers. During this period, there were also smaller influxes of immigrants from Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico, and Peru. It has been suggested that these immigrants are a ‘spillover’ of larger flows to the United States during the periods of turmoil in those countries at the time (Simmons 1993).

The “Central American Wave”, which began in the 1980s and continues to present day, is the fourth wave. It is represented by an influx of individuals from Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador. This wave includes diverse groups of the urban poor, the rural middle classes, and the peasantry. Many of the immigrants have lower-
than-average educational levels, especially in comparison to the “Lead” and subsequent waves (Mata 1985; Simmons 1993). Individuals in this wave are those who were caught in the crossfire of political violence in the 1980s and were accepted into Canada as refugees. For example, Nicaraguans who came to Canada during this time were fleeing primarily from domestic violence and the pending economic collapse of the nation. This collapse was brought on by warfare in Nicaragua and the US trade embargo stemming from the Sandanista government (Simmons 1993).

The last wave, the “New Wave of Professional Immigrants,” began at the end of the 1990s and continues to present day. This wave of professional Latin American immigrants is sometimes also referred to as the “Information Technologies (IT)” wave (Duberlis Ramosin personal communication with Veronis 2006). The wave is representative of a shift in Canadian policies that aims to attract highly skilled immigrants under the categories of ‘skilled workers’ and ‘business’ class immigrants. The current influx of highly educated and skilled workers from Latin America coincides directly with the current period of economic crisis and the demand for skilled labour in Canada (Mata 1985; Simmons 1993).

**Conceptual and Demographic Profile**

Finding an overarching term with which to categorize individuals originating from Mexico, Central, and South America has been problematic due to the heterogeneity of this population as descriptors include: Latino, Hispanic, Latin American, and Spanish.
These descriptors are often employed in everyday discussion and in the academic literature as an uncontested signifier of identity, which is imagined to capture all individuals of Hispanic origin; however, upon further investigation, these labels are actually quite complex, contested, and political in nature (Darden and Kamel 2000; Oboloer 1998; Veronis 2006). Gracia (2000) explains that there is no intrinsic state of being ‘Latino,’ or ‘Hispanic,’ and that the creation of these labels creates problems that still await a resolution, as they do not acknowledge intergroup conflicts, historical background, or experience. One example of this, in the Canadian context, is the way in which, for many years, the Canadian state has perceived Hispanics to constitute one homogenous and united ‘immigrant community.’ This view has emerged from the use of categories such as ‘Latin American’ and ‘Spanish-speaking’ that Statistics Canada created for the purpose of the Canadian Census. These are labels that have grouped individuals from a number of different ethnicities, races, and nationalities; however, these labels do not accurately represent the heterogeneity of this diaspora. There is significant contestation surrounding the characteristics that comprise Hispanic identity; whether it is geographic region, the Spanish language, nationality, cultural involvement, race, or gender (Hispanic Development Council (HDC) 2003). It has been argued that as long as this diaspora continues to lack a coherent and concrete definition, it runs the risk of being essentialized and underrepresented in Canadian Census data (Gracia 2000; HDC 2003). The accurate statistical representation of this diaspora, and other ethnic groups, is a significant issue, as government funding to support programs targeted at the diaspora is
heavily reliant on Census data. It is for this reason that the CHC (2009) approached Statistics Canada in an attempt to address the issues of essentialization and under-numeration of the diaspora. Under the previous descriptors used to calculate 2006 Census data, there were 244,000 Latin Americans and 212,400 Hispanics in Canada (Statistics Canada 2007). According to the CHC (2009), these figures were highly under-representative of the actual diaspora. Therefore, in order to capture the heterogeneity of the diaspora, the CHC (2009) proposed the use of the term ‘Hispanic.’ This concept was selected as it was felt it encompassed the largest number of individuals in the diaspora. Under the new conceptualization of ‘Hispanic’ individuals from over twenty different countries throughout Latin, Central, and South America, and Spain (see Table 3) and over twenty different ethnic origins (see Table 4) are represented (Statistics Canada 2007; CHC 2009). Under the new descriptor, there are four principle criteria, of which Census respondents must possess at least one to be considered Hispanic:

1. individuals whose mother tongue is Spanish;
2. individuals who were born in one of the twenty-two countries identified by the CHC to be ‘Hispanic’ or ‘Spanish-speaking’ (see Appendix A);
3. individuals who reported at least one ethnic origin, such as ‘Spanish,’ ‘Mexican,’ ‘Chilean,’ or other Latin, Central, or South American origin; and

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18 These figures do not take into account the diverse numbers of indigenous groups throughout Latin America (Statistics Canada 2001).
19 This definition of Hispanic includes Spanish immigrants and excludes Brazilians.
the children of immigrants whose parent(s) were born in one of the identified countries outlined by Statistics Canada (see Appendix A) (CHC 2009; Ginieniewicz 2007; Statistics Canada 2007).

Using the new descriptor ‘Hispanic,’ a recalculation of 2006 Census data found that there were actually 741,760 Hispanics in Canada, an increase of 285,360 individuals from the reported 2006 Census data (Statistics Canada 2007).

**Hispanic Diaspora in Toronto**

The city of Toronto has been identified as one of the most ethnically and racially diverse metropolises in North America, with over 50 percent of its population (1,237,720) born outside of Canada. Even more, its diversity is said to be increasing, as almost 50 percent of new immigrants to Canada choose Toronto as their location of settlement every year (Statistics Canada 2001). Hispanics are one of the top-five visible minority groups in the city, representing 2.6 percent of the population (64,860) (City of Toronto 2010). In 2001, Census data reported that 31 percent of the ‘Latin American’ diaspora resides in Toronto. While the long-term significance of this settlement is still being studied, there is no doubt that Hispanics have become increasingly visible in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). A Toronto Star article suggests that if current demographic trends continue, Spanish will be the most spoken language in the city by 2016 (Mahoney 2006).

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20 I employ the use of the term ‘Latin American’ here as the Statistics Canada publication, from which the data is drawn, bases its figures on the number of individuals who reported ‘Latin American’ origins in the 1996 and 2001 Census (Statistics Canada 2007).
Another indicator of the increasing Hispanic population in Toronto has been the notable increase in the number of Spanish-language media in the GTA and in other parts of southwestern Ontario (Goldring, Landolt, Berhard and Barriga 2007). Both of the Hispanic diasporas’ dailies, *El Correo Canadiense* and *El Popular*, are based out of Toronto.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

a) *Hispanics in Canada*

The literature on Latin Americans in Canada reveals a number of interesting emergences. Most of the literature has focused on Latin Americans as a group in Canada (Armony et al. 2004; Darden and Kamel 2000; Ginieniewicz 2007; Ginieniewicz and Schugurensky 2006; Goldring 2006; Goldring et al. 2007; Mata 1985; Reclade 2002; Schugurensky and Ginieniewicz 2007; Simmons 1993; Veronis 2007; Veronis 2006); while, there are only a couple studies that focus on the Hispanic diaspora (CHC 2009; Garay 2000).

Demographically, the literature suggests that terms of class, background, education, religion, geographical distribution, and class of immigration, that Latin Americans are also very heterogeneous (Darden and Kamel 2000; Goldring et al. 2007; Husband 2002). For example, there is growing evidence of shared social exclusion in Canada among Latin Americans (Goldring et al. 2007). When grouped together, Latin

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21 I employ the term ‘Latin American’ here as this is the term used in the cited literature.
Americans/Hispanics\textsuperscript{22} have been found to exhibit low levels of income (Marín and Marín 1991; Ornstein 2000; Statistics Canada 2007), low academic achievement (Statistics Canada 2007), lack of access to public services and poor housing (Darden and Kamel 2000; Statistics Canada 2007), and low levels of un- and underemployment (Goldring et al. 2007; Marin and Marín 1991; Statistics Canada 2007).

In the Canadian context, the literature on Latin Americans focuses on a few main areas of investigation. Much of the early literature centered on the early migratory history (Mata 1985) and on the issues surrounding integration (Black and Leithner 1988; Subervi-Vélez 1986). The bulk of the more current studies in Canada have focused on political participation of Latin Americans, particularly in Toronto (Armony et al. 2004; Ginieniewicz 2007; Ginieniewicz and Schugurensky 2006; Goldring et al. 2007; Veronis 2007; Veronis 2006). Other studies have focused on Latin American immigrant identity (Dunn and Mahtani 2001), on spatial and socio-economic analysis of the Latin American diaspora (Darden and Kamel 2000), and on Latin American transnationalism (Goldring 2006).

\textbf{b) Canadian and US Mass Media}

In 1971, Canada adopted a multicultural policy, the basic objectives of which included assisting ethnic groups to retain and to foster their ethnic-cultural identities (Dyck 1996 cited in Ojo 2006). The policy also aimed at promoting creative cultural

\textsuperscript{22} I employ both ‘Latin American’ and ‘Hispanic’ in this context as both these terms are used in the literature.
exchanges among all ethno-cultural groups in the country (Ojo 2006). In 1988, a new *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* was passed (Minister of Justice 2009). The new Act consolidated the existing policies and practices into legislation and subsequently, obligated institutions, especially those under the control of the federal government, to reflect the multicultural nature of Canada (Ojo 2006). This new mandate ultimately was extended to include media institutions, such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), the National Film Board (NFB), and the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) (Fleras 1995; Minister of Justice 2009). From the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* stemmed the *Broadcasting Act* in 1991; however, in spite of the *Broadcasting Act*, blacks and other visible minorities in Canada are still often under- and misrepresented in mainstream mass media. Furthermore, studies have shown that people of color have been practically rendered invisible by selective depiction in mass-Anglo media (Fleras 1995). While these policies addressed some of the problems facing ethnic minorities in the media landscape, they also reflect the problems and issues that still need to be tackled by minorities in the media.

The portrayal of ethnic minorities in mass-Anglo media is one of these issues. While it is often presumed that the media are neutral distribution agents of immigration issues to the mass public (Fleras and Kunz 2001), quite the opposite is suggested in the literature. From its inception in the late 1960s to current day, research on media-ethnic minority relations has been preoccupied with examining the principle ways in which ethnic minorities are problematically treated in mass-Anglo media accounts. In this
section, I review studies that critique mass media accounts of ethnic minorities and immigrants. Unfortunately, as this is a relatively new area of investigation, there is a scarcity of studies that pertain directly to explorations of how ethnic minorities are represented in mass-Anglo media in the Canadian context. Therefore, I draw heavily on literature from the US context.

As the media plays a crucial role in the construction of social identities (Dunn and Mahtani 2001; Henry 1999), it is an important area of investigation in the context of this study. There is nothing new about recognizing the importance of new media in multi-ethnic societies, like Canada (Husband 2002), as they provide information that shapes how citizens perceive events that unfold at the local, national, and transnational levels (Fleras and Kunz 2001). Furthermore, it has been argued that the media assists in shaping how the host country understands ethnic diversity (Husband 2002). Despite the emphasis placed on the role of ethnic minorities as integral parts of the multicultural vision of Canada, the depiction of ethnic minorities in the mass-Anglo media paints quite a different portrait. For example, there are a number of ways in which ethnic minorities are problematically treated by mass-Anglo media, which is divided into four main areas: (1) under-representation of ethnic minorities (Fleras 1994a; Fleras 1994b; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Jiwani 1995; Mahtani 2001; MediaWatch 1994; Miller and Prince 1994); (2) misrepresentation (Fleras 1994a; Fleras 1994b; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Jiwani 1995; Mahtani 2001; Miller and Prince 1994; Ojo 2006); (3) negative portrayal of ethnic minorities (Henry 1999; Henry and Tator 2002; Mahtani 2001); and (4) stereotypical
portrayals of ethnic minorities (Fleras 1994a; Henry 1999; Henry and Tator 2002; Mahtani 2001; Ojo 2006). It is felt that that these portrayals continue to contribute to the oppression of ethnic minorities within the host country (Mahtani 2001). Furthermore, it has been argued that these negative portrayals are the result of a scarcity of ethnic minorities working in media institutions as owners, editors, and journalists (ibid).

First, the under-representation of the ethnic minorities is one of the most repeated offences by mass media (Fleras and Kunz 2001; Fleras 1994a; Fleras 1994b; Jiwani 1995; Mahtani 2001; Miller and Prince 1994). Research conducted up to the mid-1990s found that ethnic minorities were largely absent from Canadian media content (Mahtani 2001; MediaWatch 1994). In a study of ethnic minorities’ representation in Canadian television, MediaWatch (1994) found that ethnic minorities, especially women, were the most significantly underrepresented members of ethnic groups. A similar study by Miller and Prince (1994), which looked at 895 news stories published in six major Canadian newspapers, found that only 14 percent discuss ethnic minorities. The literature also suggests that the under-representation of ethnic minorities by host country mass-Anglo media is suggestive of the nature of their unimportance. Findings on ethnic minority representation in the media suggest that the presence of ethnic minorities in mass-Anglo media, at any given time, is not equitable to the percentage of the Canadian population that these groups represent. Miller and Prince (1994) found that of 2,141 photos published in six major Canadian newspapers, ethnic minorities were present in only 420 images, of which 36 percent were images of athletes. Furthermore, various studies have
found that despite the culturally diverse nature of Canadian society, the very diversity of which they speak is absent from mass-Anglo media representation (Fleras 1994a; Fleras 1994b; Fleras and Kunz 2001).

Ethnic minorities do not see themselves accurately reflected in the Canadian media, and this marginalization perpetuates feelings of exclusion among these groups (Mahtani 2001). Studies suggest that when ethnic minorities do not see themselves mirrored in the media, that this lack of recognition perpetuates feelings of rejection, trivializes their contributions to Canadian society, and devalues their role as citizens within the nation (Jiwani 1995). The very invisibility of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority issues in the Canadian media is also felt to contribute to a sense of ‘Otherness’ among visible minority Canadians (Mahtani 2001). It is felt that the absence, and under-representation, of ethnic minorities problematically encourages ‘whiteness’ as a norm in the media, where “whiteness quietly embraces our common-sense ways (...) of thinking (...) what we are told is ‘normal,’ neutral, universal, simply becomes the way it is” (Mirza 1997:3 cited in Mahtani 2001:5; see also Fleras and Kunz 2001).

Second, is the way is which ethnic minorities are systematical misrepresented in the media. Scholars illustrate that media images of Canadian visible minorities are not just a random ‘panapoly’ of representation where ethnic minorities are represented, but that there are strategic decisions made about representations of cultural diversity that ought to be envisioned within a series of competing discourses taking place within media institutions. Mahtani (2001) explains that one would anticipate that the portrayal of ethnic
minorities would be less disparaging in a society defined as ‘multicultural’; however, scholars in the field of media studies suggest that quite the opposite is true (Mahtani 2001; Miller and Prince 1994). Ojo (2006) explains that in spite of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and the Broadcasting Act, ethnic minorities in Canada are often misrepresented in the media, especially in print media. It is felt that notwithstanding what individuals might imagine, the Canadian media is not fair, democratic, or objective in nature (Fleras and Kunz 2001). On one hand, Fleras (1995) suggests that the representation of non-dominant cultures in Canada has expanded in recent decades. On the other hand, this expansion has been careful not to challenge Eurocentric cultural hegemony (Fleras 1994a; Fleras 1994b; Jiwani 1995). It has been argued that one of the ways in which Eurocentric hegemony is being retained in the media is by limiting the way in which ethnic minorities in the media are represented, which is being accomplished through the creation of negative and exotic stereotypes (Mahtani 2001).

The third offence of mass-Anglo media is the way in which they negatively depict ethnic minorities in the press. Within the mass-Anglo media of the dominant host culture, ethnic minorities are often represented in a negative light, showing them to be threatening, deviant, and irrelevant to nation-building (Mahtani 2001). Henry and Tator (2002) illustrate that immigrants are often portrayed as ‘threats,’ who are positioned as ‘them’ in relation to ‘us.’ Mahtani (2001) supports this claim in discussing the way in which mass-Anglo media ‘Others’ ethnic minorities. A study by Henry (1999) on three
major newspapers in the Toronto area supports the notion that the mass media’s role in Canada has supported a racist discourse.

Fourth, and finally, mass-Anglo media has often been charged with using stereotypical depictions of ethnic minorities in their stories. In the analysis, Henry (1999) found that the media, through their selective and subtle use of stereotypes and generalizations, has contributed to the development of a negative image of ethnic minorities in Canada (see above). Ojo (2006) writes that the discourse of the mainstream media in Canada has created a space in which visible minorities are seen as ‘Others,’ and subsequently as a threat to the country. Henry and Tator (2002:9) further support this claim by explaining that “the discourses of the Canadian mass media, whether consciously, or unwittingly, present a view of the world that serves to stigmatize whole communities of people based on their ethnicity and/or skin color.” Thus, studies of the representation of ethnic minorities in media have been concerned with unveiling the trivialization of minority experiences in order to point out the media’s inability to effectively hold up a mirror, in which Canadian society can see its wide array of ethnic diversity accurately depicted. A number of scholars explain that images of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the Canadian media are consistently stereotypical (Fleras 1994a; Mahtani 2001). For example, ethnic minorities are often portrayed as ‘social problems,’ and many are labeled as pimps, homeless, high-school dropouts, or drug pushers (Fleras 1994a; Mahtani 2001).
One cannot engage in a discussion of mass-Anglo and ethnic media without touching on the role of media ownership. It has been suggested that fair representation of ethnic minorities is simply not possible in mass-Anglo media, because of the focus on profit and the lack of ethnic minorities in both ownership and journalistic positions; however, some researchers disagree, claiming that a fair depiction of ethnic minorities in the media is achievable through changes in leadership of media organizations (Canadian Newspaper Association (CNA) 1994; Mahtani 2001; Miller 1998). The literature on media ownership in Canada has found that there is a monopoly of the Canadian media industry by a few white, conservative, and rich men, which has contributed to the unfair representation of ethnic minorities. This monopoly is referred to as a “homogenization of the media landscape” (Henry 1999; Mahtani 2001; Miller 1998; Ojo 2006). Jiwani (1995) explains that “the media are among the richest organizations in this society. They constitute a monopoly of knowledge, and through their practices of selection, editing and production, they determine the kinds of news we receive about our nation, culture, and the rest of the world.” The end-product of this homogenization is the production and enforcement of the cultural and political ideologies and Eurocentric views of the elites (Ojo 2006). Mahtani (2001) argues that when the elite control the media, it becomes even harder to give voice to those individuals without wealth or political influence.

The under-representation, misrepresentation, and negative portrayals of ethnic minorities in the media can also be directly correlated with the absence of racial and cultural diversity in the newsrooms of major mass-Anglo media outlets in Canada (Ojo
The under-representation of ethnic minorities in mass media newsrooms can, in part, be attributed to the way in which ethnic media and its journalists are perceived by mainstream society. Ethnic media is generally not considered to be ‘real reporting’ in the eyes of those who run the mass-Anglo media outlets in Canada, and, subsequently, experience gained at these locations is often overlooked in the hiring process (ibid). This puts ethnic media owners, editors, and journalists at a considerable disadvantage when seeking employment opportunities at mass-Anglo media outlets, further perpetuating the issue of under-representation of ethnic minorities within the mass-Anglo media outlets in Canada.

In conclusion, the Canadian broadcasting terrain reflects vividly not only the ways in which ethnic minorities are portrayed in mass-Anglo media, but also the ways in which the cycle is perpetuated by the obstacles placed in front of those wanting to transition to the mass media landscape. Furthermore, the literature points to the way, in which, ethnic media has been excluded from gaining a strong presence on the same level as the mass-Anglo media. Studies suggest (see above) that while it has been an important exercise for the dominant cultural group to voice their opinions and experiences through media, in the very same stroke, the existence and importance of ethnic media has been obscured (Husband 2002). The landscape is strictly regulated and highly competitive, making it difficult for ethnic media to claim a position among the mainstream mass-Anglo media. In the Canadian context, mass-Anglo media content does not particularly address immigrants and ethnic minorities and is primarily in English, making it inaccessible for
many immigrants. Ethnic minorities do not identify with the mainstream media, and they do not see themselves represented in them. It is because of these limitations and in the search for self-representation that ethnic minorities often turn to media produced in, or with ties to, their home country. Individuals do this in order to meet their needs for ethnic information in their first language, as well as to assist in the integration process into the host country culture.

c) Ethnic Media in Context

Amid the increase in international migration and the rapid expansion of globalization, it has been argued that homogenous cultures do not exist anymore (Bhabha 1996; Hall 1996) that is if they ever have in the past. The increasing transnational nature of everyday life has gained increasing attention, as has the attachment of individuals to particular ethnic diasporic communities. In these new diasporic contexts, the meanings of identity and citizenship have become increasingly prominent within the dialogues of ethnic diaspora members and members of the host society (Hall 1992). Stemming from the inability to relate to mass host-country media, the language barriers, and the ways in which ethnic minorities are portrayed has allowed for the emergence of an ethnic media in host countries around the world.

23 While I remain aware of the different concepts used to describe media created by, and for, members of immigrant and ethnic communities, I employ the term ‘ethnic media’ throughout this thesis because it is the term most commonly used throughout the literature (For more on this discussion, see chapter 3).
 Ethnic media has often been regarded as media by and for individuals who form part of the ethnic community in a host country with the context primarily presented in ethnic languages (Johnson 2007; Ojo 2006; Shi 2009). This form of media emerges not only out of demand by the diaspora, but also with the objective of offering an alternative view mass host country media and commentaries. In the Canadian context, there are mixed feelings about the role of ethnic media in their ability to challenge the problem of immigrant and ethnic minority representations in mass-Anglo media (Mahtani 2001; Ojo 2006).

It is felt that the images created by the media has the potential to connect individuals not only to the home country, but also has the ability to make sense of the host country culture (Urry 2000). Studies have found that ethnic media helps in the development of ‘imagined presences’ (ibid), or as Anderson (1983) explains, ‘imagined communities’ that build connections among members of the diaspora. Ethnic media are said to contribute to a sense of ‘community’ identity by meeting the specific needs of the ethnic diaspora, and the ethnic media are believed to have the power to organize collective action among ethnic minority groups (Lin and Song 2006; Ojo 2006). Ethnic media is said to reflect the racial, cultural, and ethnic diversity of Canadians through the reportage of their own issues (Ojo 2006). The creation and consumption of ethnic media by diasporas has opened up a space where ethnic identity and language is retained, dialogue between members of the diaspora occurs, and has allowed for the emergence of spaces for the negotiation of identity can be performed. Ethnic media is a unique form of
media, as it is said to represent the ‘diasporic self,’ the ‘diasporic community,’ and the homeland.

The literature reveals how communication within and among groups in diasporas is manifested through (ethnic) media (Anderson 1983; Dayan 1998; Ojo 2006; Shi 2009). Furthermore, ethnic media has evolved alongside globalization and has become increasingly facilitated by technology. Karim (1998:8) explains that, “ethnic media have frequently been at the edge of technology adoption due to the particular challenges they face in reaching their audiences” and in doing so, the ethnic media has become increasingly relevant to both the older and newer generations within diasporas. Ethnic media is both flexible and transnational, in that it uses old and new technologies, furthermore it addresses both individual nationalities, or groups. In the case of the Hispanic diaspora, it is the very internal distinctions that have created a rift within the Hispanic diaspora, that have also been posited as assisting in forming the demographic basis for commercially viable audiences from which this ethnic media has emerged (Husband 2005). Husband, Beattie, and Markelin (2000) explain that it is the very flexible and diverse nature of ethnic media that makes it so successful among ethnic minorities. Some of these diverse characteristics include: (1) its ability to occupy local, national, and transnational spaces, (2) its ability to act as an independent agent from mass-Anglo media, voicing the concerns of the diasporic community, and (3) its ability to publish in both home country and host country languages to meet the needs of
overlapping diasporic generations. It is these characteristics that are of key importance in how diasporic identities and communities are constructed and understood.

The current landscape of ethnic media in Canada is incredibly complex and dynamic (Shi 2009), with over 250 ethnic newspapers produced across the country, including seven non-English dailies. Two of these seven publications are the Spanish-language daily newspapers *El Correo Canadiense* and *El Popular*, both published and distributed throughout the GTA. There are also 14 full-service ethnic radio stations in the nation (Media Awareness Network 2010; Ojo 2006). Situated predominantly in larger urban areas, such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal, ethnic media currently represent over 50 cultures and over 5 million Canadians whose cultural heritages are neither French nor Anglo-Saxon (read: English) (Ojo 2006). The largely urban locations of these ethnic media sources coincide with immigration and ethnic minority destination cities in Canada.

The diversity of Spanish-language ethnic media in Canada reflects not only the rapid growth of the Hispanic diaspora, but also the interests and needs of the diaspora, the failure of mainstream media to address this diaspora, and the diversity of ethnic media as commercial projects. In the Canadian context, Spanish-language newspapers differ in their origin, history, ownership, production process, circulation pattern, discursive mission, and connection to political and commercial interest in local and transnational settings (Veronis 2006). The resurgence and survival of ethnic media can be directly attributed to the use of new technologies in the expanding world of globalized media.
Ethnic media, in this current day and age, has become incredibly flexible, crossing borders not only within the different diasporic communities, but also allowing for it to travel effortlessly across nations, thereby connecting members of a diaspora. As Husband et al. (2000) explain, “diasporic connectedness is also reflected in the political economy of minority ethnic media as transcontinental corporate links facilitate the production, and economic viability, of minority ethnic newspapers.” It is argued that ethnic media targets specific audiences to make them viable as communities and/or to formulate them into commercial institutions for the purpose of advertising. Media’s reflexivity has revealed its own hybridity, a hybridity that is homologous to their audiences. Ethnic media has not only attempted to reach a diverse audience, but itself has become increasingly bilingual, much like its diverse audiences.

In a reflection on ethnic media, one must also be aware of the political, religious, or economic motivations that drive the publication. It has been suggested by Ojo (2006) that ethnic media has the potential to become the centre of cultural tensions and political ideology within the respective ethnic communities. These tensions stem from the differences in political orientation, in religious belief, and in economic circumstances among individuals within the diaspora and the owners of ethnic media outlets (ibid). A study by Downing (2002) found that Spanish-language media has the potential to empower the local Hispanic community in question, but failed to do so because of the class division within that community. It was felt that since ethnic media is traditionally owned and produced by the elite members of the Hispanic community, the publications
tend to reflect the political views and ideological positions of the elites, and not those of
the general population (ibid). Shi’s (2009) study of the Chinese diaspora in the United
States reveals that issues of ownership of ethnic press tended to exacerbate inter- and
intra-group tensions. The professional ethics reflected in this media are of significant
importance, especially in relation to having this media source recognized in mainstream
media culture.

Within the growing body of literature on ethnic media, Philipps (2004) identifies
a lack of reference to ethnic press as a component of mass media, which it has been
argued, provides the primary source of values and beliefs from which many individuals
construct an image of their world. This is despite the increasing significance of diversity
as a core value of Canadian culture (ibid). On one hand, there appear next to no
connections between the diverse ethnic immigrant communities and the significance of
their newspapers (ibid); however, on the other hand, ethnic media plays a number of
significant roles for ethnic minorities (see below) (Bai 2005; Lin and Song 2006;
Subervi-Vélez 1986). There is a need to recognize the critical role of ethnic media among
ethnic minority and immigrant groups, as ethnic media is one of the first things that
immigrant seeks upon arrival in a host country. Husband et al. (2000) emphasize that
immigrants and ethnic minorities continue to have an interest in their country of origin,
even many years after they have settled into their host countries.

Studies have found that ethnic media plays a variety of roles for immigrants and
ethnic minorities, with these roles ranging from assimilation to integration (Black and
Black and Leithner (1988) found that as time in the host country increases, the consumption of and dependence on ethnic media actually decreases; however, they attributed this trend to the assimilatory nature of ethnic media during the 1980s. Other scholars, who discuss the assimilatory nature of ethnic media, found that ethnic media serves as an instrument of social control, maintains the dominant language of the host society, maintains the dominant ideology, borrows general market media genres, and socializes to ‘the modern’ (Constantakis-Valdés 1992; Johnson 2007; Riggins 1992). In addition, ethnic media has the potential to play a positive role in facilitating the introduction of the host society’s norms to the immigrant by proving them with information to facilitate integration and, subsequently, temper emotional isolation and physical hardship (Black and Leithner 1988). Ethnic media has been credited as a medium to establish and maintain group ties in the home and host countries (Black and Leithner 1988; Shi 2009). Finally, ethnic media may also serve a pluralistic function in preserving culture, assisting in integration, and acting as an agent of assimilation (Ojo 2006; Subervi-Vélez 1986; Viswanath and Arora 2000).

Ethnic media has been cited as a critical factor in the empowerment of ethnic minorities and immigrants and is a method of retaining culture, while challenging the domination of mainstream culture in a host country (Husband 1994; Riggins 1992). In the process of consuming ethnic media, ethnic minorities become more critical audiences, allowing for the emergence of ‘Third Spaces’ within these media. While many ethnic
minorities consume mass-Anglo media as well as ethnic media (Mahtani 2001), the consumption of ethnic media is generally limited to that particular ethnic group. In this sense, ethnic media enhances one’s symbolic sense of belonging to an ethnic community. Ethnic media is also said to assist in the negotiation of Hispanic identities in the US context, where studies have examined Spanish-language television and identity construction (Constantakis-Valdés 1992; Levine 2003; Mastro and Behm-Morawitz 2005), Latino/a magazines and identity construction (Johnson 2007; Mayorga 2007), and Spanish-language ethnic press and identity (Downing 1992; Rodriguez 2007; Subervi-Vélez 1986).

Lastly, some studies investigate ethnic media as a tool for the mobilization of political action among immigrant and ethnic communities (Félix et al. 2008; Philipps 2004; Simard 1991). Case studies in this area have focused on the Italian, the Portuguese, and the Jewish communities in Canada (Philipps 2004). Contrastingly, in the US context, studies have focused on Hispanic and political mobilization (Félix et al. 2008; Subervi-Vélez 1986), showing that exposure to mass-Anglo print media has a significant impact on political knowledge, but not on actual political participation (Subervi-Vélez 1986; Subervi-Vélez 1984). Conversely, exposure to Hispanic ethnic media does have direct influence on political participation (Félix et al. 2008; Rodriguez 2007; Subervi-Vélez 1986). Only a few studies have broached the subject of the effectiveness of ethnic media in mobilizing for political action (Félix et al. 2008; Simard 1991).
In conclusion, the review of the literature on mass-Anglo and ethnic media offers much to be explored. As a field of study, it can provide valuable insights into the ways in which immigrant and ethnic minority identities are negotiated by the individuals in question, and understood by members of the host society. Also, it allows us to understand the motivations for the creation, consumption, and distribution of ethnic media in Canada. Furthermore, the literature review has provided a background on the important issues to be discussed in this thesis and lays out the basic framework for the following chapter, Chapter 3 the Theoretical Framework and Methodology.
Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

“Like the United Colors of Benetton ads, (...) a utopian discourse of sameness helps to erase all unpleasant stories. The message becomes a refried colonial idea: if we merely hold hands and dance the mambo together, we can effectively abolish ideology, sexual and cultural, politics, and class differences” (Gómez-Peña 1993:57).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The original questions that sparked my interest in this area – how are hybrid identities constructed, and who imposes labels upon immigrants and ethnic minorities, are informed by a post-structural framework that stems from post-modernism. It can be seen as the theoretical frameworks of the postmodern condition, which is described as a “contemporary sensibility, developing since World War II, that privileges no single authority, method, or paradigm” (Denzin and Lincoln 1994:15 cited in Punch 2005). It has risen against a backdrop of a loss of faith in the power of reason, and has shattered traditional orthodoxies, becoming prominent in discussions of contemporary culture (ibid). Post-structuralists emphasize how one creates the world around them through language, and how language is seen as both a carrier and creator of a culture’s epistemological code (ibid). According to Hall (1996; 1994; 1993), language can be described as the privileged medium in which we ‘make sense’ of things, in which meaning is produced, and exchanged. This perspective suggests that the users of language
do not merely pluck words out of thin air when trying to convey meaning, instead individuals consciously choose particular words and phrases to convey what they are attempting to say; furthermore, the meaning of language changes depending on the individual who is interpreting the text. Agger (1998) explains how Derrida has argued that meaning is forever elusive, and incomplete, in the sense that language can never perfectly convey what is meant by the language user. It is felt that each time we inscribe specific understandings of the world that we either reify, or alter, the language structures through our interpretation of the world (Agger 1998; Hall 1996; Hall 1994; Hall 1993). However, it should be noted that post-structuralists reject the notion that language and culture can be mapped, and rather believe that meaning is fluid, and constantly in flux depending on the context.

a) Language as Discourse

This thesis takes a Foucauldian approach to language as discourse, a discourse which (re)creates relations of power. Foucault’s concept of discourse is an important one in the context of this study, and is used to describe the specific structures of meaning created through language (Foucault 1980). Foucault defines ‘discourse’ as,

[A] group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment. Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But (...) since all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect (cited by Hall 1997:44).
According to Foucault (1980), meaning and meaningful action are only made meaningful within the constitutive and abstract space of a discourse. Bhabha (1994) supports this claim by explaining that like other products of language, text is open to ambivalence, and to interpretation by both those who consume it, and those who produce it. Ultimately, the context within which the text is consumed will impact the nature of the interpretation. For example, consumption and interpretation of ethnic media texts will differ between ethnic minorities depending on their country of origin, race, ethnicity, sex, sexual orientation, and worldview.

Furthermore, Foucault explains that discourse is inherently linked to power, as it is produced by power, (re)produces power, and (re)enforces power. Foucault (1980:101) explains that,

> We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power (…) Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it (…) there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy.

Furthermore, while producing power, discourse is also produced by power; subsequently, for every discourse there is an alternative perspective. Foucault (ibid) states that there can be no power without resistance, and that counter-discourses, or counter-narratives, produce new knowledge and ways of thinking. Foucault’s notion of discourse argues that there is no ‘absolute truth’ (Hall 1997; Foucault 1980). In discourse the truth is always in flux and never absolute, as it is constituted through context (Widdowson 2004). Bhabha (1994) explains that the reason a cultural text, or system of meaning cannot be interpreted
in isolation stems from both the difference in writing and the context. He explains that it is this difference in the process of constructing language through narratives that ensures that meaning is never simply transparent (ibid). By means of an example, one can consider the formation of identity and culture that contests the categories of ethnic and immigrant identities. While there are many different spaces where discourse on identity can emerge, this particular thesis focuses Spanish-language ethnic media.

**b) Identity**

Identity is an incredibly vague, ambiguous, and fluid social construct that is defined by a multiplicity of complex layers. Nayer (2004:13) has defined identity as an association with a “particular group, ideology, religion, social role, or career” which is said to reflect mainstream identity. In the broader sense, identity may be defined as, “the distinctive character belonging to any given individual, or shared by all members of a particular social category, or group” (Rummen 2000 cited in Tastsoglou 2001). Ultimately, identities both individual and community, are social constructs that involve a struggle over the ways in which meaning is fixed and is defined. (Hall 1996:4) explains that,

> Identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from,’ so much as what we become how we have been represented and how that bears on how we represent ourselves.

Andersen (1983) explains that identity defines invisible and imagined borders between groups that form an ‘imagined community.’ These borders, it is felt, will
continue to exist as long as we believe them to exist, or as long as we believe in their existence (Žižek 1993). The notion of ‘imagined communities’ is a critical component in the understanding of culture, and identity, and stems from historical roots of nationalism, and the rise of the nation-state (Anderson 1983). Anderson (1983) explains that once the size of a ‘community’ makes individual ties among its members impossible, that the community is then to some degree ‘imagined.’ He explains that even the smallest nation will never know most of its members (ibid); however, in the minds of these individuals lies a common ‘image’ of their unity, and a shared national pride. While he acknowledges that changes in nationalism are directly correlated to changes in economic development, his primary focus remained on the roles of language and literacy in the rise of nationalism (ibid).

Ultimately, Anderson (1983) feels that the birth of the nation-state and ‘imagined communities’ could best be articulated through the invention of the printing press, the shift from Latin to vernacular languages, and the spread of print capitalism. Anderson (1983) maintains that these two forms provided the technical means, to act as agents, for representing the ‘imagined community’ of the nation-state (ibid). Print media, he argued, laid the bases for national consciousness. Most importantly, it created unified fields of exchange and communication among those who consumed it (ibid). The ability for hundreds of thousands of people to share information, in one particular space, created a growing sense of connectedness. Print media, in particular the consumption of newspapers, gave rise to the nationally ‘imagined community,’ a notion that carries over
to present day, and this study. Anderson (1983) emphasized the central role of print media as a mass distributor of knowledge, and how it has allowed for transnational dialogue to occur connecting individuals who were previously separated by time and space. In 2010, one could argue, print media is even more influential due to the role that the internet has played in facilitating the dissemination of information both across time and space. Furthermore, the emergence of ethnic print media in this increasingly globalized and transnational world aligns with Anderson’s (1983) idea that publishing in an alternate language has the potential to displace the dominant discourse of the dominant culture, and make print media accessible to the masses. In the case of many ethnic media, which publish in both English and the home country language, there is the potential to reach a much larger readership. This not only disseminates knowledge, but facilitates the formation of ‘imagined communities’ in the host country. Particularly interesting is the way in which ethnic print media also maintains ties to the home country, and therefore creates imagined linkages to the homeland (Anderson 1983) while abroad in a transnational context, increasing the scope of the ‘imagined community.’

Furthermore, Anderson (1983) discusses the importance of language itself within both a print and oral context. He argues that it is actually print media that allows for the conceptualization of the ‘nation’ and that oral language builds a sense of national pride among, and between, members of a nation (Anderson 1983). Anderson’s (1983) distinction between print language and oral language, as it pertains to discourse, is of

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24 Anderson (1983) originally wrote about the influence of the emergence of print culture as challenge to dominant Latin publications of the elite that had previously made print culture inaccessible to the masses.
particular interest for this study as it reiterates the different ways in which print media creates a very different discourse from oral language. The ways in which text is understood (for example, through articles written in ethnic media), has the potential to create a very different understanding of a nation and the ways its members identify as part of that nation, than the oral transmission of information through language (for example, through interviews with members of a particular nation or cultural group).

Taking into consideration the significance of print media in relation to the understanding of ‘imagined communities,’ the Hispanic diaspora in Canada can be conceptualized as an ‘imagined community’ from a number of different approaches. The formation of a Hispanic community in Canada is in many ways ‘imagined,’ as the sheer geographical span of the nation prohibits close connection among group members. In the diasporic context, the formation of an ‘imagined community’ lies within an already established Canadian ‘imagined community,’ resulting in a bricolage of identities and communities.

Isajiw (1990) provides a practical and thorough sociological operationalization of ethnic identity. He explains that ethnic identity can be divided into two aspects: internal and external. The internal aspects of ethnic identity involve attitudes, ideas, and feelings. They are explained in terms of cognitive, moral, and affective elements: (1) cognitive elements involve the productive of subjective knowledge about the group’s values, heritage, and history; (2) moral elements involve the feelings of commitment, and obligation towards the group; and (3) affective elements involve feelings of attachment,
or belonging, to the group (Isajiw 1990). The external aspects of ethnic identity involve observable behaviours. These observable behaviours include: (1) speaking an ethnic language, or practicing ethnic traditions; (2) participating in familial and friendship networks; (3) participating in ethnic institutions; (4) participating in ethnic volunteer organizations; and (5) participating in ethnic community events and functions (ibid). Isajiw (1990) also gives insight into the role of ethnic identity for second, and subsequent, generations of immigrants and ethnic minorities. For these individuals and groups, ethnic identity becomes a matter of retention. However, Isajiw (1990) stresses the importance of recognizing that the identity retention of second, and subsequent, generations may not assume the same form as the first generation. It is believed that second and subsequent generations develop different patterns of behaviour, and subjective identities, than those of the first generation (ibid). This is an important insight as it makes those who are looking into the construction, and retention, of ethnic identity aware of the important role that immigration history and generation status has on the outcome of identity formation.

It has been argued that ethnic identity is a relational concept that is highly political in nature, as it is deeply rooted in colonial discourse (Spivak 1988). The process of ethnic identity formation is in a constant state of contestation, and that it is a struggle which produces narratives of belonging, resistance, and escape for those involved (Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Spivak 1988). Nayer (2004) found, that in most situations, the majority group defines ethnic identity, rather than the groups’ themselves. The
homogenization of ethnic groups has been, and continues to be, a significant problem. It has been argued that ethnic identities still “tend to be treated as ‘cultures’ – as unified, discrete, pre-existing social entities” with little effort to understand how they are internally contested, and how they “are cross-cut by multiple power relations, interests, or political agendas” (Nagel 2001:252). Vila (2000) suggests that, ethnic identity is historically constructed, and is embedded deep within a power struggle over the meaning of the labels imposed on individuals. Campbell (1992) explains that the distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them,’ ‘inside’ and ‘outside,’ or ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ have been crucial in the political construction of identities. This brief, but concise, discussion on ethnic identity forms the precursor for a more in-depth discussion on hybridity and ‘Third Space,’ in the temporal and spatial context of transnationalism.

c) **Transnationalism**

It is through the aforementioned that the discussion becomes fully immersed in the post-structuralist framework, and move towards a more concrete understanding of the reclamation and reconstruction of ethnic identity by hybridized transnational migrants. For the purpose of this study, transnationalism has been defined as,

The process by which trans-migrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders (Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1994:6).
Theoretically, it has been argued, that transnationalism challenges the conceptual and epistemological ways in which we study the formation of identity, the role of the nation, and the production of cultural narratives (Mitchell 2003). Within transnationalism, the notion of ‘locality’ has become one of the central points of discussion (Smith and Guarnizo 1998). The specific contexts in which transnational actions take place are not just a ‘local’ phenomenon, but are also conceptualized as ‘translocal’ (Goldring 2006; Smith and Guarnizo 1998). Therefore, while transnational practices, by definition involve two, or more, nations, they are still constructed within the confines of specific social, political, and economic conditions. This point is significant to this study for two reasons. The first, is that members of the Hispanic community in Canada are involved in transnational practices by moving from their home country to Canada, and this carries significant implications in the construction of what is referred to as ‘sub-group’ hybrid identity formation (for example, Mexican-Canadian). Second, it is argued that the Hispanic diaspora is itself a “transnational network of immigrant communities” (Veronis 2006), and subsequently, results in the formation of a group identity (for example, Hispanic-Canadian) (a discussion on hybridity follows). This notion of a “transnational network of immigrant communities” was coined by Luisa Veronis (2006) to conceptualize a group that cuts across multiple-borders, but that is situated within one particular locale. She explains that this concept,

Underscores the multiple layers of transnational experiences, practices, and identities that compose this group. The term communities (in plural) is used to stress that the group is not united into a single, homogeneous community, but encompasses a variety of subgroups; some are formed along national
lines, while others are based on common interests regardless of nationality such as refugees, women, youth, and seniors. Yet, the principal characteristic of these subgroups is their cross-border nature (ibid:31).

This explanation is significant not only because it outlines the heterogeneous nature of the Hispanic community, but it also stresses the importance of taking these heterogeneous factors into account when unraveling how Hispanic identities are disseminated, negotiated, (re)constructed, and (re)articulated. What complicates this discussion, in relation to identity formation in the host country, is that Hispanics are faced with the identification with three different identities: sub-group identity (for example, Mexican), diasporic identity (for example, Hispanic), and hybrid identity (for example, Mexican-Canadian or Hispanic-Canadian). Therefore, the importance of a thorough discussion on hybridity is that it problematizes the boundaries of identity, and the individuals who create it. It is through the following discussion on hybridity that I hope to shed some light on the issues surrounding the concept, some of which are highly political in nature, in the face of international migration.

Hybridity$^{25}$ occupies a central place in the post-structuralist framework, and has in recent years become the centre of debate on culture and identity formation. Key theorists in this area of study include Homi K. Bhabha (1996; 1994), Stuart Hall (1997; 1996; 1994; 1993), Gayatri Spivak (1988), and Paul Gilroy (1993; 1987). Hybridity refers to a blending process that occurs, and it is from this blending process that a new ‘form’ or ‘space’ results. This new space is a hybrid of hyphenated identity which incorporates

$^{25}$ In colonial discourse, hybridity is a highly problematic term, as it is laden with inferences to miscegenation, and is embedded in scientific-racist thought (for more on this discussion see Young 1995).
two, or more, cultures (Bhabha 1994). Bhabha (1994) explains that by embracing hybrid identities, ethnic minorities, affirm cultural differences in ways that resist essentialism, and which conceive of these differences as positive, and their own.

Bhabha (1994) proposes that nationalities, identities, and ethnicities are all characterized by hybridity, and are situated within a colonial discourse that shifts the authority of power. Originally developing these notions with respect to the narratives of cultural imperialism, his work has taken a shift in the conceptualization, and application, of hybridity in the transnational context. Bhabha (1994) characterizes the practices, and identities of migrants as ‘counter-narratives of the nation’ which are said to challenge, and erase totalizing boundaries, and in turn to disturb the ideological ways through which immigrant ‘imagined communities’ are given essentializing identities (see Anderson 1983). Hybridity, in this framework, is concerned with challenging essentialist notions of identity that have a tendency to homogenize the individuals, and groups in question (Bhabha 1994). Critics of this theory argue that hybridity theory has fallen victim to its own critiques, as the very use of this theory has made it victim to the essentialist framework it challenges, as hybridity, itself, requires a definition, and spatial placement (Pieterse 2004).

While Pieterse (2004) argues that hybridity is the cultural product of globalization there is debate on the nature of this approach (Bhabha 1994). On one hand, it is true that hybridity stems from globalization, and the phenomenon of international migration has intensified this; however, I caution the reader in interpreting these different perspectives,
and their application to hybridity. While I do, in this study, support the notion that hybridity stems from globalization, I oppose the view that it is not a process of homogenization, modernization, and Westernization of culture and identity (for more on this discussion, see Pieterse 2004). Instead, I align with Bhabha (1994) who views hybridity as a homogenizing concept, laden in ‘Otherness.’ Bhabha (1994) has developed this term to describe the construction of culture, and identity, within conditions of inequality. For Bhabha (1994) hybridity is the formation of identity by those in power, to translate identity of those without power, the ‘Other.’ It is from this interweaving of new, and previous, identities that a new ‘form’ emerges, a hybrid identity; however, Bhabha (1994:3) has “trouble with thinking of all these things26 as monolithic fixed categories.” Instead Bhabha (1994) explains that the reality is that identities are fluid, relational, and always in flux. He views hybridity as an ‘in-between’ space, where the negotiation and recreation of identities takes place, a space that he coins the ‘Third Space’ (Bhabha 1996; Bhabha 1994).

d) Third Space

While Smith and Guarnizo (1998) contest that transnational practices do not take place in an ‘imaginary third space’ abstractly located ‘in-between’ national territories, Bhabha’s (1994) notion of ‘Third Space’ can be directly applied to the Hispanic “transnational network of immigrant communities” (Veronis 2006) to suggest otherwise.

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26 ‘These things’ refer to categories such as identity and community.
Earlier in this chapter, I explored the notion of Hispanics as a “transnational network of immigrant communities” (Veronis 2006) in Canada, and their unique position as a transnational community within one particular local. Therefore, my motivation for this discussion on transnationalism was strategic as it has been argued that transnational networks constitute a new social and political space that disrupts, and moves beyond traditional binaries in which immigrant practices are often located (Veronis 2006). These networks which are traditionally seen as global, are now concentrated within one particular locale, as is the case of the Hispanic diaspora in Canada. As discussed in Chapter 1, this study seeks to investigate the ways in which a ‘Third Space’ is created by the Hispanic diaspora in Canada through ethnic media. Taking into account the previous discussion on Foucault’s (1980) notion of language as discourse, and the significance of language in the construction of identity, I have chosen to apply this framework, intertwined with Bhabha’s (1996; 1994) notion of ‘hybridity,’ to investigate the potential of Spanish-language ethnic media as a ‘Third Space’ for the dissemination, negotiation, (re)construction, and (re)articulation of Hispanic hybrid identities.

According to Bhabha (1994), ‘Third Space’ is described as a space for resistance, struggle, and negotiation. It is a space where new forms of cultural meaning are produced, and where the limitations of existing boundaries, and categorizations, are re-established. This ‘Third Space’ is an ambivalent site where cultural meaning, and representation, is not ‘fixed’ (Bhabha 1994). In the ‘Third Space’ it is believed that the two sides, the dominant host country culture and the ‘Other,’ meet to negotiate their
cultural differences, and to create a culture that is ‘hybrid’ (ibid). Their negotiation is said to be dialectic, one that is ambivalent in nature. It is felt that these “‘in-between’ spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself” (ibid:1-2). One might make the assumption that hybridized individuals hold a unique position of power, as they hold a position situated between two cultures, a position that is neither fully one-nor-the-other.

It has been explained that ‘Third Space’ provides a spatial politics of inclusion rather than exclusion as it facilitates the creation of new signs of identity, and opens up sites of contestation and (re)articulation (ibid). These new dialogues are believed to form a counter-hegemonic discourse, that operates by opening up a space for the (re)articulation of identity negotiation and meaning (Bhabha 1996). The notion of hybridity in ‘Third Space’ makes the dominant host country culture aware that culture and identity cannot be fixed. It reiterates that culture and identity are fluid, situational, and constantly in flux. The use of mass and ethnic media as a ‘Third Space’ is strategic. The notion stems from Foucault’s argument, namely that media is infused with discourse (or discourses), which define meaning of media representations. The Foucauldian concept of discourse complicates the image of media as a transparent window onto ‘reality,’ and rather opens up the complex relationship between language, knowledge, and power (see Hall 1997). Ultimately, media texts are full of discourses that define the events, and individuals, being represented, and are symbolic results of discursive practices. As such,
media articles can only make a tentative claim to truth, as truth can never be captured in its pure form (Foucault 1980; Widdowson 2007; Widdowson 2004). What Foucault (1980) argues is that it is the discourse, not the subject, that produces knowledge in this case. While it is individuals who produce the texts, they do so within the constraints of the ethnic media, the period, and the culture in question.

I conclude this section by reiterating that Foucault (1980) offers an important perspective regarding the power of language as discourse, and the interplay of identity for producing particular ways of interpreting text. Many of the concepts used throughout this section, such as identity, ethnic identity, hybridity, and ‘Third Space’ are heavily dependent on the culture, the period, and the context within which they are used. Adhering to the cautions offered by Foucault (1980), and the framework of ‘Third Space’ outlined by Bhabha (1994), I apply this framework to the methodology and research design employed in this study.

**METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES**

A combination of discourse analysis and socio-cultural analysis is employed in this thesis. This section provides an overview of the methodology and methods in more detail. This includes an overview of: methodological approaches used, rationale behind choosing *El Correo Canadiense* as the site for media analysis, methods of data collection, the sample characteristics, data analysis methods, and some conceptual considerations. First, I employed a key term search, based on key terms from the literature, to collect the
articles used in this study. Second, for the analysis I employed a qualitative approach, discourse analysis. Discourse analysis allowed for issues and concepts surrounding Hispanic identity to emerge from the articles. These were categorized into key analytical themes concerning identity. These themes touch on diaspora descriptors, self-reflection on identity, race and identity, flexible and hybrid identities, and the identification of cultural practices and values. Third, I employed a socio-cultural analysis to support the findings that emerged from the discourse analysis, to discuss the articles and the discourse of Hispanic identity.

The qualitative approach is used, for this endeavor, as qualitative research uses a variety of practices to gain a better understanding of the subject matter at hand, and there is often a commitment to using more than one interpretive practice in any study, as each practice makes the world visible in a different way (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). It is for this reason that I employ both discourse analysis and socio-cultural analysis (see below). Employing a combination of interpretive approaches allowed me to contextualize the individuals’ accounts of journalists in more precise socio-historical and socio-cultural contexts that may have shaped the construction of Hispanic identity. Also, qualitative researchers often use a theoretical and conceptual lens through which to approach their methodology (see chapter 3). The conceptual framework for this study employs the concepts identity, hybridity, and ‘Third Space,’ which are used as a guide throughout the data collection, analysis, and interpretation stages. It is important to keep this framework
in mind as it provides valuable contributions to how we as researchers analyze, and interpret the discourse within ethnic media.

**a) Discourse Analysis**

This section describes the method of discourse analysis in more detail, and in order to do so the terms ‘discourse’ and ‘text’ are defined. It is important to describe discourse analysis in order to better understand the methodology behind the current study. According to Potter and Wetherell (1994), discourse analysis has been called a ‘craft skill,’ something that one learns by doing, and that is often difficult to describe in a formal way. Some have even gone as far to write that “if there is one rule of method that we might apply to discourse analysis, it would be Durkheim’s first principle: abandon all preconceptions!” (Seale 2004: 377). Discourse analysis has typically been used to investigate communication within media, such as text within ethnic media (Byrman 2004). It is defined as, “an interrelated set of texts and practices of their production, dissemination, and reception” (Philipps and Hardy 2002:3). The analysis of discourse aims to expose “underlying structures, meanings and uses of representation through in-depth reading and interpretation” (Vanderbeck 2003:367). This type of analysis allows for the uncovering of actions that have their effect not just in what is explicitly said, but what the analyst finds left unsaid (Antaki 2008). Discourse analysis permits an in-depth examination of phenomena, such as identity. Considering that identity is socially constructed, it is subject to interpretation. Discourse analysis provides the flexibility
needed to convey the many possible different meanings that identity can embody, or signify, as they emerge in discourses.

However, Widdowson (2004) stresses that the term ‘discourse’ should not be used interchangeably with the term ‘text.’ According to Widdowson (2004:4) ‘text’ is produced with a ‘communicative purpose’ and as researchers we need to be conscious not only of the discourse that emerges from text, but also of the work that ‘texts’ do. It has been argued that the meaning within text is often dependent on the context within which text is situated (Widdowson 2007). It is for this reason that the findings in this specific study are supported by a socio-cultural analysis (see below). This socio-cultural analysis situates the articles and discourses within the political economy of media and the history of Hispanic immigration to Canada. Through a deeper understanding of the context within which text is produced, we are able to understand that, “texts can be used to express, and impose, certain ways of thinking about the world” (Widdowson 2007:7). Furthermore, it allows for an understanding of the different interpretations of text both by those who produce the text and by those who consume it.

Discourse analysis can also help reveal how ethnic media serves as a ‘Third Space’ and serves as an important approach for this study. By analyzing the discourse within ethnic media articles, we are able to see the ways in which ethnic media produces counter-hegemonic discourses to mainstream media. This thesis examines the discourse of Hispanic identity and explores the ways in which ethnic media, as a ‘Third Space’ allows for these discourses to emerge. Unlike conventional content analysis which
employs quantitative methods to count data, my methodological approach is slightly unconventional in that I am searching for content on the discourses of Hispanic identity. While the discussion around discourse analysis is as broad as the method itself, there is no shortage of methods available to discourse analysts; however, studies such as those by Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001) have narrowed down the four key features of discourse analysis to facilitate the process:

1. natural location, not invention, of where the talk, or text, is to be found;
2. understanding of the words in their ‘co-text’;
3. sensitivity to the non-literal meanings, or forces, of the words;
4. the revelation of the social actions and consequences that stem from the use of words.

A combination of these features are used throughout the analysis (see chapter 4), as I seek the instances in which discourses on Hispanic identity are discussed in ethnic media, the understanding of Hispanic identity in inexplicit contexts, the ways in which meaning emerges implicitly from what is being said, and finally, the implications of these discourses on Hispanic identity. Intertwining these features allows us to gain a deeper understanding of how Hispanic identity is discussed.

As part of discourse analysis, the categorization of themes and findings emerging from discourse requires some attention. Traditionally, open-coding is employed in the process of organizing text before bringing meaning to it (Rossman and Rallis 1998:171); however, in this particular approach to discourse analysis, the discourse under
investigation is already full with meaning. Therefore, unlike quantitative approaches to open-coding which require the researcher to ask data specific and consistent questions (Neuendorf 2002); this study uses a set of questions that act as a guideline to allow for themes and findings to emerge. The questions discuss: how identity labels are constructed; who constructs these labels; how are these labels negotiated, disseminated, (re)constructed, and (re)articulated?; and how ethnic media is being used as a space to discuss identity?

b) Socio-Cultural Analysis

It is important to note that when using discourse analysis methods, they must ultimately be tied to contextual information, such as historical, temporal, geographical, and economic contexts, within which the media stories are produced (Burgess and Gold 1985). This is an issue that I addressed by integrating a socio-cultural analysis of the Hispanic diaspora to support the interpretation of the findings. Furthermore, I integrate a thorough background on the Spanish-language ethnic media used for this study, its owners, and journalists. The reason for including this in the socio-cultural analysis was to ground the articles in the political economy from which they emerge. An analysis and discussion without acknowledging the political system from which the articles emerge is central to the discussion, as the owners of ethnic media, and the journalists shape the nature of the discourse that emerges from the publication.
RESEARCH DESIGN

The following is a discussion of the methods of data collection and analysis being employed in this study, and why I selected the Spanish-language paper *El Correo Canadiense* as the primary site for data collection.

**a) Data Collection Site**

A significant indicator of the increasing Hispanic population in Toronto has been the notable increase in the number of Spanish-language ethnic media in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and in other parts of Southwestern Ontario (Goldring et al. 2007). Hispanics have developed a number of Spanish-language media organizations including magazines, radio stations, websites, a television station, and both print and online newspapers (for a comprehensive list of newspapers, see Appendix C). Of these media, two publications in particular are dailies, *El Correo Canadiense* and *El Popular*. *El Correo Canadiense* was chosen for this study because it focuses intensely on the issues affecting the Hispanic diaspora in Canada. On the other hand, *El Popular*, focuses primarily on international events and news coverage. The Spanish-language ethnic media used in this study, *El Correo Canadiense*, was introduced into the market by the late Dan Ianuzzi (Goldring et al. 2007; Multicom Media Services 2010a; Multicom Media Services 2010b). Its mission is to provide comprehensive in-depth news coverage and coverage of current Canadian and home country events, diasporic events, and current debates. Articles are covered by a large and professional all-Spanish editorial team which
is based in Toronto (Multicom Media Service 2010a; Multicom Media Services 2010b). This was another reason that *El Correo Canadiense* was chosen for this study, the all-Spanish editorial team and ownership makes it a media that is owned by the diaspora in question, and subsequently fits into the criteria of ‘Third Space’ under investigation in this study.

While the Spanish-language ethnic media sample is limited to one publication in particular, *El Correo Canadiense*, is cited as Canada’s largest Spanish-language newspaper with an overall print circulation of over 60,000 copies weekly, and an online readership of over 100,000. This is significant for the sample as the publication reaches a large cross-section of the Hispanic diaspora, and marketing studies have found that it has quickly become the newspaper of choice for the Hispanic diaspora in Canada. Readers of *El Correo Canadiense* are said to be individuals who: (1) live in Canada, (2) have Spanish as their first language, (3) have a parent who was born in a Spanish-speaking country who speak, or read Spanish, (4) have formed a family with a Hispanic partner (Multicom Media Services 2010b). Furthermore, the fact that the publication is accessible both online, and in print, suggests that the publication reaches a large proportion of the Hispanic demographic appealing to both first, and subsequent, immigrant generations. This is important for the study because the research question asks about ‘Hispanic’ hybridized identity in Canada for the entire Hispanic diaspora; therefore, the more individuals that this publication reaches the more likely that it has the potential to act as a ‘Third Space’ for a larger proportion of the Hispanic population.
b) Data Collection and Sample Characteristics

For the reasons discussed above, this thesis only analyzed articles from the Spanish-language ethnic media source *El Correo Canadiense*. Articles were derived from the online publication of the newspaper, as articles touching on Hispanic identity were easily retrieved through this method of data collection. In order to retrieve news articles, a set of predetermined key terms were entered as search terms into the online search tool. These predetermined key terms were drawn from the literature, and include the terms: identidad, Latina, Latino, Hispanic, Hispano, Latin American, and Spanish. A search using these terms revealed 164 articles. Full-text versions of the articles were obtained from *El Correo Canadiense*’s online publication. I then read all 164 articles, and found that 18 of the 164 articles contained discourse on Hispanic identity. These 18 articles form the basis of the findings, analysis, and discussion. The articles spanned in publication from 2005 to 2010 (see Appendix B).

The decision to use online media publications for data collection was strategic for a number of reasons. First, using online media allowed me to obtain access to a large number of articles, published over a long period of time, in one space. The articles used

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27 Many of the articles from Mexican journalist, Sergio Granillo, were obtained from his online blog (Granillo 2009). These consisted of articles which were once published in *El Correo Canadiense*, but that were no longer available in the online publication of the newspaper. These articles were included in the sample, as they discussed Hispanic identities in Canada.
28 The decision to use group identifiers such as Latino/a, Hispanic, and Latin American was strategic as I am particularly interested in diasporic/group identity negotiation.
29 The remainder of the articles that were omitted from the study addressed home country events and issues, immigrant identity in general, or focused on community events and fundraisers.
Second, the articles were easily accessible and inexpensive to retrieve. Accessibility was significant not only for me, as a researcher, but accessibility also plays an important role in the use of ethnic media as a ‘Third Space’ for this particular diaspora which is spread across Canada.

c) Data Analysis and Interpretation

The analysis of the articles was influenced heavily by the procedures of discourse analysis as outlined by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Through discourse analysis I explored the ways in which identity is discussed both explicitly and implicitly in the articles. First, I read each of the 164 articles and noted any articles that had discourses of identity. The outcome of this first round of discourse analysis resulted in the selection of 18 articles to be used in a second round of discourse analysis. I read each of the 18 articles numerous times, to gain a strong sense of the information. Once I felt that I had achieved a close level of familiarity with the data the general ideas were drawn from each article, and my own comments were recorded. The most salient findings were noted and organized into six key categories, listed as follows: (1) diaspora descriptors, (2) self-reflection on identity, (3) identity in a multicultural society, (4) race and identity, (5) flexible and hybrid identities, and (6) identifying cultural practices and values.

The second part of the analysis involved reading the 18 articles used in this study and recording any instances where I felt certain academics, or writings, would support the themes. I decided that the findings and discussion chapter (see chapter 4) would be
thematically organized and supported by a socio-cultural analysis, which takes the form of published articles and literature. Direct quotations from the articles are used in order to maintain the authenticity of the voices that emerge from this ‘Third Space.’ In the findings and discussion chapter (see chapter 4) I employ excerpts from the articles that I felt were representative of the themes and findings that emerged. It should be noted that several articles appear in more than one category, reflecting the interconnectedness of the issues surrounding identity and the diverse use of Spanish-language ethnic media as ‘Third Space.’ All the article titles, excerpts and quotations used in the findings were translated from their original Spanish to English. The translations were reviewed by a native Spanish speaker to ensure the reliability of translation for article titles and direct quotations.

d) Voice

Before proceeding to the findings and discussion, a note on ‘voice’ is required. There are many ‘voices’ that emerge throughout this thesis and as it outlined in the literature review (see chapter 2), many of the authors have very different takes on what it means to be Hispanic. They use different descriptors, and labels to describe identity, heritage, and experience of the individuals, groups, and communities in question. It is for this reason that I have chosen to retain those labels, when the authors used them. I did this because I do not feel it is my place to edit their use of identifying labels. Furthermore, a number of voices emerge in the findings of this study; however, I remain
conscious of the power relations emerging from these voices. While I have included the perspectives of both journalists and the individuals they interviewed, it is important to remain conscious of a number of different issues that arise in terms of power relations of representation. By including only the voices of the journalists, I would have risked silencing the voices of different members within the Hispanic diaspora. In an attempt to get a broad range of perspectives I chose to include as many different voices of individuals interviewed as I could from the articles; however, I remain aware of the notion that the journalists included particular voices to support the agendas of their specific articles, whether guided by political motivations of the owners of ethnic media or their (the journalists) own personal motivations. With the increasing push by the Canadian Hispanic Congress (2009) to gain political power and funding through the shift to the term ‘Hispanic’ since 2006, there is a positive correlation with the number of articles emerging in *El Correo Canadiense* that reflect a shifting focus on Hispanic identity in the diaspora. On the other hand, I as a researcher also have a specific agenda in looking at the ways in which Hispanic identity has been disseminated, negotiated, (re)constructed, and (re)articulated and have chosen specific articles and voices to include in this piece which make me a part of the power relations as well. Therefore I offer the reader a word of caution in reading the articles, findings, and discussion as one must remain conscious of the ways in which power relations of representation are present throughout. For the purpose of this particular study all these considerations were taken into account and I have attempted, to the best of my abilities, to maintain the original
context of voices through maintaining the original concepts used by members of the
diaspora, contextualizing the quotations, and through grounding them in a socio-cultural
analysis.

CONCEPTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

*Hispanic*

I chose to employ the label ‘Hispanic’ instead of Latin American, or Latino/a,
throughout this thesis. Ultimately, the decision to choose one definition over another has
had implications (see Gracia 2000). The first implication was that each definition both
included and excluded certain nationalities and ethnicities. My rational for choosing
‘Hispanic’ was that I felt it captured the heterogeneity of this group (for more on this
debate see chapter 2 or CHC 2009). The second implication was that the use of these
terms was highly political in nature and different terms have been often used in the past
to serve different political agendas by those who have employed them. In the eyes of the
Canadian state, Hispanics form a single, homogeneous community, as suggested by the
categories ‘Latin American’ and ‘Spanish-speaking’ used in the Canadian Census up to
2001 (Statistics Canada 2004). These, and many other labels, served to identify
immigrant, ethnic, racial, and visible minority groups with the purpose to facilitate the
allocation of state resources under the Multiculturalism Act. Critics to multiculturalism
point out that these categories ‘manage’ diversity by creating artificial and homogenized
groups in addition to creating inequities between them (Bannerji 2000). Nevertheless,
heterogeneous groups, such as Hispanics, are forced to fit these categories to access resources. Consequently, Hispanics in Toronto form a community that is more ‘imagined’ than real (Anderson 1983) as the labels ‘Latin American’ and ‘Latino/a’ do not accurately portray the diaspora, but rather serve to satisfy the needs of the statistical organizations that employ them, such as Statistics Canada. It is not until quite recently that the CHC (2009) approached Statistics Canada with concerns about the labels ‘Latin American’ and ‘Spanish speaking,’ and how they have been misrepresenting and under-representing the Hispanic diaspora in Canada. The CHC (2009) proposed a more encompassing label, ‘Hispanic,’ that it felt best represented the diaspora in question. ‘Hispanic’ has since been used in subsequent calculations of 2006 Census figures and will be employed in the 2011 Canadian Census$^{30}$ and throughout this thesis.

Ethnic Media

I employ the term ‘ethnic media’ throughout this thesis as it is the general term used throughout the literature (Black and Leithner 1988; Deuze 2006; Husband 2005; Karim 1998; Lin and Song 2006; Riggins 1992; Shi 2009; Viswanath and Aurora 2000). Ethnic media has often been regarded as media by and for individuals who form part of the ethnic community in a host country with the context primarily presented in ethnic languages (Johnson 2007; Ojo 2006; Shi 2009); however, in using the term ethnic media, I also remain aware of the problematic nature of the concept, as all media is in one way,_________________

$^{30}$ It is recognized that the CHC (2009) recommendations were in their very nature driven by the politics of the organization; however, they are felt to best represent the approach I wished to employ in my study.
or another, ethnic in nature. It is important to note that while I employ the use of the term ethnic media, I am aware that it is just one of the many terms used to describe media by and for immigrants, ethnic and visible minorities. Some of the other terms used by scholars include: ‘Third Media’ (Fleras 1994a; Fleras 1994b; Fleras and Kunz 2001; Mahtani 2001), ‘diasporic media’ (Georgiou 2005), ‘expatriate media’ (D’Andrea 2007), and ‘global media’ (Karim 1998).
Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion

FINDINGS

The findings of this study paint a very intricate and complex portrait of the current conditions in Canada that shape how hybridized Hispanic identity is perceived. They unveil the way in which Spanish-language ethnic acts as a ‘Third Space’ that allows for the dissemination, negotiation, (re)construction, and (re)articulation of Hispanic identity in Canada. Hispanics identify a number of barriers and challenges that they face in their new home country, and the reality is both harsh and promising. Through the exploration of their identity, hybridized Hispanic individuals looked at their realities and questioned their newly acquired hybridity. The results reveal both a mosaic of struggles, and a promising optimism about taking ownership of the labels that characterize the diaspora.

There are six key themes in this study from which the findings have emerged. Each of these reveals the different ways in which Hispanic identity is negotiated within the ‘Third Space’ of *El Correo Canadiense*. The first finding discusses the absence of a generalizing term to describe the diaspora, and how there is an interchangeable use of descriptors among, and between, the journalists and interviewees, to discuss group identity. The second finding reveals the ways in which Hispanics self-identify, and the significance of retaining ties to the home country. Furthermore, the findings show how ethnic identity retention in the first 1-3 years is critical to immigrant integration. Third, the findings show the ways in which Hispanics feel lost in multiculturality. Amongst the diversity of...
nationalities and ethnic groups, Hispanics discuss the need to unify as a diaspora, and to create a group descriptor in order to gain increased political power in Canada. Fourth, the articles reveal how Hispanics encounter multiple oppressions of ‘Otherness,’ by this they mean that they face racial, linguistic, and cultural barriers when arriving in Canada. These barriers, of which racialization dominates the discourse, have led to an active discussion on the agency, and awareness of Hispanics, not as oppressed, but as empowered by raising awareness of the issues that they face as a diaspora. Fifth, is the emergence of a discussion, by the journalists and the interviewees, on hybridity and fragmented identity. The findings reveal a positive outlook on hybridity, perhaps due in part to the history of mixed-race ethnicity in Latin America. Furthermore, this is where the strongest instance of consciousness raising occurs among Hispanic women as leaders of these new and fragmented identities, urging other Hispanic women to become leaders in embracing these new identities. Finally, the last findings suggest that way in which Hispanics are (re)constructing identity within this ‘Third Space’ by resisting negative stereotypes, racism, and other obstacles that face them. It is revealed how the journalists, and the individuals they interview, are encouraging the diaspora to come together and not only disseminate misconceptions, but to include Canadians in the process of (re)articulating these identities. The following sections are the six findings that emerged from the study (see Appendix B for comprehensive list of articles and authors).
a) Diaspora Descriptors - “The Term ‘Hispanic’ has not been Generalized”

One of the key components of a ‘Third Space’ is the authenticity of the dialogue surrounding ethnic identity, and the labels used to describe the individuals, groups, and communities in question. The findings reveal that there is no one descriptor used by the journalists, or the individuals interviewed, to describe the diaspora, and rather that there are a multitude of labels including, Latino/Latina, Hispanic, Latin American, and Spanish. Furthermore, the descriptors are used interchangeably within, and between the articles, as is demonstrated throughout the findings. While the articles did not overtly contest the use of any of these descriptors what did emerge were interesting comparisons to the US context where the term ‘Latino’ has been generalized.

Mexican journalist, Sergio Granillo (2008a) explains, that in contrast to what appears to be happening in the United States where everyone who speaks Spanish identifies with the term Hispanic or Latino, and appears to be putting home country differences behind them, the same does not appear to be the case in Canada (Granillo 2008a). Granillo’s (2008a) experience in Canada suggests that there is no group identifier for this diaspora. From the articles emerged a growing sense of consciousness about the political implications that a group descriptor carries, and there was a sense of envy that the US diaspora had the ‘Latino’ label, which some of the journalists feel gives them a unified sense of power. In an article about Mexican migration to Canada, Sergio Granillo (2008b) wonders,

Why has the term ‘Hispanic’ not been generalized (in Canada), the closest is ‘Spanish’ to refer to those who speak Spanish?
The findings reveal that there is dialogue and questioning surrounding the ways in which group identifiers have the potential to give the diaspora political empowerment, and to potentially overcome national differences in the process.

b) Self-Reflection on Identity - “It is Human Nature to Identify with Your Country of Birth”

Self-reflection on identity and strong ties to the homeland also emerged as key themes from the findings. There appears to be both a reflection on the importance of individual Hispanic identity, and the ways in which strong ties to the homeland are essential to integrating into Canadian culture; however, the focus remains on maintaining ties to the homeland. There emerged an interesting dichotomy of experiences between first and subsequent generations of immigrants, and how they used *El Correo Canadiense* to discuss the importance of self-identification as a Hispanic. In an article by Herrera (2010), that discusses the significance of teaching Spanish to children of Hispanic immigrants, one mother is quoted as saying that,

> At home everyone speaks Spanish, (as) we do not want our son to lose the language, or his history. It is for this reason that we make him read in Spanish.

In the same article another Hispanic immigrant family stresses the importance of language, as,

> Language is the basis of identity. If a child can’t speak the same language as their parents, they (the child) won’t have the opportunity to connect with their roots and could (ultimately) lose touch with their roots, becoming a cultural orphan. They won’t be able to communicate with their family back in the home country (Herrera 2010).
In another interview, a parent explains that,

(Hispanic children are) children of two worlds (...) who have created a distinct identity from that of their parents (Herrera 2010).

These findings are all significant as they show the different stages of self-identification, all with a focus on the home country values, and the importance of retaining those values in the host country. Within this ‘Third Space’ the articles reveal how one is able to assume a hybrid identity that celebrates difference. From the articles emerged a discourse that stressed the importance of ethnic identity retention so that individuals do not lose a sense of who they are, where they came from, and so that they are able to transmit culture to future generations.

The dialogue between home country and host country formed a central part of the discussion on Hispanic hybridity by the journalists and the individuals interviewed. A study cited in one of the articles explains how the process of integration into the receiving country can take anywhere between 1-3 years (Granillo 2005), and in this time ethnic minorities often turn to the things that remind them of home. During this transition period between home and host country, immigrants are often torn between the old and familiar versus the new and unknown. Granillo (2005) explains that,

It’s human nature to identify with your country of birth. It’s reflected in the phrase ‘Home and Native Land’ which reflects one’s family and everything that surrounds an individual from birth. It means the sharing of values, tastes, ways of seeing the world, longings, doubts and fears.

Arellano (2009) explains how the retention of cultural values and traditions from the home country is one of the key components of successful integration into Canadian life.

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The maintenance of strong familial values and traditions, like those in Latin America, is one of the issues outlined by Arellano (2009) as a key component of Hispanic identity. He writes about the establishment of a new Hispanic community centre, *Nuevo Amanecer*. The centre was established to focus on the obstacles and address the issues that Hispanics face upon arriving in Canada. One of these issues is familial dissolution (Arellano 2009). In an interview with Iván Méndez, the pastor at the church where *Nuevo Amanecer* is located, Méndez as saying that,

Strong (individual) identities are the result of strong families (...). Family dissolution is the beginning of many problems that Latinos face in Canada. Hispanic families are accustomed to an economic and social system that is very distinct from Canadian society, and this new system creates problems for some Hispanics (Arellano 2009).

In an attempt to address the issue of familial dissolution and to assist in the process of hybridized identity negotiation in Canada, *Nuevo Amanecer* was established to act as a space where Hispanics can gather to discuss issues of identity (Arellano 2009). The centre focuses on the retention of Hispanic traditions and practices, and provides individuals support and counselling to new-comers. The article cites that one of the key issues Hispanics, in particular youth, encounter when arriving in Canada is the negotiation of a new identity (Arellano 2009).

c) **Identity in a Multicultural Society - “I found myself lost in Multiculturality”**

The complexity of multiculturalism emerged as a key thematic finding in many of the articles used in this study. In a world that has become increasingly connected by
globalization, multiculturalism policies, such as those in Canada, have made it more acceptable to possess a diversity of identities and ethnic backgrounds. Hybridity appears to be an inevitable aspect of Canadian culture, as Herrera (2010) writes,

In Toronto, (particularly in the area of) Jane and Finch, almost everyone comes from another country, (and) almost everyone is hybrid in one way or another.

Sergio Granillo (2007), a journalist, raises the concern over differences between American biculturalism, referring to the American and Hispanic divide, and Canadian multiculturalism. Granillo (2007) writes about his own personal experience as a Mexican immigrant in Canada,

I had cultural shock (in Canada)...I’m Mexican and have visited the United States often so I understand the impact that exposure to the American-Latino experience has had on my life; however, as a newcomer to Canada, I find myself lost, not in translation, but lost in multiculturality.

Granillo’s (2007) experience in both the US and in Canada is particularly interesting as he is quite conscious of the difference in the Hispanic experience in each country. He notes that the very thing that draws many Hispanics to Canada in the first place, multiculturalism, has also unveiled a number of obstacles to the Hispanic diaspora. Some of the journalists, such as Granillo (2006), found that in comparison to the US context, that the Hispanic diaspora in Canada is still relatively small; however, they constitute “a recognized and accepted group in the multicultural discourse of the nation.” On the other hand others feel that it is multicultural policy and a greater tolerance that has expanded notions of what it means to ‘be Hispanic.’ One writer in particular touches on the
experience of being Hispanic and a member of the LGBTQ\textsuperscript{31} community in Toronto. This individual, who wishes to remain anonymous, uses the code name ‘Leo’ when speaking of his personal experiences and explains how,

Being ‘Hispanic’ in Canada is like (being) an extended version of yourself, the enjoyment of more freedoms, and liberties especially for women and the LGBTQ community (Editors 2007a).

This contesting dialogue is significant, within the realm of ‘Third Space’ as it is felt that multiculturalism does not always reflect the lived experiences of immigrants, as they live it daily, and the voices that emerge in the articles express this position. While multiculturalism is what draws many Hispanics to Canada in the first place, there emerged a number of perspectives that found multiculturalism to be a sort of illusion that masks the reality of the Canadian experience for Hispanics. It is within \textit{El Correo Canadiense} that journalists express their frustration over the obstacles they face, despite the image of Canada as a ‘multicultural’ nation. The findings reveal that in spite of the promotion of difference and diversity within Canada, that the lived experiences of Hispanics in this nation is quite different with individuals reporting homogenization of this very diverse diaspora.

\textit{d) Race and Identity - “Multiple Oppressions of ‘Otherness’”}

The articles divulged that while in Canada, Hispanics are faced with at least three simultaneous adjustments: in racial status, in culture, and in language\textsuperscript{32}. The most striking

\textsuperscript{31} The term LGBTQ refers to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer community.

\textsuperscript{32}
observation that emerged was the dominance of racialization, and race. Several of the articles made reference to the difference in skin color as the most salient marker of Hispanic identity in Canada. Maldonado (2009) explains that,

What is certain is that bearing the mark of a ‘Latin American’ immigrant, that we wear openly, is not easy.

Hispanics are aware of how Canadians categorize, and label, immigrants based on race.

In fact, the discussion of the racialization of Hispanics was so prominent in articles that the findings revealed the workplace as the most common area where Hispanics felt identified. Granillo (2008c) explains how he found it concerning that he was asked his ‘race’ in the application process while job hunting and even in job interview. Granillo (2008c) writes that he is often asked, “are you part of a visible minority group?” and explains that,

(Obviously), if you are Hispanic, you are not White (but) if you are fair skinned with light eyes, you could pass as part of the majority (Granillo 2008c) (…) In the hiring process you are asked if you are part of one of the following (visible minority) categories; in the case of Latinos, you have to be specific if you are a ‘dark skinned Latino.’

In the same article Granillo (2008c) explains how,

Without a doubt, there are institutional barriers in the (Canadian) workplace (if you are a visible minority). This is apparent in the number of visible minorities that occupy positions in the lowest levels in many firms.

32 While not central to this discussion, one of the articles touched on the multiple oppressions of being racialized, a woman, an immigrant, and (dis)abled. The article was written by a woman who was not Hispanic-Canadian, rather from Spain, which is why it was excluded from the analysis; however, it none-the-less raises the importance of recognizing the way in which (dis)abled Hispanic-Canadians negotiate identity, and suggests a direction for future research (Editors 2007b).
Hispanics are well aware of the way in which they were perceived by potential employers, and noted how despite multiculturalism that there was prominent institutional racism, something they had not encountered before. It is evident that Hispanics are conscious of being racialized as ‘Others,’ and consciously choose to resist this process of cultural homogenization through race. The awareness of race, and cultural difference, within this ‘Third Space’ shows how El Correo Canadiense creates a platform from which to resist the racialization of Hispanics. Not surprisingly, many of the individuals who spoke of the racialization of identity, also expressed concern over the use of the concepts of ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ in relation to ethnic minorities. Demonstrating one example of how ethnic media emerges as a ‘Third Space’ in this instance is shown in an interview, conducted by Vazquez (2009) with Outreach and Office Coordinator for the Mennonite New life Centre Jessica Farías. Farías explains that,

> It is preoccupying that we still use the concept of ‘race’ that is based in stereotypes and cultural misconceptions that assume the homogeneous nature of ethnic groups. Latinos, for example, are very different from one person to another (Vazquez 2009).

In a second interview with Francisco Rico, Rico notes that,

> There is without a doubt racism in Canada and the principle problem is that it is obvious (...) it’s certain that there is a latent racism that it has always been here (Vazquez 2009).

Granillo (2008c) supports this claim with his own experiences, citing that,

> It has been revealed that (in Canada) it’s not where you come from that matters, (what matters is) how you look.

In another article entitled “Hispanics in Canada Share their Experiences” (Editors 2009), Dalbert Sánchez, from the Dominican Republic, is quoted as saying that,
Canada is a good country, where the ‘dream’ triumphs, but sometimes we are victims of discrimination, we can’t fight it.

It is in these instances that a prominent dialogue on the resistance of ‘race’ as a monolithic, and fixed, category that defines Hispanics emerges. What is innovative about *El Correo Canadiense* as a ‘Third Space’ is the way in which Hispanics are engaging with the diaspora to communicate how the very language of ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ are homogenizing the individuals, groups, and communities in question. The accounts reveal that Hispanics do not perceive themselves as hapless victims of racial prejudice and discrimination, but rather that they are aware that race is a notion which should be challenged to avoid homogenization and discrimination.

**e) Flexible and Hybrid Identities – “I Carry with me a Relatively New and Fragmented Identity”**

A common finding that emerged in the articles was that Hispanic identities are new, flexible, and hybrid in the Canadian context. The findings revealed that Hispanic identities are made up of multiple components, and are often self-defined. While some journalists, and individuals interviewed, explicitly articulated their consciousness of hybrid identity, others were more subtle in articulating their newly assumed identities. For some, the expression of their hybrid identities was dependent on context, while for others their expressions of hybridity were more consistent. Ultimately, given the recent nature of Hispanic immigration to Canada, this ‘Hispanic-Canadian’ identity is one that many first-generation Hispanics are unfamiliar with, and are in the process of negotiating
both as individuals, and as a diaspora. It is the very act of transitional migration that puts
many first generation Hispanics, in an in-between space, of being neither ‘here’ nor
‘there,’ and instead assuming a position ‘in-between’ of hybridity. Overall, the articles
did not appear to reflect any conflict over the co-existence of multiple identities, and in
many instances it was embraced. In an opinion article, Carolina Martelo (2010) explicitly
articulates her consciousness of possessing a hybridized identity,

The biggest obstacle for the Latina woman (…) is to establish a positive
image (of Hispanics) in a multicultural country. I carry with me a
relatively new and fragmented ethnic identity.

What is particularly interesting about Martelo’s (2010) quote is the use of the term
‘fragmented’ giving the indication that she feels as though it is not a true extension of
who she is as an individual, but rather in this particular context, an identity that she has
assumed in her new context. The overall sentiment of the article looks at the positive
perceptions of a fragmented ethnicity, and the ways in which women in the Hispanic
diaspora can be leaders in sharing this fragmented notion of ‘self.’ For others, such as
Sergio Granillo (2006) there remains an important question,

What role do we (as Hispanics) play in a social mosaic composed of
diverse social groups, that is immersed in another society which receives
us but at the same time, is the original owner of ‘Canadian’ identity?

This question is pertinent as it reveals the confusion over what exactly is Canadian
identity?, who owns it?, and how do Hispanics fit into this notion of what it means to be
Canadian? This discussion, within ethnic media, shows the way in which knowledge
about hybridity is being produced. As a ‘Third Space’ ethnic media is itself ‘in-between’
in nature and has opened up a space in which knowledge about Hispanic hybridity is being constructed. The very questioning of what it means to be Hispanic-Canadian, and the drawing of distinctions between ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ supports the notion that ethnic media is acting as a ‘Third Space.’ The use of the word ‘ownership’ is particularly interesting as it gives the notion that identity is something that only certain groups ‘possess’ or ‘have,’ and that one cannot truly be part of this other culture because it is made up of so many different sub-cultures. In this article, the author feels as though there is a dichotomy of identities in Canada, immigrant identities and ‘Canadian’ identity; however, he never goes on to explain exactly what this ‘Canadian identity’ is composed of. In the article, “Struggles in the Big City: We are all Leo,” it is written that,

> The strength of Canada is in its people, in its spirit, and in its progressive nature, where differences are welcome because they are the base of ‘our’ identity (Editors 2007a).

Again, the use of the phrase ‘our identity’ is quite significant here because in another article Martelo (2010) uses the same language and implies that identity is something they (Hispanics) possess, have ownership of, because of their differences; however, it is unclear if the ‘our’ refers to ‘Hispanic’ or ‘Canadian’ identity.

The findings reveal that this notion of the ‘ownership’ of identity emerges often within *El Correo Canadiense*, and is split into two main streams of thought. On the one hand the journalists, and individuals interviewed, feel that it is the Hispanic diaspora that should take ownership of their hybridized identities and share how those identities have been constructed. Martelo (2010) and Padilla (2010) both expressed a hybrid identity
wherein both ‘ethnic’ and ‘Canadian’ identities were integral and indivisible. Martelo (2010) notes that the future of the Latina community in Canada will be defined by their ability to adopt their new, fragmented identities in the Canadian context and to move forward in solidarity, accepting their Hispanic-Canadian identity. Martelo (2010) urges Latina women to leave behind the past and to embrace the new freedoms, and extended roles, gained in Canada. According to Padilla (2010), the role of Latina women is,

To show everyone who we are, and to correct the negative stereotypes that categorize us, and we can only do this in the presence of different ethnic groups and in the face of conservative Canadians. Assuming a position of leadership is taking ‘our name,’ and inspiring and attracting others to unite in the cause.

Hispanic-Canadian woman, in these two examples, see themselves as agents of culture, rather than as passive recipients or heirs. They have in this instance used *El Correo Canadiense* to encourage Latina woman to use their agency to promote what it means to be Hispanic. It is these accounts that suggest a sense of ownership of hybridity.


d) Identifying Cultural Practices and Values - “Hispanics of Canada, Unite!”

In the exploration of *El Correo Canadiense* as a ‘Third Space’ there emerged a very conscious action of (re)construction of Hispanic, and Hispanic-Canadian identity within the articles. Particularly interesting was how most of the articles provided concrete ways in which to resist misconceptions of Hispanic culture, and wanting to include Canadians in the process of disseminating preconceived notions of what it means to be Hispanic in Canada. The findings presented further support the notion that *El Correo*
Canadiense is being used not only to explore Hispanic hybrid identity in Canada, but that it is also an active space of dissemination, and (re)articulation of Hispanic identities. Many of the articles establish that the Hispanic community is extremely heterogeneous in nature, but at the same time there are many things that unify the diaspora. Granillo (2006) explains that,

As Hispanics we share a culture, a race, a language, and we should feel proud of that.

Furthermore, in another article about the deportation of the member of the Hispanic diaspora and LGBTQ community, ‘Leo’ explains how,

All Hispanics that are in this country, got here one way or another, experiencing the same problems, and it is for this reason that we can all be identified through struggle (…) We are all ‘Leo’ (Editors 2007a).

In an article discussing the historical evolution of the Italian-Latino presence on St. Clair (a street in Toronto), Perez (2007) suggests that,

One does not need to know all the individual countries (that make up) Hispanic culture, to get a (true) taste for the culture. It’s a community of dance, rhythm, and happiness. It’s a community that always has something to celebrate throughout the year.

Another unifying aspect of the diaspora is the celebration of ethnic holidays, religious practices, performance of customs and rituals, eating ethnic foods, and speaking Spanish. These were all mentioned as part of ‘being Hispanic.’ There also emerged a sentiment of pride in Hispanic culture, as was echoed in the writing (see above). This sense of pride, and ownership of cultural practices, was a theme that emerged in many of the articles especially, in opposition to incorrect perceptions which have been placed on the diaspora as a whole, and the individual national sub-groups that make up the Hispanic diaspora.
There is significant evidence to support the idea that Hispanics are negotiating a number of identities within ethnic media. As a ‘Third Space’ they use ethnic media to resist cultural homogenization, while at the same time using the space to articulate the different aspects of their individual home land cultures. For example, Granillo (2008) writes that,

“It’s interesting to see what is offered under the guise of ‘Mexican’ cuisine (here in Canada). (It appears as though) within Canadian culture that the notion of ‘Mexican’ is a distant, unknown, exotic concept and (one that) is in many cases associated with the beach. This is only one small example of the lack of knowledge that exists about Mexico and the rest of Latin America in Canadian culture.

Similarly, in an article accordingly entitled “Mexican cooking is much more than ‘Tex-Mex’,” the journalist feels that Mexican, and subsequently Latin American cooking, has been essentialized to ‘Tex-Mex,’ which is far from the reality of Mexican cooking (EFE 2009). In this particular instance, we see that the journalist uses a home country account to combat the larger diasporic homogenization, and to fight the stereotypes of individual cultures. Similarly, Granillo (2007) tries to explain Canadian’s unfamiliarity with Hispanic culture by justifying that,

“In the (United) States, Latinos have a very strong presence, but Spanish people in Canada are less noticeable to Canadians. Canadians are used to South Asian influences.

The general sentiment emerging within this ‘Third Space’ is to defend individuals’ perceptions of Hispanic or sub-group cultures from the stereotypes and misconceptions that are imposed by the dominant Canadian culture. Also, within this space Hispanics want to teach Canadians about their respective cultures, in the same ways that Hispanics have been learning about Canadian culture during their process of integration. Using El
Correo Canadiense to clarify notions of Hispanic, and Hispanic-Canadian, identity has allowed for these individuals to see themselves as agents of change, instead of being dominated by the dominant culture. This agency is leading to a positive sense of ownership, and comfort,

This is a big opportunity to teach about who we are (as Mexicans), what we do in Mexico, and why we do it that way (EFE 2009).

Moreover, according to Padilla (2010),

We need to show everyone who we are (...) in the presence of different ethnic groups, and conservative Canadians.

However, the use of El Correo Canadiense as a ‘Third Space’ to disseminate preconceived notions of Hispanic identity does not end there. The newspaper runs weekly sections promoting cultural events put on in the Hispanic diaspora, and extends the invitation to members of Canadian society to participate. While these articles were not included in the findings they offer a diversity of events ranging from cultural festivals, to motivational speakers who discuss the Hispanic experience in Canada, to smaller events that teach about the various cultures within the Hispanic diaspora.

Hispanic youth are also using El Correo Canadiense to negotiate, and (re)articulate, diasporic youth identities. Through a creative arts exhibit that uses film, photography, and text Hispanic youth are creating a discourse that acts counter-hegemonically to the current discourse. Victoria Mata, the Coordinator of Youth Programming for the Hispanic Development Council, explains that,

Huellas [Footprints] was created to dismantle stigmas and social stereotypes that mark youth in our community (Arellano 2008).
Included in the exhibit are numerous pieces from Hispanic youth from across the Toronto area. Each artistic endeavour is unique in the way that it depicts the experience of Hispanic youth in Canada. Luis Espinel, an Ecuadorian youth, explains that,

Life here (in Canada) is hard (...) we can (through the exhibit) express how Latinos live in Canada, and how one feels in a new country, and with a new life (Arellano 2008).

Hispanic youth have begun to use *El Correo Canadiense* as a space to get out the message about the stereotypes they encounter, and what they are doing to rectify these. They are through their voices and *Huellas* creating a discourse that acts counter-hegemonically to the discourse on Hispanic identity created by their Canadian peers. This production of counter-hegemonic discourse is one of the central describing features of ‘Third Space.’ Furthermore, Padilla (2010) remarks that,

We need to show the rest (of Canada) who we are and we need to correct the negative stereotypes that define us, and we can only do this is in the presence of other ethnic groups. (We need) to attract, and inspire other Hispanics to unite in our cause.

What is also pertinent about the youth’s use of ethnic media is that it shows the relevance of *El Correo Canadiense* to a variety of demographics within the Hispanic diaspora, and how Hispanic youth are engaging with the ethnic media to disseminate, negotiate, (re)construct, and (re)articulate what it means to be Hispanic-Canadian. *El Correo Canadiense*, as a ‘Third Space’ has allowed Hispanics to reshape their identity in accordance with their own beliefs, knowledge of cultural practices, and experience, thus (re)claiming their identity as their own.
DISCUSSION

The findings of this study paint a very intricate and complex portrait of the current conditions in Canada that shape how hybridized Hispanic identity is shaped; however, it is crucial to ground these findings in the socio-cultural landscape that shapes the Hispanic diaspora in Canada today. To write about Hispanic hybridity as though it exists in a cultural, and historical, vacuum would be to negate the meaning behind the articles presenting in this ‘Third Space,’ and therefore the discussion is grounded in the cultural and historical context of the diaspora. In Canada the questions surrounding the relationship between ethnic identity and mass media are particularly fraught because of multiculturalism policy (Dunn and Mahtani 2001). In the late 1980s, the Canadian media had a reputation for displaying hostile attitude towards multiculturalism and Multiculturalism policy. It was believed that the policy inferred with nation-building (Jiwani 1995); however, this is clearly not the case. On the other hand, ethnic media emerged, and was said to “function equitably in a society that has understanding of the politics of difference, and which has transcended naïve, universalist assumptions about the nature of equity in multi-ethnic societies” (Husband 2002:66). Studies such as these support the findings in demonstrating how ethnic media functions as a ‘Third Space’ for Hispanics, in that the foundation of the media publications in Canada are created to function in a multi-ethnic society. *El Correo Canadiense* acts in a variety of capacities from providing information about the home and host country, to publishing community
events, and even an opinions section for voices from the diaspora to discuss pertinent issues. Ultimately, the exploration of ethnic identity in practice must include an examination of the larger hegemonic structure that acts as a ‘Third Space’ in this particular study.

A significant indicator of the increasing Hispanic population in Toronto has been the notable increase in the number of Spanish-language ethnic media in the Greater Toronto Area (Goldring 2006). Hispanics have developed a number of Spanish-language ethnic media organization including magazines, radio stations, website, a television station, and both print and online newspapers. Of these media, two publications are dailies, *El Correo Canadiense*, and *El Popular*. The former forms the basis of the findings and discussion. *El Correo Canadiense* was strategically chosen for this study because it focuses intensely on the issues affecting the Hispanic diaspora in Canada. As a ‘Third Space’ it was important to find a media source that was created specifically by, and for, the Hispanic diaspora with a focus in Canada. Furthermore, the fact that the publication is run by Hispanics, and is composed of an all-Spanish editorial team which is based in Toronto (Multicom Media Services 2010a; Multicom Media Services 2010b) demonstrated its potential as a site where Hispanics would be comfortable disseminating, negotiating, (re)constructing, and (re)articulating their hybridized identities.
a) Diaspora Descriptors - “The Term ‘Hispanic’ has not been Generalized”

Emerging from the findings of this study was that there is a multitude of descriptors used by the journalists, and the individuals interviewed, to describe the diaspora. These descriptors range from ‘Latino/a’ to ‘Hispanic’ to ‘Latin American’ to ‘Spanish.’ Interestingly they are used interchangeably within, and between, the articles cited in this study. To maintain the authenticity of the dialogue, and subsequently the focus of this study to show how ethnic media acts as a ‘Third Space,’ the descriptors used by the journalists, and interviewees, were maintained in their original context. The interchangeable use of diaspora descriptors allowed for a number of interesting issues to emerge from the findings. The findings reveal that there are significant questions surrounding the lack of a unifying group descriptor for the Hispanic diaspora, and comparisons to the US context are used to support the need for one. Within ‘Third Space’ the questioning of solidarity, and community building, is cited as common practice (Bhabha 1994). It is felt that political power comes from posing these questions, and that the emergence of a strong ethnic community identity stems from the way in which these questions are posed in ‘Third Space’ (ibid). While it should not be overlooked that many of the individuals may identify more strongly with their national origins, the findings have revealed that the necessity for a group descriptor spans far beyond community building. Ultimately, any group descriptor will have significant political implications, and all will be complex and contested; however, the importance of a group identifier stems far beyond just describing the diaspora (Veronis 2006; Darden and Kamel 2000). It has
significant implications for funding of diasporic organizations, integration programs, and diaspora assistance programs (CHC 2009).

Also emerging from the findings was the way in which the labels, originally created by individuals in the host country, were used throughout the articles in the ethnic media. While this was an expected outcome, it was none-the-less surprising that there was no overt resistance to any of these descriptors. Studies have found that ethnic media, in their effort to participate in a discursive dialogue with mainstream society, and to help members of ethnic diaspora integrate, have picked up the very labels imposed upon them by the dominant ideology. Subsequently, these labels have been passed on to the readership of ethnic media without consciously questioning their cultural meanings (Constantakis-Valdés 1992; Riggins 1992; Fine 1994; Shi 2009). What is significant about this claim is that ethnic media as a ‘Third Space’ has not yet opened up an active dialogue on the contestation of dominant host society labels, but rather has chosen to use the very same labels that have been imposed upon them.

b) Self-Reflection on Identity - “It is Human Nature to Identify with Your Country of Birth”

The findings reveal that Hispanics have strong ties to their home countries as it forms a significant part of their identity; however, there also emerges a more silent discussion on the different perceptions of identity between first, and subsequent, immigrant generations. One of the studies, cited in the article by Granillo (2005), explains how it takes between 1-3 years for immigrants to integrate into the host society.
It has been found that during this time that immigrants turn to ethnic food markets, cultural groups, and ethnic media to assist in the integration process. What is interesting about this, and the rest of the articles, is that there is significant discussion by the journalists and interviewees within ethnic media as a ‘Third Space,’ by first generation immigrants, about the importance of Hispanic cultural values and traditions for subsequent generations. There is also a strong sense of self-reflection on what it means to “be Hispanic.” Ng (1999) emphasizes the importance of self-definition, in order for us to gain an accurate picture of how we view race, and ethnicity through the lens of the contemporary immigrant. The findings suggest that Hispanics are using this space, as a method to assist in integration, while at the same time consciously recreating the cultural practices, and values, that make up Hispanic identity. It has been found that ethnic media shadows migrants’ experiences of being neither ‘here-nor-there,’ making it the optimal location for ‘Third Space’ to emerge (Bhabha 1994).

The emphasis placed on maintaining ties to the homeland, while constructing a sense of ‘self identity’ is important for a number of reasons. A study by Tastsoglou (2001) found that individuals with strong senses of ethnic identity, and those who retained ethnic identity cultural values, were said to have overall higher levels of family ties, to obtain higher-levels of academic achievement, and to obtain increased social mobility. What the findings reveal is, that first generation Hispanics have strong ties back to the home country, and home country values and traditions. There also appears to be a movement to educate subsequent generations of Hispanic-Canadian youth on the
importance of retaining cultural values and traditions. This discussion of hybridity, and seeing the children of immigrants, as “children of two worlds” (Herrera 2010), shows the ways in which El Correo Canadiense has opened up the dialogue on the inevitability of hybridity. What is revealed in this ‘Third Space’ is how the possibility of a “cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy emerging” (Bhabha 1994:4). At the same time a more subtle, yet incredibly significant finding also emerges, and that is the contradiction between Hispanic and Canadian values, especially in the retention of strong family ties and values. A study by Tastsoglou (2001) suggests that the dissolution of the family leads to a number of problems for immigrants, particularly Hispanics (Arellano 2009). One article in particular touches on this issue, and stresses the distinct differences between Latin America and Canada in terms of family (Arellano 2009).

c) Identity in a Multicultural Society - “I found myself lost in Multiculturality”

“Being Hispanic” in Canada was cited as “being an extended version of yourself” (Editors 2007a), with the enjoyment of more freedoms and liberties. Overall, the findings suggested that Hispanics feel that multiculturalism has the potential to create a diversity of opportunities to grow as a nation, but also represents a number of obstacles in social diversity, and identity formation. Within ‘Third Space’ Hispanics have discussed how the representation of difference has been essentialized by the notion of multiculturalism. Bhabha (1994:3) explains that “multiculturalism doesn’t reflect the complexity of the
situation as I face it daily (...) it requires a person to step outside of him/herself to actually see what he/she is doing.” Based on the findings, this is exactly what members of the Hispanic diaspora are doing. The findings suggest that in comparison to the US context, that the Hispanic diaspora in Canada is still relatively small; however, they constitute a recognized and accepted group in the multicultural discourse of the nation. Hispanics cited Canada’s cultural diversity as a desired strength, and a factor that drew them to the nation in their decision to immigrate; however, upon arrival they find themselves lost in a sea of cultural diversity. Given the incredibly heterogeneity of the diaspora (CHC 2009; Statistics Canada 2009) they constitute ‘multiculturalism’ in and of themselves. Within the Canadian context, there appears to be a growing emergence, from the journalists and interviewees, that the diaspora has become “lost in multiculturality” (Granillo 2007). One might argue that this is an inherent outcome of the heterogeneity of the diaspora itself; however, the journalists and interviewees expressed being ‘lost’ in a sea of other nationalities and cultural voices. Furthermore, one of the author’s expresses his frustration with Hispanics being overlooked in the literature on ethnic groups in Canada (Granillo 2008b). He writes that the literature is dominated by reports on South-Asians (Granillo 2008b). In this context, El Correo Canadiense has emerged as a space where the struggle for power between, and within, ethnic groups has emerged. The findings show how there is dialogue about who is being represented, who is representing who, and how communities are being defined. This sort of dialogue has been cited by Bhabha (1994) as one of the central components of an active ‘Third Space.’ The very act of
challenging the dominant discourse of multiculturalism has allowed for the emergence of a counter-narrative, which exposes the homogenizing nature of the concept of multiculturalism. The findings reveal how this concept, in its attempt to celebrate difference, actually glosses over difference in practice; however, the journalists and those interviewed remain hopeful that through the mobilization of the diaspora that they will gain more recognition in the discussion on multiculturalism in Canada, as they are currently overlooked.

d) Race and Identity - “Multiple Oppressions of ‘Otherness’”

The articles divulge that while in Canada, Hispanics are faced with at least three simultaneous adjustments: in racial status, in culture, and in language; however, the topic of racialization, and racism dominated the discourse. This topic turned out to be far more prominent, and complex than I originally imagined it would be. Hispanics are aware of the prejudice, ethnic stereotyping, and racism that restrict their growth as Hispanic-Canadians, and there is active discussion occurring within this ‘Third Space’ to rectify the injustices. A 2007 Statistics Canada report found that 26 percent of Canadians, of ‘Latin American’\textsuperscript{33} origin, had experienced “discrimination or unfair treatment based on their ethnicity, race, religion, language or accent” within the past five years and/or since arriving in Canada (Statistics Canada 2007). Several of the articles made reference to the

\textsuperscript{33} I employ the use of the term ‘Latin American’ here as the Statistics Canada publication, from which the data is drawn, bases its figures on the number of individuals who reported ‘Latin American’ origins in the 1996 and 2001 Census (Statistics Canada 2007).
difference in skin color as the most salient marker of Hispanic identity in Canada, and the
greatest obstacles to employment equity. It is this awareness of ‘race’ as a primary
organizational category, within El Correo Canadiense, that suggests the ethnic media is
acting as a space where there is an increased awareness of specific subject positions that
requires challenging by the diaspora (Bhabha 1994). It is the act of using this ‘in-
between’ space, as a terrain for elaborating the different ways in which identity can be
shaped, that suggest the ethnic media is acting as a ‘Third Space’ for Hispanics. Many
discussed Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, and the idea of tolerance, as factors which
drew them to Canada in the first place; however, there was overt confusion over the way
in which even lighter skinned Hispanics were forced to identify as a member of visible
minority group in the workplace. Particularly interesting was the one response that
discussed how a Hispanic with lighter skin, and lighter eyes, might be able to pass as part
of the majority (read: Canadian). The experience of being racialized, especially
institutionally, was not surprising as Bannerji (2000:6) explains that there is,

An element of racialization ethnicization (in Canadian government multcultural policies), which whitens North Americans of European
origins, and blackens, or darkens, their ‘Others’ by that same stroke. This
is integral to Canadian class and cultural formation, and distribution of
political entitlement. The old and established colonial/racist discourses of
tradition and modernity, civilization and savagery, are the conceptual
devices of the construction, and ascription of these racialized ethnicities.

In addition, some note their concern over the use of the concept of ‘race’ that is based in
stereotypes and cultural misconceptions, which ultimately assumes the homogenous
nature of ethnic groups, like Hispanics, in Canada. In the face of this obstacle there has
emerged a consciousness raising exercise, within the ethnic media, about the issues that Hispanics face as a diaspora. There is contestation surrounding the imposition of racialized language that homogenizes the individuals it attempts to describe. With over 20 different nationalities, and 24 different ethnic groups (CHC 2009) composing the Hispanic diaspora, it was not surprising to see that members of the community contested racial homogenization. Ultimately, the findings reveal that Hispanics do not perceive themselves as hapless victims of racial prejudice and discrimination, but rather that they are aware that race is a notion which should be challenged to avoid further essentialization and discrimination. It is through ethnic media that the journalists and interviewees are discussing the issues faced by many within the diaspora, and are articulating cultural difference through *El Correo Canadiense*. It is this articulation of cultural difference, Bhabha (1994) explains that constitutes a ‘Third Space.’

**e) Flexible and Hybrid Identities - “I Carry with me a Relatively New and Fragmented Identity”**

One of the prominent findings that emerged from the articles was that Hispanics have overlapping identities, which are fluid depending on context. They see themselves primarily as Hispanics and in varying degrees as Canadians. The articles suggest that being ‘Hispanic-Canadian’ is an extension of being Hispanic, rather than assuming a new identity entirely. Hispanics, for the most part, see themselves identifying more strongly with their country of origin than with a group identity. This outcome was somewhat expected, as findings from the Canadian Ethnic Diversity Survey suggest that 57 percent
of ‘Latin Americans’ reported a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group (Statistics Canada 2007). While this strong identification with ethnic and cultural groups was not always said explicitly, it could be inferred by the way the journalists and those interviewed talked about stereotyping of Hispanic culture, and the subsequent examples stemmed from their country of origin. This extension of identity aligns with the argument made by Hall (1996) which articulates that identity is fluid, and always in flux, that depending on context identities have the ability to shift, and adapt to new circumstances.

Furthermore, the articles divulge that identities are made up of multiple components, and were cited as relatively new, and fragmented in nature. Some of the findings explicitly articulated a conscious awareness of hybrid identity, while others were more subtle in their understanding of hybridized identity. Overall, the findings suggest a positive attitude towards hybridized Hispanic-Canadian identity with a focus on taking ownership of the concept. Of particular interest, were the ways in which the articles written by Hispanic women addressed the need for women to emerge as leaders in the community, as the transmitters of their new, and fragmented, Hispanic-Canadian identities. An interesting observation that emerged from the findings is that nowhere in the articles, written by men, does this (the call for leadership) occur. One could argue that it is through the expansion of ‘traditional gender roles’ from the home country, and the

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34 I employ the use of the term ‘Latin American’ here as the Statistics Canada publication, from which the data is drawn, bases its figures on the number of individuals who reported ‘Latin American’ origins in the 1996 and 2001 Census (Statistics Canada 2007).
ability to express themselves through ‘Third Space’ that they, Hispanic women, are assuming a new role as the carriers of ‘Hispanic-Canadian’ culture.

Furthermore, the way in which the journalists and those interviewed raise questions about ‘ownership’ of Canadian identity, and the role that Hispanics play in the Canadian landscape suggests, in yet another way, that *El Correo Canadiense* acts as a ‘Third Space.’ Bhabha (1994) explains that by questioning the dominant discourse, and the ownership of concepts that describe both the colonizer and the colonized, that individuals are engaging in ‘Third Space.’ Journalists discussed everything from where Hispanics fit in the multicultural context of Canada, to how Hispanics are not the true ‘owners’ of Canadian identity, to the way in which Canadian identity is formulated on the basis of difference. These conflicting questions and perspectives suggest that Hispanics, in this context, see themselves as the ‘Other’, and that they identify more closely with an ‘in-between’ hybridized Hispanic-Canadian identity. Campbell (1992) explains that the distinctions between ‘us’ and ‘them,’ ‘inside’ and ‘outside,’ or ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ have been crucial in the political construction of identities, and this appears to be the case for the Hispanic diaspora. To avoid falling into a dichotomous trap for the sake of identification, I stress the way in which Hispanics appear to be negotiating the different manifestations of ‘identity’ in the transnational and Canadian context. There does not appear to be any one specific indicator that Hispanics identify solely with their home country identities, as is demonstrated by the discussion emerging by Hispanic women (Martelo 2010; Padilla 2010); however, the findings suggest that they are in the process
of exploring what all of these different senses of ‘self’ mean for each individual. What did emerge from the discussion was a strong sense of ownership of Hispanic identity, using terms such as ‘our identity’ when describing the diaspora. This also forms a significant part of the discussion in the following section.

\section*{Identifying Cultural Practices and Values - “Hispanics of Canada, Unite!”}

While the drive to overcome negative stereotyping by engaging in a process of dissemination, and (re)articulation of identity was not the only, or even the main original focus of the study, in the research itself it became clear that the issue was significant in the construction and emergence of Spanish-language ethnic media as a ‘Third Space.’ Nayer (2004) explains that, in most situations, it is the majority group that defines ethnic identity, instead of the ethnic group itself. As the findings suggest, this has resulted in the homogenization, and negative stereotyping, of the diaspora. It has been argued that ethnic identities still tend to be treated as ‘cultures’ that are unified and pre-existing social entities by the host country. Furthermore, as the study found, there is little effort to understand how the labels that describe the diaspora, and its subgroups, are “cross-cut by multiple power relations, interests, and political agendas” (Nagel 2001). Therefore, it is the very nature of the articles within \textit{El Correo Canadiense} that have created the conditions for a ‘Third Space’ to emerge. The desire of the diaspora to generate positive images of Hispanics, and Hispanic culture in particular, is linked to an effort to retain ethnic identity, while at the same time exploring the development of a new identity in
Canadian society. Ethnic media, like *El Correo Canadiense*, plays an important role within the diaspora as it serves not only to preserve ethnic culture (Bai 2005; Lin and Song 2006; Subervi-Vélez 1986), but also serves to disseminate information about the host country. As the findings suggest *El Correo Canadiense* also serves as a site to disseminate, negotiate, (re)construct, and (re)articulate the imposition of stereotypes, and preconceived notions of Hispanic culture; ultimately, emerging as a ‘Third Space’ (Bhabha 1994; Khan 2000). The accounts by various members of the diaspora suggest the emergence of a discourse that acts counter-hegemonically to the dominant Canadian discourse. The accounts reveal the complex nature of Hispanic identity, and look for a way to move beyond the current descriptors. Through the establishment of various articles, community events, and exhibits, the Hispanic diaspora is articulating their perceptions of what it means to be Hispanic-Canadian. Evident is the way in which this dialogue by the journalists and those interviewed contests stereotypes, and preconceived notions, about Hispanics; however what is interesting about the findings is that they demonstrate the desire to include Canadians in the process of dissemination, in order to not only (re)claim their identities, but also to inform the host society of the ways in which Hispanic identity is performed (Butler 1990). This is interesting because Bhabha (1994) articulates that ‘Third Space’ is generally a location where the dominant society is not included in the process of identity construction. Hispanics have, through the articles, articulated that the inclusion of Canadians in the dialogue on Hispanic-Canadian identity
is significant, desired, and one might even argue crucial, because it aims to rectify the misunderstandings of Hispanic identity.
Chapter 5

Conclusion

With the rapidly changing face of global media and the increasing phenomenon of migration it is not surprising that the relationship between media and ethnic minorities has attracted a fair bit of attention in recent years. This study is particularly timely given the recent emergence of Hispanic immigration and immigrant identity to mass-Anglo media headlines in the United States. Arizona’s decision to pass a bill which would require immigrants, in particular immigrants of color, to carry identification papers (Archibold 2010), raises a number of questions about the ways in which immigrant and ethnic minority identity is understood both by the individuals in question, and the host society. Furthermore, it has provoked significant debate on discrimination, racism, and the media in the fields of immigration, international development, and alternative media studies. It also points to the need for more studies, such as this one, both in the Canadian and US contexts, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the way in which immigrant and ethnic minority identities are understood.

This research has demonstrated the ways in which Spanish-language ethnic media has emerged as a ‘Third Space’ for Hispanics in Canada. The findings and discussion presented in the thesis are an attempt to shed light on the negotiation of identity among members of the Hispanic diaspora in Canada through an investigation of Spanish-language ethnic media. The findings begin to respond to questions about the complexities
surrounding the construction, and understanding, of immigrant ethnic identities, in particular Hispanic hybrid identity.

In the course of working on this issue of hybridized identity, I have thought a lot about the intensive nature that this type of work demands, as the way in which identity is understood is constantly in flux, particularly in the transnational context. Therefore, the theoretical approach took this into account. I employed a post-structuralist and transnational approach to the study, which allowed me to understand immigrant and ethnic minority identity as part of a larger global process and embedded in struggles of power. Furthermore, I grounded the study in Anderson’s (1983) notion of ‘imagined communities’ and the significance of print media in the negotiation of identity across borders, both real and imagined. This broader approach was needed to gain a deeper understanding of the larger global context within which Hispanic immigration situates itself and the role that ethnic media plays in the production and negotiation of identity. It also provided valuable information on the ways in which home and host country factors influence the way in which ethnic minority and immigrant identity is understood and consumed. By using Foucault’s (1980) notion of language as discourse and the idea that text is open to interpretation by both those who produce it, and those who consume it, I was able to understand the negotiation of hybridized identity in the context of struggle and ownership. In this particular study I extended Foucault’s (1980) ideas to ethnic media in order to understand how Spanish-language ethnic media emerges as a ‘Third Space’ where Hispanics can produce counter-narratives of identity to mass-Anglo media.
What makes this study particularly unique is the way in which the notion of ‘Third Space’ is applied to ethnic media, as it shows the work that texts within ethnic media do in the process of negotiating hybridized Hispanic identity. Ethnic media, within the context of this study, works to produce knowledge about Hispanic identity and produces counter-narratives of Hispanic identity. The findings showed the significance of the political economy of ethnic media in Canada, and revealed how the ownership, journalists, and diaspora all influence the text being produced for consumption by the diaspora. As ethnic media is often owned by the elite members of the diaspora, these individuals often have political motivations for the types of issues and articles being published within ethnic press. With the recent emergence of Hispanic immigration back into US headlines (Archibold 2010), and an increasingly dialogue emerging in the Canadian context about an accurate descriptor for the diaspora (CHC 2009) it comes as no surprise that there has been an emergence of dialogue within ethnic media.

What is unique about this particular study and its findings is that ethnic media, in this context, has allowed for the emergence of a counter-narrative of Hispanic identity. It was found that there is no one general notion of what is means to be ‘Hispanic-in-Canada’; however, ethnic media still acts as a ‘Third Space’ because it has allowed for the opportunity for members of the diaspora to challenge dominant definitions of ‘Hispanic.’ What the findings reveal is that there are different layers of Hispanic hybridity in Canada. These layers range from a self-reflection on identity to identifying in a multicultural society to the flexibility and hybridity of identity. Hybrid identity in the
Canadian context appears to be contextually specific and what the findings of this study reveal is that the notion of what it means to be ‘Hispanic-Canadian’ is still quite unclear. Despite this uncertainty an interesting finding emerged from the analysis which suggested that Hispanics in Canada are beginning to overcome some of the geographical and political barriers that have kept them apart for decades back in their home countries. On the other hand the findings also revealed that there is still a long way to go before there is a sense of ‘community’ between the different groups within the diaspora, and perhaps, this might never be the case. Further studies on Hispanic identity have the potential to expand our knowledge in this area.

As a ‘Third Space,’ *El Correo Canadiense* has opened up the possibilities for increased communication between members of the Hispanic diaspora in Canada to discuss hybridized identity. The emergence of ethnic print media, in this particular context, has created the conditions for dialogue on national and diasporic identity (see Anderson 1983) whether real or imagined. The findings reveal that there is a raising of consciousness in the area of hybridized and diasporic identity among the Hispanic diaspora; however, there still remains a lot of research to be done. The emergence of Spanish-language ethnic media in Canada has also created opportunities to come together as an ‘imagined diasporic community’ that is not restricted by geography and is facilitated by technology. The question thus becomes whether the diaspora will consciously use Spanish-language ethnic media, in the future, to raise consciousness on
issues such as Hispanic identity, and furthermore, if they will be able to translate that into political power.

While I have argued that El Correo Canadiense is a space for the negotiation of hybridized identity, another finding emerged from the articles, that was unexpected, yet revealed interesting linkages between multiculturality, hybridity, and race. Within this ‘Third Space’ there emerged a dialogue about the cultural dimensions of discrimination and exclusion within the diaspora as they related to Hispanic identity. It became apparent that Hispanics in Canada are highly aware of the processes of cultural exclusion that affect them and are using El Correo Canadiense as a space to challenge these notions. The study highlighted the ways in which Hispanics are taking the opportunity to represent the diaspora in different ways than mainstream media, and how they are (re)constructing what it means to be ‘Hispanic-in-Canada.’ The findings reveal how the emergence of this dialogue on hybrid identity is no accident, and that it is both the result of ethnic media institutional agendas and a desire by the diaspora to explore and take ownership of their newly acquired identities. Consequently, I found that there appears to be a growing sentiment of the importance of a group descriptor to identify the diaspora for the purpose of political power, and perhaps this is one of the driving factors for ethnic media to incorporate it into their institutional agendas. Bringing identity to the forefront of ethnic media agendas has the potential to have significant outcomes for the diaspora, as political power often results in increased funding for organizations within the diaspora.
To this end, the implications of this study stem beyond just consciousness raising and reveal the significance of ethnic media in Canada’s multicultural landscape.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

This thesis is loosely based on the recognition that “analysis of media (…) can be useful in calibrating social change” (Busby and Leichty 1993). Empirically the study documents the way in which Hispanics disseminate, negotiate, (re)construct, and (re)articulate identity in the ‘Third Space’ of ethnic media. It reveals the way in which ethnic media is a significant source of information about immigrants and ethnic minorities, especially in the study of identity and hybridity. As an often overlooked area of media, the findings of this study suggest that ethnic media requires more attention as a producer of cultural knowledge, especially in generating a dialogue of the politics of inclusion. The study of hybrid identities has major implications for both multiculturalism and media policies, especially within the context of transnationalism and globalization.

While it is assumed that media representations of minorities are more positive in multicultural societies, the findings of the literature review and the study suggest a very different reality for immigrant and ethnic minorities in Canada. As the findings of this study suggest, racism can still emerge in nations like Canada where multiculturalism policy is legislated (Bhabha 1994). Canadian multicultural policy, as a backdrop for Canadian identity, often ensures that forms of institutionalized racism are rendered invisible; however, ethnic media as a ‘Third Space’ has divulged the lived reality for
many Hispanics. The findings point to a need for increased recognition in the mass media landscape of ethnic media.

The study reveals how ethnic media creates spaces of dialogue from which members of different ethnic minorities can benefit, and this suggests a need for more resources to be allocated not only towards the production, but also the promotion of ethnic media. Ethnic media, in today’s digital age, has not only the potential to connect members of diasporas across space and time, but ethnic media are considered to be a crucial part of the integration process for immigrants and ethnic minorities.

The understanding of ethnic identity, and the way it is negotiated, has significant implications not only for members of diasporic groups, but also for policy makers and funding organizations. The retention of, and strong association with, ethnic identities has been cited as a critical factor in successful integration into the host country. Studies like those by Tastsoglou (2001) have found that immigrants and ethnic minorities with a strong sense of ethnic identity have higher educational attainment, increased economic opportunities, and increased mental health. In the case of the Hispanic diaspora, there appear to be strong ties to home country ethnic identity, and a growing sense of diasporic group identity.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Finally, I would like to conclude with some suggestions for future research. While this study primarily addresses hybridized Hispanic identity more research in this area is
needed, especially to further examine the ways in which hybridized national identity within the Hispanic diaspora is negotiated in ethnic media. As the diaspora is composed of 20 different nationalities, it is important to gain an understanding of the ways in which the individual nationalities understand and negotiate hybridized identity. It is through an understanding of national hybridized identities that there is the potential to learn more about the ways in which Hispanic group identity is constructed and negotiated. The construction of knowledge about the different nationalities also offers the potential to understand, in more depth the ways in which linkages form, or do not form, between different groups in the host country. Furthermore, while briefly discussed in this study, individual analyses of group and national identities are required to shed light on the ways in which gender, race, worldview, immigrant generation, youth, sexuality, and (dis)ability shape identity. Investigation into these various subgroups could help us gain more nuanced insights into subtleties in the understanding of immigrants’ identities. Furthermore, the interplay of these various sub-group factors also play a significant role in the production, consumption, and distribution of ethnic media. Knowing more about the ways in which these factors shape hybridized identity, could also lead to valuable knowledge on the ways in which these individuals not only consume ethnic media, but also the ways in which they use ethnic media to negotiate their identities. This is an area of study that is often overlooked by policy makers, especially in light of the evidence to suggest that the fostering of strong identities has positive impacts for immigrant integration (Tastsoglou 2001).
With the rapidly changing face of media globally, and the increasing phenomenon of global migration it is not surprising that the relationship between media, and ethnic minorities has attracted a fair bit of attention in recent years. There is a need to recognize the critical role of ethnic media among ethnic minority and immigrant groups, as ethnic media is one of the first things that these groups seek out upon arrival in the host country; however, there is relatively little understood about the ways in which ethnic minorities and immigrants in Canada use ethnic media for the purpose of integration. There is a lot to be learned about integration, ethnic minority identities, and the political economy of these diasporas through their ethnic media.

Another direction for future research would be an investigation into the ways in which ethnic media is produced, consumed, and used by immigrant and ethnic minorities in the Canadian context. Spanish-language ethnic media, in particular, has emerged in response to the increasing Hispanic population in the nation, and their need for a media source that discussed the issues that were important to them (Goldring et al. 2007); however, ethnic media is often overlooked by policy makers, and the producers of mass-Anglo media. This is a gap in research that remains to be filled in the Canadian context.

Finally, the findings of this study also call for further investigation into the practices of identity formation as mediated by ethnic media across the country. Further comparative research is required across different ethnic groups in Canada to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how they use their ethnic media to negotiate hybridized identity. The use of ethnic media to understand identity retention is an often overlooked
area of investigation especially in light of how much there is to be learned from ethnic media about the ways in which immigrants and ethnic minorities negotiate, disseminate, (re)construct, and (re)articulate identity. If current demographic trends continue, the number of immigrants and ethnic minorities within Canada will continue to increase, as will the demand for ethnic media. Therefore the value of ethnic media as a primary source of information, values, and beliefs from which many immigrants and ethnic minorities construct an image of their world (Philipps 2004) can no longer be ignored.
References


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Shiva, Halli and Leo Driedger. 1999. *Immigrant Canada: Demographic, Economic and Social Inequality*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.


Appendix A

CHC Identification of Mother Tongue, Ethnic Origin, Country of Birth
responses to be included in the ‘Hispanic’ (Spanish-speaking)population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Country of Birth (Respondent/Mother/Father)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dominican, n.o.s.</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aboriginal from Central/South America</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Argentinian</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bolivian</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Panama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colombian</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Costa Rican</td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecuadorian</td>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guatemalan</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Honduran</td>
<td>Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maya</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicaraguan</td>
<td>Paraguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panamanian</td>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paraguayan</td>
<td>Uruguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peruvian</td>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salvadorian</td>
<td>Equatorial Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uruguayan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Venezuelan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Latin, Central, or South American, n.i.e.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Custom Table for the Canadian Hispanic Congress from 2006 Census (CHC 2009)
## Appendix B

*El Correo Canadiense* Articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Journalist</th>
<th>Article name (English Translation)</th>
<th>Article name (Spanish)</th>
<th>Publication Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Herrera</td>
<td>Immigrant Children: How do you speak Spanish and Integrate in an English World?</td>
<td>Niños inmigrantes: ¿cómo hablar español e integrarse a un mundo en inglés?</td>
<td>2010-05-06</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idalia Obregón Padilla</td>
<td>OPINION: To Show who we are</td>
<td>OPINION: A mostrar quienes somos</td>
<td>2010-03-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carolina Martelo</td>
<td>OPINION: The Positive Image of a Fragmented Identity</td>
<td>OPINION: Imagen positive de una etnia fragmentada</td>
<td>2010-03-10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Various Contributors</td>
<td>Hispanics in Canada Share their Experiences</td>
<td>Hispanos en Canadá comparten sus experiencias</td>
<td>2009-12-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Arellano</td>
<td>A New Hispanic Community Centre: The Dream becomes Reality in Toronto</td>
<td>Un nuevo centro comunitario hispano: Sueño cerca de hacerse realidad en Toronto</td>
<td>2009-10-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luciana Vazquez</td>
<td>Racism…A Reality in Canada?</td>
<td>Racismo…¿una realidad en Canadá?</td>
<td>2009-02-26</td>
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<tr>
<td>EFE</td>
<td>Mexican Cooking is much more than ‘Tex-Mex’</td>
<td>La cocina Mexicana es mucho más que la “tex-mex”</td>
<td>2009-01-25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manuel Arellano</td>
<td>Newcomer Youth Discover their Identity through Art</td>
<td>Jóvenes recién llegados encueñran su identidad a través del arte</td>
<td>2008-12-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sergio Granillo</td>
<td>Giving Life to a New Reality: Minorities</td>
<td>Dar sentido a una nueva realidad: Minorías</td>
<td>2008-06-08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergio Granillo</td>
<td>Angels and Demons: In Recognition of Immigrants</td>
<td>Angeles y Demonios: Por el reconocimiento de los inmigrantes</td>
<td>2008-01-05</td>
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<td>Sergio Granillo</td>
<td>Mexicans from Here to There</td>
<td>Mexicanos de aqui de alla…</td>
<td>2008-01-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergio Granillo</td>
<td>The Stigma of being a Woman, an Immigrant, and Disabled</td>
<td>El estigma de ser mujer, inmigrante y discapacitada</td>
<td>2007-09-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Collaborator</td>
<td>Struggles in the Big City: We are all Leo</td>
<td>Luces de la Gran Ciudad: Todos somos Leo</td>
<td>2007-07-13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jose Luis Perez</td>
<td>Historical Analysis: Italian-Latino Culture and Flavor in St. Clair</td>
<td>Análisis Histórico: Cultura y sabor italo-latino en la calle de St. Clair</td>
<td>2007-07-06</td>
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<td>Sergio Granillo</td>
<td>Multicultural or Bicultural, that is the Question...</td>
<td>Multiculturalidad o Biculturalidad, El Dilema</td>
<td>2007-06-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sergio Granillo</td>
<td>Two Neighbors take Different Paths…</td>
<td>Dos vecinos toman caminos diferentes...</td>
<td>2006-07-01</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sergio Granillo</td>
<td>Adaptation: Between Despair and Nostalgia</td>
<td>Adaptacion: Entre el desparego y la nostalgia</td>
<td>2005-07-03</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Multicom Media (2010)
## Appendix C

### Comprehensive List of Spanish-language Ethnic Media in Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Online Publication</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La Prensa</td>
<td>Calgary, AB</td>
<td><a href="http://www.laprensa.ca/">http://www.laprensa.ca/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America Connexions</td>
<td>Vancouver, BC</td>
<td>No online publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Journada</td>
<td>London, ON</td>
<td><a href="http://www.lajornada.ca/Home.html">http://www.lajornada.ca/Home.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Expreso: National Spanish Newspaper</td>
<td>Mississauga, ON</td>
<td>No online publication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Correo Canadiense</td>
<td>Toronto, ON</td>
<td><a href="http://www.elcorreo.ca/elcorreo/">http://www.elcorreo.ca/elcorreo/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Independiente</td>
<td>Toronto, ON</td>
<td><a href="http://www.elindependiente.ca/">http://www.elindependiente.ca/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>