The linguistic positionings of the French immersion speaker: A post-secondary context

Jessica Durepos

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for a degree of Master of Arts in Education

Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa
October, 2016

© Jessica Durepos, Ottawa, Canada, 2016
Abstract

A focal concern amid Canadian French immersion students upon completion of their secondary school studies is a shared belief and feeling that they are limited in their ability to communicate with francophone communities (Howard, 2007; Schaffer, 2013; The Globe and Mail, Friesen, 2013). Furthermore, it has been widely discussed that French immersion students are finding themselves in the midst of language identity crisis, unable to find a place among either of the dominant monolingual groups (Roy, 2010). This case study examined the potential persistence of language identity crisis in three French immersion students who extended their French as a second language education by pursuing post-secondary education in a French immersion program at a large bilingual university. The study reveals the linguistic identity construction of these students by clarifying how each participant positioned (Davies & Harré, 1990) herself towards Francophone language and culture. It exposes the factors which influenced the linguistic positioning of the participants and comments on patterns in the factors which affected their linguistic identity in particular.

Keywords: Bilingualism in Canada, French Immersion, Second Language Education, French as a second language (FSL), Post-Secondary Education, Linguistic identity, Positioning.

N.B.: For the purpose of this study, feminine pronouns are used over masculine ones as the majority of the participants are female. In addition, the study also uses plural pronouns in the place of gender specific singular pronouns.
Dedication

I dedicate this project to my parents.

To my mother: for trusting your instincts and enrolling me in a French-first language school, even when those around you told you you should not.

À mon père : pour m’avoir guidée dans mon cheminement scolaire, de la maternelle jusqu’à l’université.

Because of both of you, I developed a passion for languages and education. Merci.
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to acknowledge my sincerest gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Douglas Fleming. Thank you for all the guidance, reassurance and encouragement you have given me. Without your mentorship and support, I would not have been able to develop as a researcher.

A large thank you to my thesis committee members, Dr. Sylvie Lamoureux, Dr. Francis Bangou and Dr. Jérémie Séror. Your feedback and direction have been immeasurable to me. Thank you for ensuring that my research project was developed to its full potential. Also, a special thank you to Dr. Séror for providing me with several research assistantships since the early stages of my Master’s.

Thank you to Mr. Marc Gobeil, director of the Régime d’immersion at the University of Ottawa, for supporting this research project both financially and intellectually.

I would also like to thank my many colleagues at University of Ottawa’s Official Languages and Bilingualism Institute. Although my research project is separate from my professional second language teaching, many of you have been a great source of encouragement and inspiration. Thank you.

I also extend my gratitude to my friends who have spurred me on in this process. Special thank you to my community of practice colleagues (COP), David, Gabrielle and Gloria. This experience would have not been the same without you. All of the phone calls, text messages and emails of support over the years have blessed me immensely.

A special thank you to my parents, sisters and other family members. I appreciate all the prayers and support you have given me during this research project. Thank you for encouraging me to accomplish my goals.
Finally, acknowledgement is due to the patience and courage of my husband, Luke. I am thankful that you were by my side throughout this entire experience. Thank you for showing me how to be courageous and joyful in the face of life’s obstacles.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables and Figures</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Context</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of the Thesis</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: Research Context</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official Languages Act</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Immersion in Canada</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response to the call for bilingualism: French immersion programming</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French immersion in Ontario</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of the Research Problem</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of the Study</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Site: uOttawa</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of RI.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Research Question .................................................................................................................................................. 19

Chapter 2: Literature Review ........................................................................................................................................... 20

What is Bilingualism in the Canadian Context? .................................................................................................................. 20

What about multilingualism and multiculturalism? ................................................................................................................. 24

What Happens After Secondary School? ............................................................................................................................. 25

Overview of Post-Secondary FI Research .......................................................................................................................... 27

Applicable theoretical concepts in the literature .................................................................................................................... 29

Chapter 3: Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks ........................................................................................................... 32

Theoretical Framework ............................................................................................................................................................ 32

Social Constructivism ................................................................................................................................................................. 32

Positioning Theory ..................................................................................................................................................................... 34

Bourdieu’s Social Theory ......................................................................................................................................................... 38

Dewey’s (1938) Principles of Experience .............................................................................................................................. 43

Conceptual Framework ............................................................................................................................................................ 44

Chapter 4: Methodology ........................................................................................................................................................... 46

Overview .................................................................................................................................................................................. 46

Methodological Framework ...................................................................................................................................................... 47

Case study ................................................................................................................................................................................ 48

Narrative inquiry ....................................................................................................................................................................... 49

Recruitment of Participants .................................................................................................................................................... 50
Overall impressions ........................................................................................................... 109

Chapter 7: Conclusion .................................................................................................... 112

Implications of the Present Study .................................................................................. 112

Pedagogical implications .............................................................................................. 112

Limitations ..................................................................................................................... 114

Recommendations for Future Research ........................................................................ 115

Final Thoughts .............................................................................................................. 115

References .................................................................................................................... 117

APPENDIX A: GRAPHIC OF REQUIREMENTS OF RI AND PROGRAMS OF STUDY .... 127

APPENDIX B: E-MAIL RECRUITMENT LETTER ......................................................... 128

APPENDIX C: OPEN-ENDED AND MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONNAIRE ............ 129

APPENDIX D: RECRUITMENT EMAIL SENT VIA LISTSERV ........................................ 137

APPENDIX E: ETHICS APPROVAL ............................................................................. 139

APPENDIX F: ETHICS MODIFICATIONS APPROVAL ............................................... 141

APPENDIX G: SAMPLE OF COMPENSATION EMAIL TO PARTICIPANTS .............. 142

APPENDIX H: SAMPLE OF FOLLOW-UP EMAIL SENT TO PARTICIPANTS SELECTED FOR INTERVIEWS ................................................................................................................. 143

APPENDIX I: FIRST INTERVIEW PROMPT PROTOCOL ............................................ 144

APPENDIX J: SECOND INTERVIEW PROMPT PROTOCOL ......................................... 145

APPENDIX K: THIRD INTERVIEW PROMPT PROTOCOL .......................................... 146
Participant 1 .................................................................................................................. 146
Participant 2 .................................................................................................................. 146
Participant 3 .................................................................................................................. 147
List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 1 .................................................................54
Participants’ Profiles and Dates Contacted

Table 2 .................................................................54
Participants Selected for Interviews

Table 3
Schedule of Interviews ........................................58

Table 4
List of Codes for Data Analysis .............................59

Table 5 .................................................................62
Participants’ Faculty

Table 6 .................................................................63
Participants’ Province of Secondary School Completion

Table 7 .................................................................64
Participants’ Elementary FSL Enrollment

Table 8 .................................................................64
Participants’ Middle School FSL Enrollment

Table 9 .................................................................65
Participants’ Secondary School FSL Enrollment

Table 10 ...............................................................66
Participants’ Linguistic Identity

Table 11 ...............................................................66
Participants’ Level of Comfort to Participate in a Social Discussion with Francophones

Table 12 ...............................................................67
Participants’ Usage of French Outside the University of Ottawa

Table 13 ...............................................................81
Participants’ Positionings Reported Throughout the Study

Table 14 .............................................................104
Participants’ Subjective and Interactive Positionings Reported Throughout the Study
List of Tables and Figures (continued)

Figures

Figure 1..................................................................................................................44

*Conceptualization of FI students’ positioning*
List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RI</td>
<td><em>Régime d’immersion</em> of the University of Ottawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FI</td>
<td>French immersion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI</td>
<td>Early immersion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>Middle immersion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LI</td>
<td>Late immersion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLE</td>
<td>Second language education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLA</td>
<td>Second language acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSL</td>
<td>French as a second language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>First language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>Second language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDU</td>
<td>Ministry of Education in Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPF</td>
<td>Canadian Parents for French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DELF</td>
<td><em>Diplôme d’études en langue française</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FFL</td>
<td>French as a first language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSE</td>
<td>Post-secondary education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA</td>
<td>Grade Point Average</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

“Intellectual growth should commence at birth and cease only at death.”
Albert Einstein

Traditionally, language learning is described as a lifelong process. In the Canadian context, the Honourable Michael D. Chong (2014), Chair of the Committee on Official Languages, noted in his recent report that:

Some people say that the continuum for French second-language instruction should continue all the way to post-secondary, and perhaps even to the workforce. To some witnesses, the possibility of continuing post-secondary studies in one’s second official language is the greatest factor contributing to English-French bilingualism in Canada (Standing Committee on Official Languages, p. 20)

Indeed, this remark is an important factor in learning French as a second language (FSL), as a whole. Previous research in the field of FSL has shared similar findings and agrees with the statement from the report above. Previous studies (Burger, Weinberg, & Wesche, 2013; Ambrosio, Dansereau, & Gobeil, 2012; Knoerr, 2010; Knoerr & Weinberg, 2013) have formally observed that second language acquisition (SLA), specifically FSL in the case of this study, can be a life-long journey; it does not stop once the student has completed secondary school or even post-secondary education.

Within this Canadian context, in Ontario, many K-12 Anglophone students, registered in English language school boards and schools, spend a great deal of time learning FSL in an immersion context. For example, in the 2012-2013 school year, 2,031,195 students were enrolled in a FSL program (CPF, 2013). Although various FSL learning models exist, such as Core French, Intensive French and Immersion (Dicks & Kristmanson, 2008), Ontario parents can
enroll their children in immersion as early as kindergarten (Early immersion) and students can remain enrolled until the completion of secondary school (Dicks & Kristmanson, 2008). However, as outlined in the literature review below, little is known about what happens to French immersion (FI) students after graduation from secondary school. As Howard (2007) argued, one of the main concerns among these students is their belief that their own lack of second language proficiency limits their abilities to communicate with members of Francophone communities. This perception stems from the sense that even after numerous years of instruction, French immersion students do not believe they are part of either dominant Canadian linguistic groups (French and English) (Roy, 2010). Since they have studied the majority of time in French, they are not quite like their Anglophone peers given that they have had a different educational experience. However, they are not perceived as Francophones either (Roy, 2010). Consequently, they are not identified and positioned as bilinguals by and in Canadian society because they do not speak like native French speakers and are often compared to them (Auger, Dalley, & Roy, 2007; Grosjean, 2008; Roy, 2010). This sentiment and belief poses as an immediate threat to these students upon completion of secondary school as it creates an identity struggle and prevents them from speaking and identifying with francophone language and culture (Roy, 2010). In an official bilingual country (and multilingual society), French immersion students find themselves stuck in the middle of the bilingualism debate (Duff, 2007b).

Personal Context

As a Franco-Ontarian, I know firsthand how difficult it can be to feel part of a larger body of speakers of the French language and culture. In these linguistic and cultural circles, there are often pre-fixed views of how one should act and speak French. These social norms and expectations are largely felt amid members of the Canadian francophone community, whether they are FSL learners or not, often attributed to the fact that French holds a minority status.
LINGUISTIC POSITIONING

(Mougeon, 1998). Given that I have felt the pressure and impact of these expectations in my daily life, I suspected that Canadian FSL learners in a post-secondary context would feel them just as much as I have experienced, if not more. This was, in part, the impetus of the study.

**Organization of the Thesis**

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. In Chapter 1, the research context is discussed in great detail. The chapter serves to lay the groundwork for the thesis and clearly explain sociolinguistic and contextual nuances that impact the research context of this study. It also identifies the problem statement and research question for the thesis. Chapter 2 discusses the literature relevant to the research study of the thesis. The chapter brings to light the conception of French Immersion and its impact on Canada and specifically Ontario. In addition, the chapter brings to light an important gap that exists in the literature, which is a lack of research conducted in FI studies in a post-secondary context. In Chapter 3, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks are elaborated. The theoretical framework is based on Social Constructivism (Vygotsky, 1878) and the Positioning Theory (Davies & Harré, 1990), Bourdieu’s Social Theory (1977) and Dewey’s (1938) Principles of Experience. A conceptual framework and the figure (Figure 1) that illustrates it conclude the chapter. Chapter 4 explains the methodology of the thesis by first giving an overview of the research design. Then it provides a detailed description of participants and the recruitment process, data collection and analysis. Chapter 5 presents each participant by describing their unique experiences. Next, the findings are explored by presenting the various themes that emerged through the data. Chapter 6 presents a series of discussions based on the findings and results of the thesis. Finally, a discussion of the limitations, implications, recommendations and possible contributions are found in Chapter 7, which serves to conclude the thesis.
Chapter 1: Research Context

This chapter describes the sociolinguistic context in which the French immersion approach was created in Canada. More specifically, the chapter examines the impact of a Canada’s national language policy and how Canadian Federal Government funding has incited the development of FI at a provincial and territorial administrative level. My participants have experienced second language education (SLE) in elementary and secondary school immersion programs that are explicitly tied to Canadian national language policy and its historical development. Therefore, I will start with a discussion of Canadian second language policy and contextualize how this has framed the FI programming students were exposed to in secondary school.

These contextual considerations are important to describe for the research study as it shows how FI in Canada has developed over time. During this development, the need to research FSL in a post-secondary context was only noted later on. FI it was not readily available in post-secondary education (PSE) institutions. Because French immersion was not present in many post-secondary contexts in the past, it was not initially at the forefront of many researchers’ agendas. In addition, a presentation of the problem statement and research question will conclude this chapter.

Official Languages Act

Canada has been defined by its First Nations groups (Castonguay, 1998) as well by two other dominant language groups, French and English, since its early colonial days (Burnaby, 2008). As noted by Burnaby (2008), “struggles first between France and Britain, then Francophones and Anglophones dominate Canada’s recorded history” (p. 331). Indeed, both linguistic groups have not always agreed with each other, often stemming from the fact that Anglophones hold a majority status while the Francophones were in the minority (Castonguay,
In fact, as described by Castonguay (1998), “The Anglophone portion of the Canadian population has steadily preserved its majority status. By contrast, the Francophone share of the population has been decreasing since the Second World War.” (p. 38). The division between majority Anglophones and minority Francophones had been one of the significant factors for future development of language policies. Yet, in the 19th Century, language rights were a rare concept as the primary focus was on religion (Burnaby, 2008). However, in the 20th Century, a shift was noted in Canadian population as a massive wave of immigration swept Canada which encouraged “Anglo-Conformity” (Burnaby, 2008). Consequently, Francophones were “isolated in a French-language, church-run school system and in the social and political use of French in some areas of Québec” (Burnaby, 2008, p.331). Unfortunately, being ethnically Québécois and linguistically French posed as severe disadvantage until the 1960s (Burnaby, 2008).

This sociopolitical context also was a significant factor for eventual language policies which reflected inequities between Anglophone majority and Francophone minority. In fact, this sociopolitical tension eventually stimulated Québécois to want more political and linguistic control and achieved this via the ‘Quiet-Revolution’ in the 1960s (Burnaby, 2008, Genesee, 2015). In 1963, Québec government moved away from a church-led province and created its own ministry of education (Burnaby, 2008). These pressures and linguistic divides incited the Canadian Federal Government to “take the constitutionally equal status of the French language seriously” (Burnaby, 2008, p.333). In consequence, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was formed in 1963 (Burnaby, 2008; Howard, 2007; McRae, 1998). The Royal Commission sought to respond to the vulnerability of French language minorities throughout the country and an attempt to address Quebec’s increasing sense of lack of belonging in Canada (Howard, 2007). According to Howard (2007), the original 1969 Act was the product of “the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B and B Commission)
between 1963 and 1970” (p. 2). However, the creation of the Act was no simple task. Its creation spanned over several years. In 1969, the original Act officially declared English and French as the official languages (Burnaby, 2008). The Act ensured that federal government services were offered in both French and English, where “the numbers warranted” (Genesee, 2015, p.305). It was later revised in 1988 in order to “ensure respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and ensure equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all federal institutions” (Official Languages Act, Section II, 1988). These Acts are designed to ensure that Canada retains and actively uses its two official languages: French and English in Canada. In addition to creating the Official Languages Act, the B and B Commission also created the position of Commissioner of Official Languages (Burnaby, 2008) who served as a watchdog for implementing changes recommended by the Acts and also as a language Ombudsman (Beaty, 1989; McRae, 1998).

In addition to the main precepts noted above, Beaty (1989) summarized four important programs that supported the Official Language Acts of 1969 and 1988:

1. Supporting minority groups [English in Québec and French elsewhere] in their attempts to achieve provincial recognition of their legal rights and their special linguistic needs;
2. Fostering and helping to finance minority language education;
3. Giving similar financial encouragement to the effective learning of English and French as a second language country-wide; and
4. Supporting the efforts of national, private and voluntary organizations to develop their own capacity to do business in both official languages (Beaty, 1989, pp. 190-191).

As noted above, a great deal of financial commitment was put forth towards minority language education, minority legal and linguistic needs, second language education as well as support for businesses to conduct their affairs in both official languages. These financial commitments were had significant impact in terms of the developments of language education as it provided more opportunity to all Canadians to learn both Official Languages. In fact, it allowed, “English
education for Anglophones in Québec and French education for Francophones in the other provinces, and […] improving second official language instruction” (Burnaby, 2008, p. 333). Therefore, “the federal government made a commitment to provide partial funding for minority-language education and second-language instruction across the country” (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada [CMEC], n.d., para. 2). Consequently, in 1971, the federal government began its Official Languages in Education (OLE) Program (Burnaby, 2008). Since Education is regulated by provincial governments, the B and B Commission suggested that the OLE support the provinces through funding, instead of legislation (Burnaby, 2008; McRae, 1998). Consequently, the CMEC and the Canadian Government have signed several funding agreements. Currently, the Government of Canada is “provid[ing] the provinces and territories with $1,297,791,385 between 2013-14 and 2017-18” to fund second language programs (CMEC, n.d.).

Without the Official Languages Acts (1969 and 1988) and the B and B Commission, Canada’s sociolinguistic and sociopolitical landscapes would be significantly different today. Most importantly, the financial aid and commitment from the Government of Canada allotted to the provinces and territories helped motivate, in large part, provinces to explore programs such as the immersion approach, which will be described below. In turn, the financial support also helped and continues to help promote second language learning in dominant Anglophone populations.

**French Immersion in Canada**

French immersion is a teaching approach that seeks to teach French through content subjects (mathematics, science, social science, etc.) and guide English monolinguals to become “balanced bilinguals” (Budach, Roy, & Heller, 2003; Roy & Galiev, 2011) speaking both French and English with equal competence and performance. As discussed above, the Official
Languages Act has been both a beneficial and controversial piece of language legislation in Canadian society. It has greatly influenced education and, evidently, how children and young adults learn FSL.

**Response to the call for bilingualism: French immersion programming.** A response to the call for bilingualism was the creation and implementation of FI programs throughout the country in dominant English speaking monolingual (e.g. Alberta, Saskatchewan) and bilingual communities (e.g. New-Brunswick) alike. The Official Languages Act was created in 1969, five years after the creation of the first French immersion program. Although French immersion education existed prior to the development of the Official Languages Act, Roy (2010) argued that the success and popularity of the program only spread after the implementation of the Act. For example, Roy (2010) stated that Alberta did not permit FSL instruction in their schools until the 1970s. She notes, “In the 1970s, in response to the Official Languages Act, funding for bilingualism from Ottawa, and demands from the middle class population, the province of Alberta started French as a second language programs in public and Catholic schools” (Roy, 2010, p.542). As described earlier in the chapter, financial contributions from the Government of Canada was in fact a large game changer in SLE in Canada, as demonstrated by Roy (2010).

It has been 50 years since FI was introduced into Canadian classrooms. French immersion as a program has stood the test of time in their aims of teaching French as a second language through content subjects. In fact, as Genesee stated, French is learned “implicitly by explicitly teaching content, not language” (as cited by Knoerr, 2010, 89). The program was developed in 1965 (Auger, Dalley, & Roy, 2007; Genesee, 2011). The program first saw life in St-Lambert, a Québécois community not too far from Montréal (Genesee & Jared, 2008; Howard, 2007). Parents believed that proficiency in French would allow their children to have greater job opportunities (Hart, Lapkin, & Swain, 1998). In consequence, proficiency in French would be a
gateway for “future economic survival there [in Québec] would require high levels of proficiency in French” (Swain, 1997, p. 261). Parents wanted to ensure their children could succeed in the future and did so by lobbying for FSL instruction via FI (Swain, 1997). The program aimed at providing French language instruction to English monolinguals, thus ensuring a proper scaffolding and acquiring of French language skills. The children were immersed into the French language by only learning and speaking French for their first three years of elementary school education from Kindergarten to Grade 2 (Genesee & Jared, 2008). The students were taught by French native speakers and learned French in a natural manner using French in meaningful and authentic contexts including studying content subjects such as mathematics, science and social studies (Genesee, 2011). After Grade 2, English was introduced and continued to be taught until each language, French and English, was taught almost equally, i.e. 50% French language instruction and 50% English language instruction by Grade 5 and 6 (Genesee & Jared, 2008). The program-learning outcome was to create bilinguals (Howard 2007; Genesee, 2011; Roy, 2010).

Originally, some parents outside of Québec were sceptical of having children be educated in a L2 (Howard, 2007). Some even believed that bilingualism would create confusion among the child’s first language (L1) or even lead to cognitive and social delay (Cummins, 1979; Swain, 1997; Johnson & Swain, 1997) Parents did not feel confident that their children could maintain their L1 while learning their L2. Evidently, second language teachers, researchers and educators have shown that this is not the case (Cummins, 2006; 2008). The use of both the L1 and L2 in the classroom is beneficial in learning and maintaining both languages due to power relations between languages, cultures and bi-literacy skills (Cummins 2006; 2008). Furthermore, parents’ concerns quickly dissipated after researchers like Lambert and Tucker (1972), Genesee, (1987), Swain and Lapkin (1982), and Cummins (1979) showed that French Immersion students showed
no delay in linguistic, social and cognitive developments (Howard, 2007; Genesee, 2011; Roy, 2010).

Three basic models of FI are common in the Canadian schooling context. As Knoerr (2010) notes, immersion programming often starts at the age of 5 when children begin elementary school. This type of immersion model is often described as early immersion (EI). In this form of programming, students are usually immersed in the language, being taught in French 100% of the time during class time. Over time, more class time dedicated to teaching (in) English. In addition to the EI model, Canadian classrooms also offer middle immersion (MI) and late immersion models (LI). The second common immersion model is known as MI (Knoerr, 2010), which typically begins in Grades 4 and 5 with instruction in French at around the 80% mark. The third model is known as LI. This model typically begins in Grades 6 or 7 and features approximately 65%-70% of instruction in French.

As of 2005, 296,428 students were enrolled in French immersion across Canada (Roy, 2008,). Stated otherwise, as noted by Ambrosio, Dansereau and Gobeil (2012), 8% of the Canadian population was registered in a French immersion program at the elementary and/or high school level. More precisely, in the 2012-2013 school year, 2,031,195 students were enrolled in a FI program (CPF, 2013).

French immersion in Ontario. According to Genesee (2015), “the official-language policies of the provincial governments tend to reflect their respective constituencies” (p.16). Therefore, in Canada, the only province that holds an official bilingual status is New-Brunswick (Genesee, 2015). However, despite this fact, Ontario holds the largest population of Francophones outside of Québec (King, 2015). Although 84% of its inhabitants are Anglophones, 500,000 people identify French as their mother tongue (King, 2015). Albeit, Francophones are a minority in Ontario, yet it is an important fact to note that they are nonetheless the “largest and
healthiest” population outside of Québec (King, 2015, p.400). This is an important consideration for this study as this fact shapes the population of the province as well as its cultural and linguistic diversity. Despite this fact, Ontario’s official language is English (Government of Ontario, 2015) even if, second language instruction is still readily available all throughout the province.

Ontario’s Ministry of Education (EDU) has been using the same curriculum for all FSL studies (Core, Extended and Immersion) in Ontario at the Secondary School level from 1999 to 2013. However, it does not individually address the learning outcomes of each FSL program. In the case of FI studies in Ontario, at the end of Grade 12, the student should be able to, ‘participate easily in conversations and discussions; will be able to take courses at the college or university level in which French is the language of instruction; and will be able to accept employment in which French is the working language.” (p.3). One can note that the focus of these learning outcomes is purely on language ability, especially relating to future academic studies and careers. It does not address the ties or identification with the French language. However, the document as a whole for all FSL studies notes that “as students study French, they gain an appreciation of French literature and an understanding of French societies in the world. Since language and culture are inseparable, the cultural study of French-language regions will be integrated into daily instruction” (4). What does it mean to have an appreciation of French? How does this prepare students to be integrated and positioned in the Francophone communities of Ontario?

Recently, EDU has released a new FSL curriculum and a new framework, governing the way FSL should be taught in Ontario. The document, A Framework for French as a Second Language in Ontario Schools, Kindergarten to Grade 12, was released in February 2013. The purpose of the framework is to strengthen FSL programming in Ontario, including FI. The overarching vision of the framework is that “Students in English-language school boards have the
confidence and ability to use French effectively in their daily lives” (p.8). Despite the fact that the EDU wants to increase students’ confidence in using the language, the document fails to address the notion of linguistic identity. The document addresses the concept of identity only once and much less the notion of bilingualism, except where research studies have encouraged the notion. Secondly, the document identifies three explicit goals:

1. Increase student confidence, proficiency, and achievement in FSL;
2. Increase the percentage of students studying FSL until graduation; and
3. Increase student, educator, parent, and community engagement in FSL

Although these goals address some of the key and current issues in FSL programming in Ontario, including FI programming, they do not however touch upon the notions of identity, much less any goals of fostering bilingual or multilingual identities. A clear distinction must be made between “confidence, proficiency and achievement” versus an identification, acculturation and appreciation of a language. None of the latter states have been addressed by the framework. In turn, this raises the question, what kind of positionings is the EDU fostering for FI students if they have a not established its vision in this regards? If FI students may be experiencing identity struggles at the junior high school level, as noted by Roy (2010), how will these be enhanced, diminished, or exacerbated at the post-secondary context, especially if current programing at the secondary school level has not addressed this issue?

Although EDU expects the new curriculum to bring about great changes to FSL in Ontario and consequently impact FI students, the participants of this study have not experienced the new curriculum in full since they all graduated in 2014 and the curriculum and frameworks documents were released a year prior, 2013. Their personal narratives and cultural associations are reliant on their FI experiences which are directly linked to the curriculum of 1999.

Statement of the Research Problem
The FI approach was founded in Montreal, Canada, in the 1960s. The program has been acclaimed for its innovative approach, teaching FSL through content-based classes (Howard, 2007). Since the 1960’s, many Canadian elementary and secondary schools have adopted the program. Yet, only a handful of Canadian universities have adopted the program for post-secondary studies (e.g. University of Ottawa) (Weinburg, Burger, & Boukacem, 2012). In a post-secondary context, French immersion streams allow students to pursue the study of their major (e.g.: Biology), while continuing their FSL studies. The reason for the lack of FI programs at the PSE context is described by Weinburg, Burger, and Boukacem (2012) as simply being unpopular.

A main concern among French immersion students upon completion of their secondary school studies is a shared belief and feeling that they are limited in their ability to communicate with francophone communities (Howard, 2007). This limits their ability to use the language outside a classroom context. It has been widely discussed that French immersion students are finding themselves in the midst of language identity crisis, unable to find a place among either of the dominant monolingual groups (Roy, 2010).

To date, research in French immersion has focused “mainly on primary and high school programs” (Weinberg & Burger, 2010, p. 114). Previous research focused in Canadian FI programming included, but were not limited to:

- variations of delivery of immersion programs; the educational stage at which students begin the immersion program – early, middle, late or post-secondary level; the type of language—second, foreign, or heritage language; and the amount of instruction given in the first language compared with the amount given in the second language (Weinberg & Burger, 2010, p. 114)

More recently, FI identity research in these two contexts demonstrates that French immersion students are subject to shaping their identity in relationship to two dominant monolingual groups:

---

1 (For examples see, Makropoulos 2005, 2010; Macintyre, Burns & Jessome, 2011; Roy, 2010; Genesee & Jared, 2008; Mougeon, Rehneran & Nadasdi, 2004).
French and English (Roy, 2010). It has been increasingly noted that upon completion of secondary school, FI students are finding themselves in the midst of a language identity crisis, unable to find a place among either of the dominant monolingual groups (Roy, 2010). Due to the recent development of these post-secondary FI programs, it is not surprising then these French immersion programs as a whole have been significantly less documented than in elementary and secondary school contexts.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this case study with narrative trends was to describe the positionings (Davies & Harré, 1990) of three, first-year, PSE FI students at Canada’s largest bilingual university. It examined the issues related to linguistic identity through an inquiry into the experiences of three recent Ontario secondary school graduates who chose to continue their FSL acquisition by pursuing undergraduate post-secondary education in the *Régime d’immersion* (RI) program at the University of Ottawa. Specifically, in order to gain a deeper understanding of their individual lived experiences, I interviewed each participant three times based on Seidman’s three interview model (Seidman, 2013). This study illustrates the linguistic identity construction and struggle of these students by clarifying how they positioned themselves and were positioned vis-à-vis Francophone language and culture. My study has allowed me to explore the factors that have influenced the positioning of the participants and to notice patterns in the factors which affected their linguistic identity in particular.

**Research Site: uOttawa**

In order to better understand the nuances of the study, it is important to also contextualize the research site. The University of Ottawa was chosen as the research site for several reasons. First, since the province of Ontario hosts the largest population of Francophones outside of Québec (King, 2015), it was important to choose a university that would honor this fact but also
have a mandate to serve the Francophone community. The University of Ottawa does in fact have a mandate to serve the Francophone population and that it has the most extensive and oldest French first language program outside Québec (Beillard, 2000). The following mandate is stipulated in the University’s 1965 Act, ‘Loi de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1965’, which aims to “Promote the development of bilingualism and biculturalism, preserve and develop culture French Ontario” (p.158). In addition to its mandate, the University of Ottawa has also upheld this commitment in its strategic plan called Destination 2020. The strategic plan puts forth several goals it would like the University to achieve by the year 2020. One of the founding values listed in the plan is “We have the responsibility of promoting bilingualism and Francophone communities” (University of Ottawa, p.2). The University of Ottawa continues to hold bilingualism as one of its main values. In addition to the University of Ottawa valuing bilingualism, it has also conceived a specific goal within the plan, namely “Goal 3: Francophonie and bilingualism: A competitive advantage that is central to our mission” (University of Ottawa, 2013). The goal focuses on increasing Francophone populations studying at the University but also aims to “raise the number of registrations in [our] French immersion programs to 3,500 (or 10% of our current undergraduate student population)” (University of Ottawa, 2013, p.7). It is considerably important that PSE institution is favouring an environment for SLE, specifically a FI program. Because this is true, the University of Ottawa was deemed to be the best possible site for this research study. In addition, it is important to note that the University of Ottawa values bilingualism, however it is unclear whether this is framed as an identity or not. Initially in 1848, the focus of bilingualism was characterized as an individual ability or competency (Beillard, 2000). However, by 1974, bilingualism was framed as being institutional, as in the capacity to serve students and allow them to study in either language (Beillard, 2000). Today, it remains unclear how Destination 2020 frames bilingualism, much less how it relates to linguistic identity.
Presently, any undergraduate student at the University of Ottawa can choose to study in either/or both French and English. In fact, students do not need to be in RI to takes classes in either official language. Within this scope, with the exception of a few programs of studies, for example the B.A. in Second Language Teaching, students are also able to submit written assignments in either official language, regardless of the language of instruction of the course, with the exception of language courses where students must submit course work in the language studied. However, the RI is available to most students who do not speak French as their first language and regardless of how many years of previous French instruction they have received. It is important to note, however not everyone is eligible for the RI. For instance, graduates from an Anglophone secondary school can apply and register for the RI but graduates from a Francophone secondary school cannot. The student experience at the University of Ottawa is significantly different than other PSE FI program (University of Ottawa, 2014). FI students are no longer segregated, unlike typical K-12 immersion programs. FI students at the University of Ottawa take content classes with Francophone peers (University of Ottawa, 2014). Therefore, in the RI, students must take classes intended and designed for FFL students, as well as FSL classes (University of Ottawa, 2014). Nonetheless, FI students at the University of Ottawa are studying a minority language alongside Francophones who themselves are also minorities within the University of Ottawa. For this reason, it is plausible to say that FI students are a minority within a minority group. This is also another reason the University of Ottawa’s RI was chosen as the research site.

**Overview of RI.** Currently, the RI is available in 60 programs in the Humanities and 26 programs in the Sciences under the umbrella program called Extended French (University of Ottawa, 2014). For example, in order to obtain the RI in a Humanities program, a student must successfully complete the admissions test to the program. Then, the student is required to
complete a minimum of 42 credits in French in addition to their regular program expectations, though the credits in French may be the courses required for their program. In addition, at the end of the program, FI students must also pass FLS 3500, a course that assesses the student’s competencies in French (University of Ottawa, 2014). In order to obtain the RI in a Sciences or Engineering program, the requirements differ in the way the 42 credits should be completed in French (See Appendix A).

In addition, FI students are able to convert up to eight grades into qualitative marks (pass/fail). This strategy helps encourage more students to try the RI (University of Ottawa, 2014). Furthermore, it does not penalize a students’ annual grade point average while they continue to study FSL. In fact, this qualitative grade system helps students maintain high averages and allows students to continue to be eligible for the RI scholarships, another attractive factor of the program. Scholarships, often described as a study “incentive” for the program allow students to receive $1,000 and are given “to all full-time FIS students who are taking at least 2 courses in French per term” (Burger, Weinberg, & Wesche, 2013, p.32). Also, it is important to note that the Faculty of Sciences and the Faculty of Engineering cannot receive qualitative grades as their program falls under the umbrella program of “Extended French” (University of Ottawa, 2014). In addition to these requirements, the RI also offers accompanying language courses (FSL 2581, FLS 3581) which are offered to certain students based on their entrance exam results. These courses help further language skills needed to be successful in French at the University of Ottawa. These courses are not mandatory but recommended. The additional advantage of taking these courses is that they are worth 3 credits each despite the fact they are only 90 minutes each week, compared to the typical 3 credit courses which entail 3 hours per week of instruction. The aims for these accommodations noted above are to allow students to balance the requirements of both their academic and language programs while obtaining access to support.
Certain measures are already in place to ensure that RI students live a bilingual experience on campus. For example, students are given a purple bracelet at the beginning of the academic year. This bracelet serves as visual to help RI students find each other in classes where they are mixed with Francophones. In addition, the Immersion Club and other social organizations help plan outings and activities for RI students as they continue to develop their skills in French.

**Significance of the Study**

By exploring how FI students construct their linguistic identity via the positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990), as framed by the theoretical framework of the study (See Chapter 3 for more details), I am able to show that FI students are not only subjectively positioned but also agentively positioned by the dominant monolingual groups, French and English. In addition, by focusing on first year undergraduate students, this study is able to capture and inform what happens after secondary school. Since not all FI Ontario graduates continue their FSL education after secondary school, this study is able to capture the experiences of those who do in fact choose to pursue FI in a PSE. Moreover, as framed by the conceptual framework of the study (see Chapter 3 for more details) because the study provides detailed accounts of students’ educational context and specific lived experience (Dewey, 1938) it becomes possible to observe the influences of a changing habitus on linguistic identity in particular (Bourdieu, 1977), as the participants transition (Lamoureux, 2013) from a Ontario secondary school context, as secondary school students, to an Ontario PSE context, as first-year undergraduate students.

This study adds information to the literature as it demonstrates that, as it is already known, linguistic identity is fluid, also constructed by not only the speaker but also influenced and shaped by the target language groups. In addition, this work furthers insight into FSL PSE, specifically FI education as it is a lesser researched context than its elementary and secondary
school counterparts. Consequently, Canadian stakeholders, which include, secondary school and PSE teachers, researchers in SLE and FLS, parents, students, Ministry of Education representatives, lobbying groups such as CPF and professional associations, can use this study’s insights and results to further shape how FI is taught in a post-secondary context in order to continue to improve student experience and encourage more students to continue their FSL education via an FI program at a post-secondary institution.

**The Research Question**

This case study was guided by the following research question: How do French Immersion students who have graduated from a secondary school French immersion program in Ontario position themselves and are positioned vis-à-vis Francophone language and culture during their first year of undergraduate enrollment in the University of Ottawa’s French immersion program?

The next chapter will conduct an overview of the literature and previous work in FI research as a whole.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter examines the previous research conducted in the field of FI studies. It also explores the absence of FI research examining linguistic identity construction via positioning as experienced by post-secondary FI learners.

What is Bilingualism in the Canadian Context?

As I note in this chapter, the definition of bilingualism has been debated, reviewed and analyzed for many decades. It is important to define bilingualism, because its very definition can act as gatekeeper for French Immersion students’ linguistic identity and positioning. (Auger, Dalley, & Roy, 2007; Budach, Roy, & Heller, 2003; Roy & Galiev, 2001). When referring to Canadian bilingualism, one is alluding to the two official languages supported by the Official Languages Act, French and English, as described above in Chapter 1.

A general consensus is that the standard norm of a bilingual is an individual that can speak and write in two languages. Budach, Roy, and Heller (2003) explain that bilingualism is “conventionally understood as the mastery of two separate but (ideally) internally homogeneous languages” (p.605). Moreover, according to Auger, Dalley, and Roy (2007) there is often an implied meaning that being a bilingual is necessarily a “balanced bilingual” (p.28) In other words, the proficiency of both French and English would be separate yet similar in abilities. Roy and Galiev (2011) that “some consider themselves bilingual if they are able to use two languages every day; others, even if they use both languages every day, do not identify themselves as bilingual because their proficiency in two languages is not equally developed” (p.352). The identity of a bilingual is often rooted in the desire to be a balanced bilingual.

Yet, realistically, it is hard to measure the proficiency or knowledge equivalency of languages. Indeed, Roy and Galiev (2011) reason that a balanced bilingual is often deemed as an ideal “concept instead of a reality” (p. 352). In addition, Block (2007a) also agrees with Roy and
Galiev as he posits that “bilingualism is usually determined according to a linguistic bias or external barometer. For example, researchers or members (usually native speakers) of an ethnolinguistic community will judge an individual’s command of and expertise in the morphology, syntax, phonology, lexis, and pragmatics of the language” (as cited in Roy & Galiev, 2011, p. 353)

Regardless, many FI students hope that while studying in FI prior to post-secondary education, they will achieve a state of balanced bilingualism. However, this is not always the case. Schafer (2013) notes that “FI students develop their own French variety” (p.15). Roy also identifies this phenomenon in an earlier study in which she explains “students in French immersion considered themselves bilingual, but not ‘entirely’ bilingual or ‘truly’ bilingual because they did not speak French at the same level as native speakers of French” (2010, p.550). Because FI students practice the majority of their French with fellow FI students, their French is at times deemed a different variety by Francophones (Cummins, 2006; 2008). Friesen, a demographics reporter, adds an additional perspective to the discourse via an article he published in 2013. He stated:

Many immersion students lose their French over time, a fact often cited by critics. Attrition rates are high. Every year, most schools lose 5 to 10 per cent of their immersion students in each grade, so by Grade 12, the class that started together a dozen years earlier will be considerably reduced in size. It’s also clear from Statistics Canada data that hard-won bilingualism tends to decline in the years after graduation. On the 1996 census, 16.3 per cent of those aged 15 to 19 said they were bilingual. Fifteen years later on the 2011 census only 9.6 per cent of that cohort still considered themselves bilingual, according to Environics Analytics (The Globe and Mail, Friesen, 2013)

Although balanced bilingualism is an ideal, overtime, many FI students do not complete their FI studies and those who do, do not always have the opportunity to maintain their French language skills. Therefore, reasons such as attrition in FI or seldom occasions to use French outside the classroom affords possibility that achieving and maintaining balanced bilingualism is very
complex and difficult. The specific reasons for the lack of opportunities in FI post-secondary contexts will be discussed later in this chapter. Nonetheless, Friesen highlights that bilingualism can decline over time if FI students do not have the opportunity to ‘use’ their French. For the reasons discussed above, a bilingual identity remains elusive.

Likewise, Howard (2007) explains that two main concerns are found among French Immersion students upon completion of their secondary school studies. The first is “in spite of their general communicative ability, they feel limited in terms of their ability to interact with francophone communities” (Howard, 2007, p. 189). The sense of inadequacy is found in the majority of French immersion speakers. Even after several years of instruction, students do not believe to be part of either group; as they are not identified as bilinguals in Canadian society (Auger, Dalley, & Roy, 2007; Roy, 2010). The second is in regards to “employment, where staff is often obliged to pursue further French language courses” despite the long term exposure and learning of French (Howard, 2007, p.189).

FI students face various obstacles after completing FI studies. At times, FI students sometimes require further study after secondary school. Other times, they are not able to maintain their French language skills (Schafer, 2013). Feelings of frustration and inadequacy can be attributed to the expectations of wanting to live up to the ideal of the “balanced bilingual” which in turn, contributes to FI students’ linguistic identity struggle. The frustration mentioned above can also attributed to the fact that FI students have limited contact with Francophones during their K-12 FI studies. They produce their “own variety of French” while in fact, this “variety of French is often put down by researchers and more importantly by Francophones, as FI students are seen as not being able to attain high competency in French like native speakers” (Schafer, 2013, p.15).
According to Roy (2010), French Immersion students use the French and English monolingual groups as barometer’s to position themselves and be positioned. Often, they feel as though they are not as good as the monolinguals. Roy (2010) stated: “in French immersion programs, this view causes a lot of anxiety among students, who believe that they will never speak as well as native speakers. French immersion students are not recognized as legitimate bilinguals because they do not conform to the definition of what it means to be a bilingual in Canada” (p.556). As Roy explained, French Immersion students cannot identify themselves as legitimate bilinguals as long as they look to both monolingual groups for their linguistic identity and positionings (Davies & Harré, 1990).

Fortunately, bilingualism has also been defined as the ability to use two languages in authentic communicative contexts, the level of mastery of these languages being defined by the comprehensibility of the speaker rather than a standard norm (Auger, Dalley, & Roy, 2007). Grosjean (2008) argued that “being bilingual is not the sum of two complete monolinguals but has a unique and specific linguistic configuration” (as cited in Roy, 2010, p.546). Relying on these definitions allows French Immersion students to consequently be defined as bilinguals.

Unfortunately, Roy and Galiev (2011) point out that although the definition put forth by Auger, Dalley, and Roy (2007) would be most favourable, many French Immersion speakers do not identify themselves as bilingual because they do in fact persist in comparing themselves to a standard norm, as identified above. Together, these studies have highlighted that despite the ideal of just labelling oneself as bilinguals, French immersion students are subject to a bias or external barometer such as Francophone peers. In turn, this is where the positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990), as described later in this chapter and chapter 3, is used in the present study in order to clearly show the break downs and shifts in FI student’s identities as they are subjectively positioned and positioned by others.
What about multilingualism and multiculturalism? A great deal of attention of this literature review has focused on bilingualism and being a bilingual. However, FL students can position themselves in various linguistic identities; they are not limited to a dichotomy of choices. A common conflict is the negotiation of cultures and languages that extend beyond Canada’s two official languages, French and English, as denoted by the *Official Languages Act*. The reason for this conflict, as argued by Eve Haque (2012), is that Canada is “a multicultural nation established on a foundation of a putatively open linguistic duality- articulated in national policy as ‘multiculturalism in a bilingualism framework’” (p.12). In her book, Haque (2012) explores the implications of the implementation of the B and B Commission, who in turn were responsible for creating the *Official Languages Act*. Haque (2012) argued that despite being a multicultural and multilingual nation, Canada’s history, present and future is deeply rooted in the B and B Commissions’ original vision that Canada “rested on an equal partnership between the English and French ‘founding races’ and that the reality of this partnership needed to be fully recognized in national institutions and society at large” (, p.12). For this reason, there is often a sense of inequality among Canadians who speak languages other than French or English. As argued by Young (1987), “inequality is based on individualistic prejudices, stemming either from ignorance or from fears about unfamiliar cultures” (p.10). Young (1987) heavily criticizes Canada’s multicultural policy by explaining that all other cultures and languages beyond “the dominance of some social identity” (p.10) is often hierarchically inferior.

Operating within a bilingual framework, Duff (2007b) reviews multilingualism in Canadian schools and explains that Canada’s ability to respect multilingualism is “more myth than reality as far as educational practice is concerned and when describing the linguistic competence of many who were born in Canada” (p.150). Although Duff (2007b) points out that the national policies put in place are well intentioned, what happens in reality is strikingly
different. She explains “the bilingual norm—never mind a multilingual one—is a much better reflection of Francophone Québec and of new Canadians than of established Anglophone Canada, the exception perhaps being graduates of French immersion programs in recent decades” (p.151). Duff (2007b) argued that the bilingual norm affects FI students and is a participating factor in FSL education. However, Duff (2007b) also argued that students struggle to reconcile their social, cultural and linguistic identities as second language learners in general, which nonetheless includes FI students learning FSL in Canada. She stated the following:

However, a challenge that many students and teachers in today’s multicultural classrooms face concerns precisely how to make connections with students in order to validate their social, cultural, or linguistic identities without inadvertently positioning them in ways they do not want to be positioned (Duff, 2007b, p.159)

Duff explains that it is difficult to acknowledge and authenticate students’ “social, cultural, or linguistic identities” because without meaning to, one could potentially position a second language learner in a way that would not represent them or would differ from the student’s subjective positioning. Therefore, FI students can position themselves in various ways: bilingual, multilingual etc. However, as described above, a multilingual identity also remains elusive as as Canada operates in a bilingual framework.

**What Happens After Secondary School?**

Only a handful of Canadian universities have adapted a FI program for post-secondary studies (Gohard-Radenkovic, 2013; Séror & Weinberg, 2013). Séror and Weinberg (2012) explain that it has only been since the early 2000s that Canadian students have been given the option to continue to study French as a second language in a French immersion program at the post-secondary level. This lack of opportunities to further study FSL in an immersion program in the post-secondary level could be one of the reasons why some FI students report a decline in their ‘bilingualism’. *The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages* published a report in
October 2009 called “Two Languages, a World of Opportunities: Second Language learning in Canada’s Universities”. In this report, the Commissioner examines the state of SLE programs in Canada while devoting particular attention to FI programs at the post-secondary level. In the report, the Commissioner notes “opportunities for intensive second-language study are limited—for example, to enrol in immersion programs” (p.III). The report specifies that the FI program is only offered at 17 out of the 84 post-secondary Canadian institutions (p.8). The report further notes that the program is offered in “10 English-language institutions, including one in Quebec; two bilingual institutions; and five French-language institutions, including three in Quebec” (p.8). However, according to the report, the data does not provide details about the extent or depth of the FI programs in these institutions.

As explained further by Canadian Parents for French, prior to the 2000s, many Canadian universities offered only French as a second language courses (FSL), specifically using class time to teach the four language skills (CPF, 2006) As noted above, 17 Canadian universities offer a FI program such as the University of Ottawa, York University’s Glendon College, Campus Saint-Jean at the University of Alberta, Université Ste-Anne, and Simon Fraser University. In a post-secondary context, a FI program, in contrast to FSL classes, allows students to pursue the study of their major (e.g. Biology) while continuing their FSL studies. Séror and Weinburg (2013) explain that “in this context [post-secondary FI studies], students can combine the pursuit of advanced literacy and disciplinary skills in a second language. These skills lay the ground work for their entry in the work force and society”(p.124). Ultimately, the aim of immersion studies at the post-secondary level is clearly described by Wesche (2012):

University immersion aims at the concurrent learning of disciplinary content and related L2 development, with a language curriculum determined by the language issues raised in the discipline course. Ongoing language development is assumed as learners focus on understanding the meanings conveyed by instructors through their L2 (Wesche, 2012, as cited by Séror and Weinberg, 2012)
Research on French immersion studies and identity struggles remains relatively scant at the post-secondary level (Lamoureux, 2013). Moreover, as the enrollment for the French immersion program at the University of Ottawa increases, it has become apparent that the identity construction of these French immersion students is not sufficiently documented (Ambrosio, Dansereau, & Gobeil, 2012; Séror & Weinberg, 2012). Research to date has focused on the success of the FI program but much less on the identity struggles and transformations experienced by students in these students (Ambrosio, Dansereau, & Gobeil, 2012; Burger, Weinberg, & Wesche, 2013; Knoerr, 2010; Knoerr & Weinberg, 2013; Lamoureux, 2013; Shafer, 2013).

This has occurred for two main reasons. First, as noted above, only a handful of universities offer a French immersion program, and only since the early 2000s. For this reason alone, it has been particularly challenging to investigate the linguistic identity of FI students given the lack of opportunities to do so (Gohard-Radenkovic, 2013). Second, the transition of FI students to post-secondary studies is rather diverse; not all students who graduate from a FI program in secondary school choose to continue FSL studies in a FI program or enrol in FSL courses at the post-secondary level. In turn, this limits the occasions where the continuation of the identity struggle can be observed and investigated.

**Overview of Post-Secondary FI Research**

It is essential to survey previous FI research in a post-secondary context studies in order to best describe the current existing literature gap: a lack of research that investigates FI’s linguistic identity. Both Lamoureux (2013) and Schafer (2013) have contributed substantial revelations about FI research in a post-secondary context.

Lamoureux (2013) conducted a study on student experience in the FI program at University of Ottawa with a specific focus on student transition in which she explored notions of
linguistic identity or agency. Her findings show that FI students’ transition to the University of Ottawa were most often expressed through language insecurities while speaking. Students noted that they felt uncomfortable speaking in front of large groups in French (Lamoureux, 2013). Furthermore, Lamoureux notes that “despite students’ presence at a bilingual university and participating in francophone classes (personal translation)” (p. 116) students said they did not “know any real Francophones (personal translation)” (p. 116). Ultimately, student transitions were characterized by the participants’ identities as “good students” (p. 116). Lamoureux explains that the participants of her study felt conflicted by their new realities, studying alongside Francophones and not just their FI peers. Lamoureux concludes that student transition in the FI program at University of Ottawa remains one of the foremost striking themes.

Schafer (2013) also explored FI in post-secondary school context. In his master’s thesis study, he examined Alberta high school students’ perception of using French after high school. His study revealed several important findings. First, he notes that his participants had “limited experience in speaking French outside of school” (p.35) as well as “most students are unaware of where they can go to use their French in the city and surrounding region” (p.38). In turn, these two results show that a decontextualized knowledge of French may limit its actual use outside the classroom (Schafer, 2013). In addition, his study also revealed that “most are unsure if they will continue using their French after high school” (p.40). These results echo the concerns of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (2009) and Friesen (2013). Finally, Schafer (2013) recommended that FI students need to be prepared to use French outside the classroom. A participant from the report “Two Languages, a World of Opportunities: Second Language learning in Canada’s Universities” (2009) commented on this very reality:
The best way to learn a second language is to study in it . . . When you study a subject in your second language, you have to do it at a more profound and intimate intellectual level . . . Learning how to say ‘I saw a dog’ in your second language just isn’t enough! (2009, p.12)

FI students must be willing to interact with Francophones outside of the classroom but also must be better informed about opportunities for such discourse and interactions (Schafer, 2013). Both the studies surveyed above are samples of significant research that has already been completed in the field of FI post-secondary research. However, it is evident that the conceptualization of FI student’s linguistic identity has yet to be explored in full (Séror & Weinberg 2012). Previous research in this field is limited with the exception of Dagenais, Day, and Toohey, 2006; Makropoulos, 2005; Marshall & Laghzaoui, 2012; Roy & Galiev, 2011; Séror & Weinberg, 2012). This study responded to this gap in the literature.

**Applicable theoretical concepts in the literature.**

**Identity.** The notion of identity has become a popular theme of research in second language education (SLE). This attention to identity in SLE has been advocated by key researchers such as Norton (2000). Norton and Toohey (2002) explain that identity studies are necessary because “[l]anguage learning engages the identities of learners because language itself is not only a linguistic system of signs and symbols; it is also a complex social practice in which the value and meaning ascribed to an utterance are determined in part by the value and meaning ascribed to the person who speaks” (p.115). In the same study, Norton and Toohey (2002) clearly show that identity is not a fixed stance but rather reliant on social interactions. In addition, in a later study by Norton (2010), she explains that identities are also defined as subjectivities which serve “as a constant reminder that a person’s identity must always be understood in relational terms: one is either a subject of a set of relationships or subject to a set of relationships” (p. 2).
As noted by Moje and Luke (2009), although identity is a popular theme, few studies “acknowledge the range of perspectives on and views for conceptualization of identity” but they also argued that “subtle differences in identity theories” largely impact how research is framed and interpreted (p. 2). For this reason, how identity is conceptualized in SLE is an important theoretical consideration to address for my research. According to Moje and Luke (2009), framing identity as social could mean that one theorizes identity as “stories told about and within social interactions, so that identities are narratives or histories that the individual produces” (p. 6). At the same time, “a social view of identity might indicate that identities are enacted and performed for people” (p. 6). Based on these two principles of identity from a social view, for the purpose of my study, I framed the notion of identity based on Moje and Luke’s (2009) definitions of identity as a “narrative” and as a “position” (p.2).

**Narrative and Positioning.** The increased popularity in theorizing identity-as-narrative can largely be attributed to the social turn found in “literacy studies” (Moje & Luke, 2009) but also second language acquisition (Block, 2003). As explained by Moje and Luke (2009), “regardless of one’s take on identity, it is difficult to argue against the idea that identities are at least in part represented in and through language” (p. 27). Arguably, Moje and Luke explain that identities can be stories that we tell about ourselves (Mishler, 1999, as referenced by Moje and Luke, 2009, p. 29). This increase in theorizing identity-as-narrative has also encouraged me to use a narrative approach in my methodology, as describe in Chapter 4. Identity-as-position stems from the social view of identity (Moje & Luke, 2009). It accounts for the fact that “subjectivities and identities are produced in and through not only activity and movement in and across spaces, but, also in the ways people are cast in or called to particular positions in interaction, time, and spaces, and how they take up or resist those positions” (Moje & Luke, p. 35).
This chapter served as an overview of existing literature in FI studies, specifically existing research in identity in the PSE context. Beyond that, it explored the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism as framed by the Canadian context. This existing gap in the literature in FI PSE, such as identity construction in this context is an important gap to address. This study will help contribute to closing this gap and add to the existing discourse. Next, Chapter 3 will explain the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that were used to frame the study.
Chapter 3: Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

This chapter examines the theories used to construct the theoretical framework of the study in addition to discussing the various concepts that makeup the conceptual framework. The distinctions between both frameworks can be determined by their nuances. First, the theoretical framework examines the important theoretical theories that shaped this study, such as Social Constructivism (Vygotsky, 1878) and the Positioning Theory (Davies & Harré, 1990), Bourdieu’s Social Theory (1977) and Dewey’s (1938) Principles of Experience. Next, the conceptual framework describes a figure that shows a diagram and explains how essential theories listed in the theoretical framework interact with each other and frame the study. I have blended several concepts together in order to frame this study as it is a highly complex social educational problem that requires a variety of theories to best illustrate how positionings are being ascribed or self-ascribed. Both frameworks serve to explain how linguistic identity can be shaped in a post-secondary context. The conceptual framework operates within the limits set by the theoretical framework.

Theoretical Framework

Social Constructivism. This study is aligned with a larger body of research that has focused on sociocultural factors through the qualitative research paradigm of Social Constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978). The paradigm falls within the postmodern epistemological view and is largely posited by Vygotsky (Creswell, 2013; O’Leary, 2010). Social Constructivism is defined as “theories of knowledge that emphasize that the world is constructed by human beings as they interact and engage in interpretation” (O’Leary, 2010 p.6). Hence, “humans are initially social beings who slowly develop their individual selves through their relationship (experience) with others” (Glassman, 2001, p. 5).
According to Creswell (2013), Social Constructivism’s ontological beliefs are characterized as the notion that “multiple realities are constructed through our lived experiences and interactions with others” (p.36). In other words, the participants’ realities are not viewed in a singular lens. Rather, Social Constructivism acknowledges that the nature of the participants’ reality is formed by their lived experiences and their interactions with others or themselves. In the case of this study, their interactions can be within or outside the classroom and on or off campus. Regardless, the study draws upon this ontological belief in order to best describe the participants’ lived experiences. This particular set of beliefs is important to this study as the participants’ experiences are a central focus of the study.

In addition, Creswell (2013), describes Social Constructivism’s epistemological beliefs as the idea that “reality is co-constructed by the researcher and the researched and shaped by individual experiences” (p.36). Thus, Social Constructivism not only accounts for the nature of reality of the participants but also how knowledge is shaped. In the case of this study, the reality was indeed co-constructed between the researcher and researched. For example, the researcher was able to customize the third interview protocol for each participant. This allowed the researcher to tailor questions for each participant, allowing participants to share details specific to their experiences. In addition, it was also an opportunity for the researcher to clarify and ensure that the interpretation of the experiences was accurate. Thus, reality was always co-constructed by both researcher and researched, as the researcher was able to verify and engage the participant with tailored questions.

This interpretive framework was the most appropriate for this research study because it allowed me to utilize a holistic approach while gaining an intimate understanding of three FI students’ experiences at the post-secondary level. The framework also allowed for emergent themes to arise, as the participants’ identities are fluid and ever changing. Furthermore, it
permitted me to explore social complexities, such as the ways they are positioned and the factors that influence positioning, and allowed the participants’ realities to be co-constructed between the participants and my own (Creswell, 2013).

**Positioning Theory.**

*Identity.* Unquestionably, identity has become an area of focus and interest in SLE. This section explores identity as a concept and not a research theme. The notion of identity was explored largely by the works Norton (2000, 2002, and 2010). Block (2007b) rightfully acknowledges Norton’s contribution to the development of identity in SLE by explaining that “matters have changed considerably since Norton’s call for such work and a long list of publications featuring identity as a key construct attests to this change” (p. 867). The call that Block (2007b) is referring to is a "general push to open up SLA beyond its roots in linguistics and cognitive psychology" (p. 864). Indeed, this study answers such a call by drawing upon the concept of identity as central component of the study.

In 2000, Norton draws upon the notion of identity “to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed over time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (p.5). Indeed, this echoes what was explained in the theories of Social Constructivism and Positioning as well as Bourdieu’s concepts discussed.

For the purpose of this study, as seen in Faez (2011), the central focus of identity will be on linguistic identity. The rational is for this focus is rooted in the fact that identity is a fluid concept (Norton, 2010) and can be described in many facets. Since the study is predominantly interested in positionings, such as reflexive and interactive, for this reason, the identity of the
study is shaped by the linguistic variety. It can be noted that identity can be shaped by different types of positionings but this extends beyond the scope of the study.

My research responded to the crucial gap that exists in current FI post-secondary education data as it investigated if FI students do, in fact, for example, position themselves as an Anglophone and only appreciate French culture, as suggested by EDU’s curriculum. More precisely, it examines whether the narrative and the positionings are changing, and in what sense change is occurring, within the context of the FI post-secondary education in comparison to previous linguistic identities. These could be large contributing factors to how students perceive their own identities as FI students in a post-secondary context.

**Positioning.** Within this theoretical framework, the positioning theory is also referenced and it’s a central point of the study. Similarly to Social Constructivism, the positioning theory accounts for how participants can be shaped via their interactions, especially discursive practices. Beyond that, the positioning theory is about “how people use words (and discourse of all types) to locate themselves and others (Moghaddam & Harré, 2010, p.2). The positioning theory was first developed by Davies & Harré in 1990. The researchers categorise that the positioning theory is centrally located in “discursive practices”, as noted above. In other words, the positioning of the subject (in the case of my study, the participants), frequently occurs as a result of discourse interactions, predominantly, speaking. They stated, “[s]ince ‘positioning’ is largely a conversational phenomenon we must make clear at what level of analysis speaking together is to be taken as relevantly conversation” (p.45). Next, they explain that conversation is “a form of social interaction the products of which are also social, such as interpersonal relations” (p.45). In the case of this study, the participants’ positionings are largely influenced by verbal-social interactions with Francophone peers. They report life experiences of conversations they’ve had
with fellow FI students and Francophone students. It is within these interactions that their positioning are most evident.

Explained best by Miller (2009), she stated that “positioning theory, as informed by social constructivism, highlights the ways in which our social worlds, including our projection of self and others, are shaped in interaction” (p. 322). Davies and Harré (1990) go on to explain that individuals can emerge from social interactions as someone who is shaped and reshaped by their discursive practices. However, most importantly, Davies and Harré (1990) posited the following central component to the theory:

Positioning, as the study will use it, is the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines. There can be interactive positioning in which what one person says positions another. And there can be reflexive positioning in which one positions oneself. However, it would be a mistake to assume that, in either case, positioning is necessarily intentional. One lives one’s life in terms of one’s ongoingly produced self, whoever might be responsible for its production (Davies & Harré, 1990).

In this study, both the interactive positioning (or agentive positioning) and reflexive positioning (subjective positioning) is noted. In fact, this is why the positioning theory was chosen for the study as it accounts for the duality. On one hand, a participant can reflexively position themselves while on the other hand they can be interactively positioned. Both types of positionings are necessary for this study, as positions are in constant change depending on the context and the types of discursive activities in which FI students are participating. The positioning theory as a whole allows the study to better understand how FI students shape their own linguistic identity for the following reasons. First, reflexive or subjective positioning allows the participant to self-ascribe their own linguistic identity. For example, a FI student could
identify themselves as a bilingual. In other words, they position themselves as a bilingual. Yet, the study also draws from interactive or agentive positioning, as noted above. Although a student may reflexively position themselves as a bilingual, upon interacting with a francophone peer, the FI student may be intentionally or unintentionally positioned as an Anglophone by this peer. Thus, this would be an example of interactive positioning.

In the case of my study, the rationale in using the position theory, as noted by Miller (2009), is rooted in the “usefulness and power of a term such as positioning is its capacity to account for dual and simultaneous influences: the subject being positioned by other interlocutors as well as the subject agentively positioning self” (2009, p. 322). In other words, the positioning theory accounts for the twofold happenings of the French immersion student’s linguistic identity shaping and shifting achieved through being positioned by the dominant monolingual groups (Anglophones and Francophones) and their own positioning vis-à-vis francophone culture. The positioning theory, as used in this study, also helps expound these interactions but also show how they impact FI students’ linguistic identity. Since the positioning theory can display a person or group of people being labelled as “‘trusted’ or ‘distrusted’, ‘with us’ or ‘against us’, ‘to be saved’ or ‘to be wiped out’” (Moghaddam & Harré, 2010, p.2), it allows to account for why FI students may or may not self-ascribe a certain positioning or not. Moreover, Miller (2009) confirms that the positioning theory allows for a better conceptualization of identity construction as it accounts for both reflexive and interactive identity.

As a second example of such positionings, I will draw from Auger, Dalley, & Roy (2007). Auger, Dalley, & Roy (2007) claimed that according to the Learning Resources Centre (2006) document, French immersion students are primarily educated in English, developing an Anglophone identity and as a result, develop French language skills while having an appreciation and understanding of French Canadian culture. This stance is an example of an interactive
positioning because the researchers have generalized the learners’ identity when in fact it could potentially be much more fluid and described differently if the participants had the opportunity to reflexively position themselves.

Given the importance of the positioning theory to this study, the research question, as stated in Chapter 1, is directly founded on the theory. For this reason, I chose to explicitly reference the word ‘position’ in the question.

**Bourdieu’s Social Theory.** A third central theory of the study is Bourdieu’s Social Theory. I will first draw upon Bourdieu’s (1977) notions of ‘habitus’ and ‘field’. The notion of habitus was chosen because it is within these contexts that positionings can be observed. It is important to note that it remains possible that positionings can be observed outside of the chosen contexts, however, they remain outside of the scope of this study. In addition, the notion of field was chosen for the study as it sets some of the boundaries and rules that influence the very positionings, as it will be discussed below. Next, I will explore Bourdieu’s concepts of various forms of capital (1977). Then, I will examine the concepts of identity, experience and transition and how these impact the positionings of the participants of the study.

**Habitus, field, and various forms of capital.** In Figure 1, it can be noted that there are three circles. Each circle is denoted by one of the following: ‘Secondary Schools in Ontario’ and the ‘University of Ottawa’s Régime d’immersion’, which represent the habitus, while the ‘Learning FSL in Canada’ represents the field.

**Habitus.** As explained by Bourdieu (1999), habitus are “systems of durable, transposable dispositions” (p. 53). In other words, the habitus works as an agent in which “people are subjects at whim of institutional structures and relations of power” (Moje & Luke, 2009, p. 18). Grenfell’s (2014) explains that it is very difficult to accurately pinpoint an exact definition of habitus. However, he does clarify that, simply put, it “focuses on our way of acting, feeling, thinking and
being” (p.47). Ultimately, habitus is best described as a “socialized subjectivity” (Grenfell, 2014, 48). The individual or institution is shaped by their or its experiences interacting with the collective. Glenfell (2014) stated:

Habitus links the social and the individual because the experiences of one’s life course may be unique in their particular contents but are shared in terms of their structure with others of the same social class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, occupation, nationality, region and so forth (p.48).

To help explain the situation differently, Bourdieu uses an analogy of a game. A habitus is like a game in the sense that a “set of people take part in a rule-bound activity, an activity which, without necessarily being the product of obedience to rules […]” (Bourdieu, 1990, 64).

In this study, both the secondary school and post-secondary school represent the habitus. In these two habituses, FI students (the agents), interact within these institutions at various times in their lives. For example, while attending secondary school, students are younger teenagers compared to when they attend post-secondary institution like the University of Ottawa, where they are older teenagers and young adults. During these two time periods, the habituses represent the FI students normalization of what is learning FSL. When they transition from the secondary school habitus to the post-secondary one (University of Ottawa’s RI), FI students tend to assume that their habitus has not changed as they believe their academic life, their FSL learning, simply continues and does not change. However, what this study illustrates is that because they transition to different institutions and the learning context of FSL in the University of Ottawa’s RI is significantly different than the ones experienced in secondary schools in Anglophone school boards, the normalization of learning FLS does shift and it not always transferable from one institution to another. For these reasons, this is why the study conceptualizes habitus as two different learning institutions since each requires a different set of normalizations learning FSL. In addition, although they are all FI students, they may be unique in the ways mentioned above.
Field. The field is represented by ‘Learning FSL in Canada’. A field or social space is defined as an area in which what happens within this area is limited by boundaries (Glenfell, 2014). “According to Bourdieu, the game that occurs in social spaces or fields is competitive, with various agents using differing strategies to maintain or improve their position” (Glenfell, 2014 p.59). If the habitus is the game, then the field is the area of play. Glenfell (2014) stated, “the social field consisted of positions occupied by agents (people or institutions) and what happens on/in the field is consequently boundaried” (p.59).

In the case of my study, ‘Learning FSL in Ontario’ is defined by several curriculum policy documents such as A Framework for French as a Second Language in Ontario Schools, Kindergarten to Grade 12 and language policy documents such as Official Languages Acts of 1969. These curriculum and policy documents have a large hand in delimiting and guiding the boundaries of FI in Ontario. They impact program expectations, found in both the habituses mentioned above. Although at a first glance, ‘Learning FSL in Canada’ may not be perceived as a social space. However, since stakeholders and policy and curriculum documents are at play, it is conceivable that the “playing field” is much more social than is originally apparent. There are thus limits to what can be done, and what can be done is also shaped by the conditions of the field. The FI student is therefore playing within the field of ‘the institutional rules/curriculum which governs learning FSL in Ontario’ however, is also subject to following the rules of both habitus, at various times in their lives, which are ‘Secondary Schools in Ontario’ and the ‘University of Ottawa’s Régime d’immersion’.

Capital. Furthermore, the positioning and identity struggles of French Immersion students have contributed to the rise of French as a commodity (Heller, 2010). As noted in previous studies (Heller 2010; Lamoureux, 2013) French is used as symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1999), for example, access to better jobs, especially employment with the Canadian Federal government, in
the aims of eventual economic capital (Auger, Dalley, & Roy, 2007; Budach, Roy, & Heller, 2003). According to Budach, Roy, and Heller (2003) “linguistic resources, as well as the value of those resources, are tied to the regulation of access to the production and distribution of material and symbolic resources, and to the definition of their value)” (p.605).

For this reason, the themes of economic, social, cultural (including linguistic capital), and symbolic capital can be found, all influencing the field and habitus (see Figure 1). Bourdieu makes two large distinctions in his conceptualization of capitals (Glenfell, 2014). The first, “economic capital” is “always a means to an end (profit, interest, wage, etc.)” (p.83). Therefore, in the context of this study, economic capital often pertains to FI student’s current jobs or future careers after the completion of their post-secondary studies. In contrast, other forms of capital such as ‘social’, ‘cultural’(which includes linguistic capital) and ‘symbolic’ are also a means to an end but as Bourdieu insists, these types of capitals are much more “[…] in their distinctive ways, deny and suppress their instrumentalism by proclaiming themselves to be disinterested and of intrinsic worth” (Glenfell, 2014, p.83). In essence, these four types of capital aim to effectively explain various social occurrences. In the context of this study, ‘social capital’ pertains to various social interactions FI students from which they are able to access something in exchange. For example, discussing lecture notes with a Francophone peer. Similarly, ‘cultural capital’ aims to describe occurrences of cultural or linguistic gains that FI students experience at various times in their lived experiences. For example, participant 2 shared her experiences of visiting Québec for the first time and participating in the popular cultural event of Carnaval. Arguably, the positioning of FI students use to identify themselves, is impacted by Bourdieu’s cultural capital, which includes, linguistic capital. In a second example, Participant 2 shared a time when she learned new curse words in French while befriending a Francophone. The concepts of capital are
inherent in explaining certain experiences that FI students face while positioning themselves towards francophone culture and language but also as they are being positioned.

With the aim of summarizing the impact of Bourdieu’s concepts on this research study, I drew upon the following equation: “[habitus + capital] + field = practice” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.101). Bourdieu’s equation helps explain a theory of practice, whereas the actions of the agents are best understood not only from the perspective of a habitus or habituses, but also via the field and capitals (Bourdieu. 1977). Glenfell (2015) stated, “[p]ractices are thus not simply the result of one’s habitus but rather of relations between one’s habitus and one’s current circumstances” (p.46). The theory helps accounts for why people, or in the case of my study, FI students, act the way they do. In turn, it also explains that “one’s practice results from relations between one’s dispositions (habitus) and one’s position in a field (capital), within the current state of play of that social arena (field)” (p.50).

In order to frame this study, I suggest the following modification to the equation: [(habitus + capital) + field = positioning. I am not suggesting that a position, in the context of my study, is mathematically predictable. However, based on the theories presented above, including the Social-Constructivist and Positioning Theory, I posit that the relationships between the concepts of habitus, capital and field as displayed in the equation I proposed, are unquestionably influential on FI students’ linguistic identity and consequently positionings, whether the subject is agentively positioning themselves (reflexive positioning) or being positioned by others (interactive positioning). For this reason, the equation helps illustrate the relationships of the concepts discussed above.

Lastly, as seen in Figure 1 below, the meeting of both habitus show an intersection of the concepts of identity, transitions, and experiences as the French immersion student travels from
one habitus to the other. The centrality of Figure 1 is the French immersion student (the agent) as his or her linguistic identity is shaped by two different habitus, influenced by a common field.

Transitions and Experiences. Lamoureux (2013) stated that when students are transitioning to the University of Ottawa in the FI program, they experience a “change of habitus (personal translation)” (p. 111). As noted below in the literature review, in contrast to previous FI studies, first-year FI program students at the University of Ottawa find themselves in a new habitus that is “academically and socially bilingual” (personal translation) and pursue their content courses alongside Francophones (Lamoureux, 2013, p. 111). This new habitus is different because prior to FI studies in the RI at the University of Ottawa, FI students spent the majority of their classroom time alongside fellow FI students. Based on her study, the concept of ‘transition’ is also relevant to this study, as seen in Figure 1. It is within this stage, that identity construction can be evidently observed as students experience new learning situations and acclimate to the expectations of a post-secondary institution versus a secondary school institution. What propels the changes, in addition to the theory of Bourdieu, during the transition is the notion of experiences.

Dewey’s (1938) Principles of Experience. For this the purpose of this study, the concept of “experience” is defined by Dewey’s principle of experience. Dewey (1938), explains that experience is “a moving force” which occurs inside and outside of an individual which in turn “influences the formation of attitudes of desire and purpose” (Dewey, 1938, p. 39). Dewey builds upon the notions of experience by defining the term “situation”. He explains that individuals “live in a series of situations” that influence their experiences (p. 43). Moreover, Dewey touches upon the concept of “transactions”, an important concept for identity studies. He stated “an experience is always what it is because of a transaction taking place between an individual and what, at the time, constitutes his environment, whether the latter consists of persons with whom
he is talking about some topic, the subject talked about being also part of the situation” (pp. 43-44).

Next, the conceptual framework will be described. Is it important to remind that the conceptual framework operates within the limits set by the theoretical framework.

**Conceptual Framework**

![Conceptual Framework Diagram](image)

*Figure 1. Conceptualization of FI students’ positioning. This figure shows how the theories of the study are interconnected and influence FI students’ positioning.*

The conceptual framework for this study was developed by using theories listed above (Bourdieu 1977, 1986, 1999; Davies and Harré, 1990; Dewey, 1938; Lamoureux, 2013) which are also found in other research frameworks or studies (see, Makropoulous, 2005; Marshall & Laghzaoui 2012) as they serve to highlight nuances and explain the findings of the study. Figure
1 is a visual representation of all the intersections of the theories of the study. In Figure 1, the Venn diagram shows that the FI student is at the intersection of three circles. Each circle represents either a field or a habitus. In the case of this study, as described above, the habitus, represented by the top circle and the left-hand circle, are the ‘University of Ottawa’s RI’ and ‘Secondary Schools in Ontario’. In the habitus of the University of Ottawa RI, it can be observed that the study will focus only on first-year undergraduate students. It is also within this context that various linguistic identities and positionings can be observed and reported. In the habitus of Secondary schools in Ontario, students can also report various linguistic identities, as discussed by Roy (2008) and Markropoulous (2005). The third circle, to the right of the figure, is the field of the study, ‘Learning FSL in Canada’. This circle represents the broadest notion of learning FSL in Canada, alongside the tensions that arise from the socio-linguistic climate. In addition, the figure shows that the circles also intersect with each other, such as the intersection of the top circle, ‘Secondary Schools in Ontario’ with the left-hand circle, ‘University of Ottawa’s RI’ which show that a change from one habitus to another can bring on changes to linguistic identity, new experiences and the concept of transitions (Lamoureux, 2013). Secondly, the intersection between left-circle, the field of ‘Learning FSL in Canada’ intersects with both habitus, ‘University of Ottawa’s RI’ and ‘Secondary Schools in Ontario’. It is this intersection between the field and habitus that I posit influenced the positioning of the participants of this study.

This chapter explained the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of this study. Again, it is important to note that the frameworks cannot operate independently; they are always examined in relation to each other. The next chapter will examine methodology.
Chapter 4: Methodology

Chapter 4 displays the methodological interests of this case study with narrative trends. First, an overview of the study is presented. Next, the research design is explained in great detail by examining both the case study and narrative approaches. Then, the chapter describes recruitment strategies and procedures as well participants who agreed to take part in the study. It also details data collection and data analysis procedures.

Overview

In order to investigate the research question, I designed a blended qualitative research study (Creswell, 2013) which is a case study with narrative trends. The qualitative research paradigm was chosen for this study because it is founded on the principal that research is established on “assumptions about interpretation and human actions” (Clandinin, 2007, p.4). In addition, qualitative research seeks to understand the participants of a study rather than predict or control the findings (Clandinin, 2007). These principals are important for the study as it allowed me to have a holistic view of the participant without predicting the outcomes of the study.

The University of Ottawa offers the largest French immersion program at the post-secondary level in Canada (Séror & Weinberg, 2012). Since 2005, the University of Ottawa offers the immersion program within 74 academic programs at the bachelor level (Ambrosio, Dansereau, & Gobeil, 2012). According to Séror and Weinberg (2012), each year the program greets approximately 300 new students. As of 2012, 1200 students were registered in the French immersion program at the University of Ottawa (Séror & Weinberg, 2012). According to the RI office, as of March 2015, there were 573 first-year students enrolled in the FI program.

Given that the University of Ottawa offers the largest FI program at the post-secondary level in Canada it is the best choice for further research of this under-researched subgroup in FSL education as it provides plenty of opportunity to interview FI students at the post-secondary level.
Methodological Framework

In December 2013, I conducted a pilot study (Durepos, 2013) as part of my course work for my Master’s degree. This pilot study has helped inform my methodology and conceptual framework for the present study by confirming that, in fact, more research in a FI post-secondary context with a focus on linguistic identity was necessary. In addition, it allowed me to test my data collection instruments such as the background-questionnaire and interview protocols, upon which my current study data collection instruments are based.

The purpose of this case study with narrative trends was also to describe the identity shaping of one post-secondary French immersion student at the University of Ottawa. More specifically, the research investigated how a French immersion student shaped her linguistic identities during her first year of university studies at the University of Ottawa in the French immersion stream. I coded the data for emerging themes which resulted in 3 themes: acceptance, positioning, and identity struggle.

My participant, Sasha (pseudonym), was unable to identify herself with the Francophone community in Canada and more specifically in Ontario. Sasha was a first year student at the University of Ottawa studying a Bachelor in International Development and Globalization. She was finding her first year of university difficult not only because of the transition to a new environment but also because of struggles with integrating herself in the Francophone community as a whole. The identity struggle of being part of the Francophone community was so great that she mentioned she was considering withdrawing or taking a break from the RI program. On several occasions during the interview (November, 2013), Sasha explained that she did not feel part of the Francophone community in Ontario because she did not feel comfortable interacting with Francophones. In fact, she positioned herself as an Anglophone who was still learning French. In several different instances, Sasha shared her identity struggle as a French immersion
student. One instance where this was most apparent was when she shared a metaphor about her experiences as a French immersion student. Sasha (Durepos, 2013) explained:

I guess it's kind of like, it's kind of like rock climbing sort of. It can be really hard but then after a while you just kind of get a hang of it and then you can get to the top quicker. Like I feel like I am only half way there, and it's still a bit of a challenge and I am surrounded by so many more experienced rock climbers. (0:54:42.5) But hopefully, one day if I keep at it and not fall down, I can get to the top like everyone else (0:54:51.0)

This metaphor is a small sample of the data collected. I interpreted this as a statement of how Sasha sees her goal of where she would like to be as a second language learner. She knows that she is not at the top yet.

Based on this pilot study, I constructed a research design via two major qualitative approaches in education: case study (Creswell 2009, 2013; Duff, 2007a) and narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Huber, in press; Clandinin, 2007; Barkhuizen, Benson, & Chik, 2014). In this next section, I will describe the two major approaches and how I blended them into one qualitative research study.

**Case study.** Primarily, the case study approach (Creswell 2009, 2013; Duff, 2007a) was used in order to address the need to “select a site” (Creswell, 2013, p. 150) or more precisely “a real-life, contemporary bounded system “(p. 97). In the instance of my research, the site is as described above, the University of Ottawa, a real-life contemporary context. Furthermore, the case study approach was also used because it requires the researcher to identify the “intent of conducting the case study” (Creswell, 2013, p.98). Indeed, Creswell (2013) explains that in for case studies “intent” can be the need “to understand a specific issue, problem, or concern” with the aim to “best understand the problem” (Creswell, 2013, p.98). In the case of this study, the intent is to better understand how FI students construct their linguistic identity via the use the positioning theory and other concepts. In this regard, this type of intent is called “instrumental case” (Stake, 1995 as cited by Creswell, 2013, 98).
In regards to my study, “instrumental case” was favoured since my study sought to investigate the linguistic identity construction of FI students who are enrolled in their first-year of undergraduate studies at the University of Ottawa during the 2014-2015 academic year. Finally, the case study approach was an important aspect of my design as it takes in account that if the same research study was conducted in a different site (i.e. other post-secondary institutions that offer FI programs), the results would not necessarily be the same. In addition, it accounts for the fact that positionings may be shaped differently at other post-secondary institutions since University of Ottawa is one of the only institutions that integrates FI students alongside Francophone students in content classrooms. Given this important detail, it is plausible to say that the need to select a site and the importance of intent in the instance of this study, as prescribed by the case study method, helps shed light on the chosen research site in ways that other research methods may not account for these important nuances.

**Narrative inquiry.** In addition to using the case study approach, the narrative approach (Clandinin & Huber, in press; Clandinin, 2007; Barkhuizen, Benson, & Chik, 2014) was also used. First, it allowed me to explore the various lived experiences (Clandinin, 2007) of my participants, permitting a “collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20 as cited in Clandinin & Huber, in press). Recently, narratives in language and identity studies have gained greater popularity since they provide researchers more occasions to further understand L2 learning and identity construction as progressively noteworthy social processes (Duff, 2008; Norton, 2000) and has become the preferred research method in identity research (Norton & McKinney, 2011).

Therefore, I co-constructed knowledge with my participants of their positionings, creating with my participants a space to share “multiple narratives” (Barkhuizen, Benson, & Chik, 2014).
Barkhuizen, Benson, and Chik (2014) explain that narrative inquiry responds to a “broader turn towards qualitative methodologies in language teaching and learning research in recent years” (p.28). In essence, narrative inquiry in language teaching and learning has been a response to address the need to “not only [be concerned] with studying individuals acting on L2 input and producing L2 output, but also with studying how L2 learners are situated in specific social, historical, and cultural contexts” (Norton & Toohey, 2001, as cited in Barkhuizen, Benson, & Chik, 2014, 11). This approach allowed me to focus on FI students in the context of the University of Ottawa in their current identity struggles.

Recruitment of Participants

My sampling frame for this study was three first-year University of Ottawa students who were enrolled in the French immersion program. They were three female students from the faculty of Social Sciences. This section of the chapter will describe how they were recruited. In the Findings chapter, a greater deal of time will be spent on describing each participant or rather each “case”, according to the case studies approach, as prescribed by Creswell (2013).

Students from all disciplines, genders and ethnicities were encouraged to participate. After receiving ethics approval on March 3rd, 2015 (See Appendix E), 573 participants were contacted by email on March 9th via a pre-established recruitment letter-email template (See Appendix B) which asked first-year FI students to participate by filling out an Open-ended and Multiple-Choice Questionnaire (See Appendix C). This tool was designed based on the pilot study mentioned above (Durepos, 2013).

The recruitment letter was sent by email via a listserv by the director of the FI program, Mr. Marc Gobeil. (See Appendix D) The director and I had spoken several times via email to confirm this arrangement and the fact that he was willing to send students this email. The recruitment letter sent by email invited all 573 first-year of University of Ottawa students from
various majors who are enrolled in the RI program to complete the questionnaire (see Appendix C). The questionnaire was chosen as recruitment tool in order to encourage as many participants as possible to respond and thus narrow down the selections based on pre-established criterion (as described below).

It is also important to note that an ethics modification was requested on March 31, 2015 as the director of the RI program graciously funded the study by offering a compensation initiative: $25 gift cards awarded randomly to a total of 25 participants who completed the survey. Ethical modifications were approved on April 10th (See Appendix F) and compensation was randomly awarded by the director on April 20th. Compensation was initially scheduled to be awarded on March 17; however the director of the RI was not available at that time, as previously planned. For more details, see Appendix G.

**Recruitment Procedures**

The email, with the invitation to complete the background questionnaire, was aimed at casting the net as wide as possible in order to purposively sample participants for interviews. The participation in this study was voluntary. Students had the choice to complete the questionnaire or not. Those who responded, naturally, their responses were collected as data. The questionnaire was easily accessible via a URL (https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/FIUOttawa) included in the email and generated by www.surveymonkey.com. The aim of the questionnaire was to gain background information on the participants but also narrow the selection of the 3 students to be interviewed, the second stage of data collection.

To narrow the selection for the interview, the participants needed to meet the following minimum criteria: a) be a first-year undergraduate FI student, b) have completed EI from Grade 1 to Grade 12 in Ontario, c) must have indicated that they are willing to participate in the second half of the study (question #26 and #27 in the questionnaire), d) must have answered that they
position themselves as either, Bilingual, Multilingual, Anglophone, Francophile or other (question #25 in the questionnaire, See Appendix C). Ideally, the sample aimed to have both male and female participants, and a representational variety of majors/ faculty associations of students participating in the *Régime d’immersion*.

The rationale behind these criterions are as follows. First, first-year undergraduate FI students were chosen in order to capture the potential shifts in their linguistic identity given the transitions from secondary school to a post-secondary one, as described in the conceptual framework. Because students tend to live out new experiences in their first year of university and in the context of this research, it would be the first time learning side by side with Francophones, it was deemed that this would be a crucial criterion. Also, the experiences of a first-year student are different from a second, third or fourth year. Then, the aim of choosing students who had completed EI to Grade 12 in Ontario was decided because first, a common curriculum was then shared (the field) and secondly, Ontario has the largest population of Francophones outside of Québec and New Brunswick (Mougeon, 1998). Next, participants were not obligated to participate in the second half of the study and could express their interest by leaving their contact information. Last, question #25 was an important piece of the criterion as the participant was able to self-ascribe their own linguistic identity from a list of choices. In the event that the choices did not represent them, they were able to select the option ‘other’ and then type out their own linguistic identity. As a criterion, the study was looking for a variety of linguistic identities, so that the findings were richer and not simply examining one type of linguistic identity. In addition, the RI tends to have a larger female than male population, which in turn can contribute to a disproportionate of female and male participants. Thus, the hope was that as many male participants as possible would in fact participate in the study.
Ultimately, these criteria permitted me to purposively sample 3 participants, each with a different identity marker such as Bilingual, French and English (Participant 1); Anglophone (Participant 2), Francophile (Participant 3). It is important to note that I did not restrict a participant from participating in the interview stage based on a linguistic positioning (i.e. bilinguals vs. others) but rather sought to investigate why he or she chose to identify himself/herself this way. However, those selected were those who had a good availability to be interviewed, were willing to be interviewed and met the minimum criteria. Again, the goal of the study is not to create generalizations but rather co-construct knowledge of experiences of FI students in their identity negotiations while transitioning to University.

A total of 85 respondents participated in the online questionnaire. Out of the 85 respondents, 31 expressed an interest and consented to be contacted to participate in the interview stage of my study. To contact interested participants, I communicated via a follow-up email using the contact information provided in question #27. For a sample of the follow-up email see Appendix H. In order to facilitate scheduling, I provided each participant with a Doodle URL. A doodle is a web 2.0 website that allowed me to establish meeting times with participants at their earliest convenience. A total of 18 students who met the minimum criteria, were contacted between March 22nd and March 29th, 2015. These students were contacted because they had a good availability to be interviewed, were willing to be interviewed and met the minimum criteria as described above. In order to determine if the participant met the minimum criteria, I used the responses from Questions 18 (criterion a), Questions 9; 10; 11; 13 (criterion b), Question 26 (criterion c), Question 25 (criterion d). Once minimum criteria was met, I created profiles for each student based on their gender, faculty, linguistic identity chosen and their immersion profile (whether they completed FI from EI until Grade 12) in order maximize a variety of participants. I have included a table in order to fully describe the various profiles of the students who were
contacted. In addition, I have also included the dates the participants were contacted. See Table 1 for full details.

Table 1

Participants’ Profiles and Dates Contacted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey #</th>
<th>Gender/Faculty/Identity/Immersion Profile</th>
<th>Date Contacted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Anglophone and Francophile/ EI</td>
<td>March 22nd 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>F/ Telfer/ multi/ EI</td>
<td>March 22nd 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>F/ Health Sciences/ Bilingual F+E/ EI</td>
<td>March 22nd 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Anglophone/ EI</td>
<td>March 23rd and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>M/ Social Sciences/ Anglophone/ MI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Bilingual F+E/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Francophile/ mix</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Anglophone/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>F/ Science/ Anglophone/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Anglophone/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Bilingual F+E/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Bilingual F+E/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>F/ Health Sciences/ Multi/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Bilingual F+E/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>F/ Science/ Anglophone/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Trans/ Arts/ Bilingual F+E/ EI</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Multi/ French 1st-Im-Im</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>M/ Social Sciences/ Multi/ French 1st-Im-Im</td>
<td>March 29th 2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eventually, the selection was narrowed down to 3 students based on their availability and continued interest in the study. See Table 2 for details.

Table 2

Participants Selected for Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant #</th>
<th>Gender/Faculty/Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Bilingual F+E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Anglophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>F/ Social Sciences/ Francophile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Research Instrument and Procedures

For this study, two types of instruments were used to collect the data: a) an electronic background questionnaire with multiple-choice answers (as noted above) and b) semi-structured individual interviews. Both of these data collection tools were designed based on the pilot study mentioned above (Durepos, 2013) and shared conceptual framework as discussed above. These two types of data allowed triangulation of the findings as they “confirmed the authenticity of each source” (O’Leary, 2010, p.115). First, the background questionnaire allowed me to create a profile for each participant. Next, it allowed me to purposively sample the target respondents. Then, the semi-structured interview allowed to further investigate and understand how the selected participants had constructed their linguistic identities (Bilingual, Multilingual, Anglophone, Francophile or other) via positing.

First, the data gathered from the questionnaires primarily consisted of responses to questions that were open-ended and multiple choice. As described above, the main function of the questionnaire was a recruitment tool. The design of the questionnaire was based on Lamoureux (2013), which was also used for recruitment procedures. The questionnaire was structured in the following way. First, students needed to express consent. Then Questions #2-4 asked participants general information such as gender, year of birth and age. Then, Questions #5-7 asked participants questions about their language in terms of their mother tongue and L2. Next, Questions #8-13 asked the participants to report on their schooling experience in the context of learning FLS in Canada. Questions # 14-17 were designed to ask the participants to report their comfort level using French as well as to identity reasons why they chose to study at the RI. Then, Questions #18-24 asked participants to describe their experiences in the RI so far. Last, Question #25 asked participants to report their linguistic identity at the time of the questionnaire. All together, these questions helped create a global profile for the participant.
In addition to its main function, the survey also helped me refine my interview protocol by allowing me to tailor specific questions to each interviewed participant. At the beginning of interview 1 (See Appendix I), I reviewed some of the questions and answers from the survey with each participant. It allowed me to quickly transition into the participant’s lived experiences without wasting time because a lot of the background information was already gathered via the questionnaire.

The principal data gathered for my study was collected from the 3 participants. Each participant was interviewed individually face-to-face 3 times. Time intervals varied depending on participants’ availability. The 9 interviews were semi-structured, narrative style and were on average one hour each. The purpose of the interview process was to dive deeper into the lived experiences of the participants, allowing them a space to share their experiences as FI students. Furthermore, it provided several opportunities for participants to share multiple narratives as it impacts their identity as FI students. In general, the interview questions (Appendix I, J, K) aimed to explore and understand how participants position themselves vis-à-vis French culture in their first year of undergraduate enrollment in a French immersion program at the university level. It also provided opportunity to investigate how various capitals, habituses (secondary school and the University of Ottawa) as well as learning FSL in Ontario impacted the learner’s linguistic identity. The questions focused on a narrative design, allowing participants to recall and share their learning experiences in the French immersion program, thus reflecting on their past, present and future as French immersion students.

In addition, I used Seidmann’s (2013) three-interview approach. Seidmann’s (2013) model allowed me to strategically address different issues at different times (interviews). It is a well-planned out approach that ensures credibility is established as all possible data is gathered and nothing is lost in the fold because it requires the researcher to thoughtfully and purposefully
structure each interview with a planned objective. Thus, because I followed Seidmann’s model, I was able to build rapport with students and strategically focus on different aspects of the students’ lived experiences with each interview. The first interview aimed at getting to know the student and establishing a relationship (See Appendix I). General questions were asked as a follow up to the online background questionnaire. At this time, the participant was also asked to sign the consent form. This first interview’s questions were relatively broad such as “Tell me about your experience of learning French as second language through the immersion programs (elementary, High school, and now post-secondary)?” The second interview asked more precise questions that aimed to answer the research question (See Appendix J). Indeed, these questions were the heart of the data as the questions focused on the various narratives of each participant. The third interview was a follow-up interview in which I verified the transcripts with the participants. In addition, the third interview ensured that the knowledge was being co-constructed by both the interviewee and interviewer. Additionally, it ensured that the stories were accurate and did not compromise the participants’ identity because the aim of the study was to share the experiences of the participant and express their views. It also provided an occasion for me to ask further questions based on what was said in the first and second interviews. For example, I was able to ask Participant 1 “Do you think belonging and identifying with a culture is the same thing?” because we had heavily discussed these two ideas in her previous interviews. Therefore, each third-interview is slightly different from each other (See Appendix K). It was an opportunity for reflexivity and further narrative sharing, if the occasion arose. The interviews took place just before the final exams of the winter 2015 session. Because of this timing, I wanted to establish meeting times that were convenient for the participants and did not interfere with their studies. However, as much as possible, there was possibility that the interviews could be scheduled as much as 7 days apart from the other (See Table 3). Interviews took place in a public location at
the University of Ottawa at a time that was convenient for the participant, based on the doodle responses. The interviews were recorded (audio only). For more details, see Table 3.

Table 3

Schedule of Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant #</th>
<th>Dates of Interview</th>
<th>Location and Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1) April 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1) LMX 254, 7pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) April 8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2) LMX 254, 11am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) April 10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3) LMX 254, 11am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1) April 8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1) LMX 254, 10:00am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) April 16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2) LMX 371, 3:00pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) April 21&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3) LMX 371, 10:30am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1) April 8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1) LMX 371, 4:00pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) April 9&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2) LMX 371, 2:00pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) April 10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3) LMX 254, 10:00am</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Analysis

To analyse the audio-data I used Transana, a transcription tool created by the University of Wisconsin (Woods & Dempster, 2011). I transcribed each interview verbatim. Once the interviews were transcribed, I listened to the audio recording multiple times in order to become intimately familiar with the participant’s lived experiences. Then, as Creswell (2013) suggests, the interviews were analysed by retelling their story via the experiences each participant has lived by respecting the importance of chronology, according to the narrative approach. In addition, to draw upon the case study approach, a description of each participant’s case was developed. Next, once the interviews were retold, I coded the interviews by theme-analysis, via a pre-established list of themes, for example “Identity” and via emerging themes, for example “ethnic identity” (Clandinin & Huber, in press). For an exhaustive list, see Table 4 below. In doing so, I was vigilantly keeping in mind that the stories are those of my participants and I sought to preserve
and present their stories through their eyes. The responses from the background questionnaire were also used to further triangulate the findings in the interviews.

The list of codes was established as follows: First, I started my coding with an initial list that was based on the pilot study (Durepos, 2013). These themes were acceptance, identity, positions. Next, a second set of codes were established based on the Conceptual Framework of this study. These themes are Secondary School (Habitus), University of Ottawa (Habitus), Learning FSL in Canada (Field), Capital (Bourdieu), Culture, Transitions and Experiences. Last, I added a number of themes that emerged from the data. According to the recommendations from Barkhuizen, Benson, and Chik (2014), emergent “research findings are often teased out during repeated rounds of data analysis” (p.104). Emerging themes were established when one or more respondents expressed a common lived experience or theme. These themes are most often subthemes of those mentioned above. For clarity, I have listed them in Table 4.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial List</th>
<th>Conceptual Framework</th>
<th>Emergent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>Secondary School (Habitus)</td>
<td>Legitimization*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>University of Ottawa (Habitus)</td>
<td>Purple Bracelet*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positions</td>
<td>FSL in Canada (Field)</td>
<td>Citizenship*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Capital (Bourdieu)</td>
<td>Ethnic Identity*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Pass/Fail *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Transitions*</td>
<td>Cultural appreciation*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Experiences*</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Identity Struggle*</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: * denotes a subtheme

Credibility and Trustworthiness

Creditability was established via four strategies: Crystallization, Triangulation, Time stamps and full explication of method. First, Crystallization is described as “building a rich and
diverse understanding of one single situation or phenomenon by seeing the world as multi-faceted, and accepting that what we see depends on where we look, where the light is, etc.” (O’Leary, 2010 p.114). In the case of this study, crystallization was achieved because the study’s theoretical framework and method structure declares that its epistemological and ontological stances are rooted in the notions that knowledge and reality are in fact multi-faceted.

Next, Triangulation is defined as “using more than one source of data to confirm the authenticity of each source” to verify one’s findings (O’Leary, 2010, p.115). In the case of this study, both the online questionnaire and Seidman’s (2013) three interview model helped ensure triangulation.

When referring to a quotation in the study, it was important for this study to keep the timestamps of each quotation. This allowed the study to demonstrate two aspects. First, it ensured transparency. Since there is a substantial amount of transcriptions for each participant, it is imperative that the reported findings can clearly illustrate ‘who said what’ and ‘when’. Second, the time stamps allowed the reader to better understand the chronology of the positionings, meaning the reader can note whether a reported positioning happened earlier in the study (Interview 1) or later in the study (Interview 2 or 3).

Finally, in explaining the research methods fully, as discussed above, credibility was again established as it “provides[ing] readers with sufficient methodological detail so that studies are audible and/or reproducible” (O’Leary, 2010, p.115). All four strategies help establish this study’s credibility.

The trustworthiness of this study has been enhanced through a variety of strategies. Although the findings of this study are not generalizable, as they examine the situation in a smaller scope, they are transferable as they do relate to a larger body of L2 learners. The transferability of the findings has been clarified through my discussion section in Chapter 6.
The limitations of this study lie in the fact that the research is only a snapshot of its participants’ linguistic identity. As described above, identity is fluid and ever changing based on discursive contexts and learning situations. For this reason, the study cannot conclusively state that learners’ identities are fully shaped but rather can be immediately reshaped in no time at all. Therefore, a follow up study could be necessary in order to continually capture the linguistic identities of the participants.

This chapter has explained the methodological interests of the study. It has sought to inform what methodological procedures have been used. The next chapter will present the findings of the study, based on the themes presented above.
Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter will share the findings and results of the study. First, it will examine the overall results of the online open-ended and multiple-choice questionnaire. It will reveal the most interesting trends observed of the 85 participants but also focus on the questions that were most helpful in informing the second stage of the study, the interviews. Next, a detailed description of Participant 1, 2, and 3 will be given. Finally, an overview of the themes that emerged from the transcribed interviews will be shared.

Online Open-Ended and Multiple-Choice Questionnaire: Results

Demographics. Predominantly, the largest faculty enrollment of the 85 respondents was from the Social Sciences (n. 41). The second largest faculty enrollment for the RI was the faculty of Sciences (n. 13). (See Table 5). Out of the 85 respondents, 74 of these were female (87%). Other genders of the respondents included 9 males, 1 transgender and 1 polygender. The majority of the respondents (n. 83) were between the ages of 18-20.

Table 5

Participants’ Faculty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My faculty is...</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Sciences</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telfer School of Management</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Law</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The respondents spoke a variety of mother tongues such as English, Chinese, French, Russian, Korean, Spanish, Twi, Arabic, Gujarati, Urdu, Farsi, Romanian, Hindi, and Telugu. However, 85% of the respondents identified English as their mother tongue.

The majority of the respondents \((n. 77)\) completed their secondary school studies in the province of Ontario. However, some respondents \((n. 8)\) noted that they graduated from other provinces. See Table 6 for details.

**Table 6**

*Participants’ Province of Secondary School Completion*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Options</th>
<th>Response Percent</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland / Labrador</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>90.6%</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunavut</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Northwest Territories</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukon</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in a country other than Canada</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In elementary school, the majority of the respondents \((n. 42)\) were enrolled in immersion between junior kindergarten and Grade 1 (see Table 7). This data was noted via Question #9 of the questionnaire, “In elementary school (JK-6th Grade) I was enrolled in…”. However, there were also 16 respondents who began immersion in Grade 4 or later and other participants who were enrolled in Core French \((n. 9)\) and an equal number who were enrolled in French first-language programs \((n. 9)\). Four respondents were enrolled in English only and 6 respondents
acknowledged their enrollment as ‘other’ which indicates that that their trajectory had a mixed profile, for example “First, French only school, then halfway through Grade 6 moved to French immersion.

Table 7

Participants’ Elementary FSL Enrollment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Options</th>
<th>Response Percent</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core French</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended French</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early French Immersion (Starting from JK-1st grade)</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Immersion (Starting from 4th grade or higher)</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French first-language programs</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In middle school, the majority of the respondents were enrolled in immersion (n. 61) as gathered by Question #10. Other respondents noted the following enrollment: Core French (n. 8), Extended French (n. 9), French first-language programs (n. 6), English only (n. 1) and Other (n. 1). (See Table 8).

Table 8

Participants’ Middle School FSL Enrollment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Options</th>
<th>Response Percent</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core French</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended French</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French immersion</td>
<td>71.8%</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French first-language programs</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In secondary school, as noted by Question # 11, the majority of the respondents were enrolled in immersion (n. 63). Other respondents noted the following enrollment: Core French (n. 7), Extended French (n. 13), French first-language programs (n. 1), English only (n. 1) and Other (n. 3) (see Table 9).

Table 9

Participants’ Secondary School FSL Enrollment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Options</th>
<th>Response Percent</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core French</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended French</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Immersion</td>
<td>74.1%</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French first-language programs</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (please specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Linguistic identity and spoken discourse in French.** The online questionnaire sought to examine the linguistic identities and positioning of the respondents. Half of the respondents (n. 34) positioned themselves as Bilingual (French and English). An equal number positioned themselves as Anglophones (n. 22) to those who identified as Multilingual (n. 22). The remainder of the respondents positioned themselves as Bilingual (English and Other) (n. 2), Francophile (n. 4) and Other (n. 1). The respondent who identified as ‘other’ explained that their linguistic identity was “Anglophone & Francophile” (see Table 10).
In addition to linguistic identity, the survey revealed the degree of comfort the respondents felt when interacting in social discussions with Francophones as well as what frequency they communicated in French outside the University setting. According to Table 11, it can be observed that the majority of the participants either felt shy to participate in social discussions with Francophones \( (n. 30) \) or based their participation on ‘who is there and the topic’ \( (n. 30) \). On the opposite ends of the scale, 16 respondents were confident communicating with Francophones as they answered ‘No Problem!’ while a combined total of 15 respondents were ‘Uncomfortable’ \( (n. 8) \) or ‘Prefer to Avoid’ \( (n.7) \).

### Table 11

**Participants’ Level of Comfort to Participate in a Social Discussion with Francophones**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identify your level of comfort to participate in a social discussion with Francophones</th>
<th>Response Percent</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Problem!</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It depends on who is there and the topic</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little shy</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncomfortable</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would prefer to avoid</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition, as noted in Table 12, the use of French outside of the University was quite dispersed. A combined total of 52 respondents did in fact interact in social situations in French outside campus. However, 27 respondents noted that they ‘rarely’ interacted in French outside of campus life while 6 noted ‘no’.

Table 12

*Participants’ Usage of French Outside the University of Ottawa*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer Options</th>
<th>Response Percent</th>
<th>Response Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Online questionnaire: Preliminary conclusions.** Discussion of these findings will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 6. However, it is important to note that the survey gave a broad snapshot of the various linguistic identities of these 85 FI students. It also informed the research of the demographics of the respondents but also enrollment trends from JK-12, prior to RI. A large number of respondents noted that they identified themselves as Bilingual (French and English) (*n.34*). Also, it is important to note that a large number (*n.30*) stated that “It depends on who is there and the topic” for their comfort level in social discussions with Francophones. In addition, a large number (*n.30*) “Sometimes” use French in social situations while (*n.27*) “Rarely” use French in social situations. In summary, a large number of respondents had pursued FSL education prior to their current FI contexts and at the time of the survey, positioned themselves as Bilingual. However, the data suggests that interactive positioning, as hinted by Tables 11 and 12, can play a larger role in linguistic identity because as noted above, although
many students position themselves as Bilingual (French and English), there is still a substantial number of respondents who also noted that they either “sometimes” or “rarely” use French in social situations. Because of these results, the data suggests that linguistic identity, as observed through the various responses, can be shifted via interactive positioning, that is to say social interactions with others as well as changing the field of where French is used.

**Case descriptions.** This section presents a case description of each of the three selected focal case participants selected from the larger data set of 85 respondents. It provides a biography of these cases’ experiences in FI based on the information they shared on their questionnaire and during their interviews. Participants are referred to by number.

**Participant 1.** She was a first year undergraduate student who was majoring in Human Rights and Conflict Studies, at the Faculty of Social Sciences. She was from London, Ontario, where she completed secondary school having been enrolled in FI since EI (starting from JK-1st grade). She described her linguistic identity as a Bilingual (French and English). In addition, she explained that her mother tongue was English and spoke this language with her family. At the time of the online questionnaire, she had completed 2 courses in French since her enrollment in her program in September 2014. She chose to continue her FSL studies via the RI because she hoped to obtain one of the scholarships awarded by the RI. In addition, she aspired to pursue a bilingual career and wanted to work for the Federal Government. It was also important for her to become fully bilingual and to improve her communication skills in French because of her future career goals (See question #16 of questionnaire for sample of the question). She desired to either become a lawyer or work for the Canadian Federal Government after she graduated.

**Participant 2.** She was a first year undergraduate student who was majoring in Political Science, at the Faculty of Social Sciences. She was from Toronto where she completed secondary school having been enrolled in FI since EI (starting from JK-1st grade). She described her
linguistic identity as Anglophone. In addition, she explained that she could fluently speak English, French and Russian. Her mother tongues were English and Russian. These were the two languages spoken in her childhood home. At the time of the online questionnaire, she had completed 6 courses in French since her enrollment in her program in September 2014. She wanted to become a lawyer someday and believed that French helped her achieve her goals because the programs at the University of Ottawa for Law are only offered in French. At the time of the interviews, she had been recently accepted in the Civil Law program. She chose to continue her FSL studies via the RI because she wanted to pursue a bilingual career and hoped to work for the Federal Government (See question #16 of questionnaire for sample of the question).

**Participant 3.** She was a first year undergraduate student who is also majored in Human Rights and Conflict Studies, at the Faculty of Social Sciences. She was from Ottawa where she completed secondary school having been enrolled in FI since EI (starting from JK) with the exception of two years in Core French, between Grades 1-3, since her school did not offer FI for those grades at that time. She described her linguistic identity as a Francophile. She shared how her ethnic background as a Malaysian was very important to her. Although her father speaks Hakka and her mother’s speaks Bidayuh, she does not. In addition, she explained that her mother tongue is English and speaks this language with her family. At the time of the online questionnaire, she had completed 5 courses in French since her enrollment in her program in September 2014. She chose to continue her FSL studies via the RI because of the generous scholarships awarded in the program. She hoped to pursue a bilingual career and her overall attitude towards FSL learning was “Why not?” It was equally important for her to become fully

---

2 In the survey, the response “Why not?” speaks to a general attitude observed in FI students at the RI. Since many have studied FI as early as JK-Grade 1, students at times do not see continuing their FSL education in a PSE context as a big change since they are accustomed to it. Therefore, it is not a negative attitude towards the program.
bilingual and to improve communication skills in French (See question #16 of questionnaire for sample of the question). She also had the goal to become a lawyer.

**Overview of Themes**

This section presents the themes that are derived from the interview data analysis procedures detailed in Chapter 4. There were a total of seven major themes: Acceptance, Capital (Bourdieu), Culture, Positions, Reflexivity, Secondary School and University of Ottawa. It is important to remember that the themes were established based on a pre-set list of concepts stemming from the conceptual and theoretical frameworks selected for this study, as well as emergent themes. Each of the themes listed below have a variety of minor themes or subthemes attached. Each theme will be presented in alphabetical order, in its own section and the subthemes will also be discussed within these paragraphs.

**Acceptance.** The theme of acceptance was established from the pre-set list (based on the pilot study, Durepos, 2013). The theme reveals moments when the participants felt either accepted or not in the Francophone community at large. The degree of acceptance did vary as indicated by the participants, depending on context and who they were interacting with. For instance, Participant 2 noted that she felt a part of the Francophone community when she interacted with Francophone peers:

> I think most people are very accepting […] I can definitely, you know, feel a connection with French people […] I do like, I feel it makes me feel like I can be a part of them because I can communicate; I did learn some things about the French culture as a whole (Interview 2, 02:04-03:04)

Participant 1 also reported a similar sentiment:

> Umm, yeah I feel like I do. Umm, I guess because well, you get emails from the French immersion, that's kind of like I'm in French […] and like being in the classes speaking French is… I don't know if that's considered like cultural, I guess, because it's just like being in class, but I mean it does make me feel like I am part of the like the French-speaking population on campus because I speak French a few times a week and like I'm comfortable in the classes (Interview 2, 07:16-08:17)
Feeling accepted by the Francophone community is often deemed to be important to the participants as it can impact their positioning. Within this theme, the subtheme of *Legitimization* was established, which was in turn divided into two parts, *1) Legitimization by self* and *2) Legitimization by others*. The subthemes were emergent and reflected Roy’s (2010) study.

Participants experienced two forms of legitimation where, at times, they were able to legitimize their own linguistic identity but other times they were seeking for it to be legitimized by others, most often Francophones.

**Legitimization by self.** Experiences of self-legitimization were fewer in numbers than experiences of legitimation by others. These moments of self-legitimization were noted when the participant expressed a sense of confidence about their linguistic identity, they were able to select a linguistic identity without hints of apprehension or hesitation, they were confident.

Participant 2 was remarkably insightful on this matter. She explained why she was confident to be a FI student:

> It's good, it feels nice. It feels really nice because the stream of French immersion is okay, not to say minority but there's much less than English-speaking or Francophone or French people. French-speaking, so, umm, it's nice because we're kind of in the middle; we can do both [...] It’s harder, so we do more work, but you know, I'm proud of it. You know, 12 years and I'm still doing it and I'm sure when I finish Ottawa my French is going to be great, so that's exciting (Interview 1, 21:06-21:56)

It's noticeable that Participant 2 feels in this moment very confident about her linguistic identity.

**Legitimization by others.** Legitimization by others were often noted when the participants interacted with Francophones in French. Participant 1 noted that:

> In my one class, we have quizzes every week and after a quiz, like, someone turned to me and asked me like how I thought the quiz was and we had a little conversation about that and it was all in French, so I guess maybe I felt comfortable because I was replying and talking in French without feeling awkward about it (Interview 2, 06:36-07:26)

She noted that she felt comfortable interacting orally in French. Although the Francophone peer did not say anything about Participant 1’s French or the like, it was still a moment of
legitimization by others since Participant 1 was able to have a successful conversation in French.

In the same interview she adds:

I guess mostly just in class like when I have a conversation with someone or when I like talk to the teacher in French it's like validating that I can speak French and like okay I'm more connected I guess (Interview 2, 15:06-15:55)

However, prior to attending University of Ottawa, Participant 1 did experience a time where the legitimization by others was in fact negative, resulting in what might rather be called a delegitimization of her status as a bilingual. She was visiting Québec city in Grade 8 and a Francophone merchant served her in English. She described her experience in the following way:

[I was] kind of annoyed. Because it's a simple conversation just like I'm buying this or I want to order this. So, I felt like there wasn't any reason for them to reply in English. Like, even though I was in Grade 8, so I guess my French wasn't like at a super high level or anything. But still, I'm capable of talking to you in French and it's something really small. It was kind of annoying, why couldn't you have just replied in French? (Interview 2, 25:50-26:50)

Participant 2 shared a story of a time when her legitimization by others was impacted by a Francophone peer. She noted that sometimes Francophone classmates can be unpleasant:

I want to say, some are snobby or full of themselves, students who are French-speaking, they would like, you know think, it's just another French immersion student, let them, do what they do their best (Interview 1, 23:16-24:16)

The reason she thought this way was because she did have some negative interactions where Francophones looked down on her because she was learning French as a L2. She did note that not all Francophone peers were this way. However, it did at times cause her to seek legitimization or felt that she was being challenged. For example:

I remember once, this one guy [Francophone] he doubted me. And, on the mid-term I ended up doing better than him. And he was so surprised because he was top of the class. He was super smart and cocky and then I remember he even asked me to read my mid-term. And, I'm like, 'yeah, sure read it' (Interview 1, 23:16-24:16)
Although the participant was challenged on her success in the course, she was able to find legitimization via her assessments or indirectly her instructor because she had achieved a higher grade than a Francophone peer.

Participant 3 shared a story of a positive moment of legitimization by others. She visited Québec in winter of 2015:

> When we went to the restaurants and we were like, oh yeah, we're from Ottawa and we're in French immersion. And they were like, oh wow, it's great, and then they'd talk to us in French and they'd be like, it's great that you're learning French. Your French is really great (Interview 1, 24:46-25:46)

Being told by a Francophone that her French was “really good” was certainly an important compliment for Participant 3.

**Capital (Bourdieu).** As noted in the Theoretical Framework (Chapter 3), Bourdieu’s various forms of capital are called upon for this study because they shape how the participants positioned themselves. The various forms of capital such as economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital were explored. Cultural capital or linguistic capital was the most prevalent forms of capital in the findings. Secondly, in the case of this study, symbolic capital was also quite common and was often referenced in the event of obtaining future economic capital via future careers. All three participants were interested in becoming lawyers. Participant 1 said:

> I want to go to law school after my undergrad and then, like, work for the government, maybe like CSIS or something I'm not sure. So, I'd need to speak, be able to speak French fluently probably for that (Interview 1, 07:44-08:19)

Additionally, Participant 2 claimed:

> Nobody from Toronto would consider doing law school in French, so they don't apply to law civil [sic]. French immersion students think of law school as four years undergrad, then law school and they don't really care for the civil program. But, I actually think it's great because then I'll have both degrees and, I can work anywhere government, federal, anything. French has definitely opened this door for me; otherwise, I would've been doing some ridiculous undergrad and four years of it, then hoping to get into law school because it's not guaranteed (Interview 2, 37:28-38:20)
Likewise, Participant 3 explained:

(…). Similarly, Participant 3 explained:

(….) in terms of, like jobs, I definitely feel [about knowing French] like it's really beneficial. (…) Yeah, for law or, like working in the government (Interview 2, 34:01-34:19)

Again, linguistic capital, like symbolic capital, was constantly in tandem with future economic capital. The participants each saw a direct relationship between their knowledge and ability to speak French in order to have a desirable job in their future. Linguistic capital was also relevant in their present life experiences. During summer 2015, Participant 3 planned to volunteer in a Quebec aboriginal community. She explained the importance of knowing French as a valuable form of symbolic capital:

I'll be volunteering in an Aboriginal community in Quebec, so in the Lac-Simon area. So, um, yeah, I just think it's a really good skill to have. […] And, if I wasn't fluent, I also wouldn't have gotten those jobs. Um, so I think like in terms of that, that's really important (Interview 1, 16:28-17:09)

Participant 1 also experienced how French as a form of cultural or linguistic capital could be helpful in her current daily life. She commented about her ability to listen to bilingual presentations:

Whenever I go to a presentation, where Kathleen Nguyen came to speak, and a bunch of other presentations. It's nice being able to like listen to the whole thing because they obviously do them like half French half English. So, presenters switch in between. It's nice being able to listen to the whole thing and not have to like not listen to a section because ‘I don't speak French’. (Interview 3, 15:02-15:07)

In addition, Participant 2 noted that without her current knowledge of French, she would not have been able to come to Ottawa:

Had I not done French, like I wouldn't be able to do droit civil, I won't be able to well, I could go to uOttawa, but you know, I'd probably stay somewhere in Toronto where there's no French immersion program. So, having that is definitely helping me stand out of the crowd (Interview 1, 08:27-08:58)

Cultural Capital seemed to be an important theme for all of the participants because it had direct link to linguistic identity and positioning.
Culture. Culture was a recurring theme in which the participants often conceptualized culture and made reference to Francophone culture in their lived experiences. First, I will present the themes of culture in the broadest sense while exploring what the participants considered as Francophone culture. Then, I will discuss the subthemes of Cultural Appreciation and Cultural Identification.

First, Francophone culture was referred to in the largest sense in the interviews. In the month of March, every year, the University of Ottawa dedicates the month as Le mois de la Francophonie (Francophone Month). Participant 1 commented about this event while discussing her understanding of what Francophone culture was. She noted:

When I think culture I think like music, art, pop culture like stuff that's happening in the news and what not. I did do a few of the Francophone or the Francophonie or whatever it was called, the month of French stuff (Interview 2, 08:01-08:50)

In addition to the generalized notion of Francophone culture, all participants often made a reference to either Québécois culture or French (France) Culture or both. For example, Participant 1 explained why she automatically thinks Québécois culture when asked about Francophone culture by saying, “I guess that's what I've been taught. Through elementary school and high school whenever you talk about French culture it's always Québec” (Interview 2, 24:12-24:49). She goes on to explain:

We never talked about France, we only talked about France a little bit, so I never really associated with France or like French-speaking people anywhere else in Canada. It's always originating from Québec, I guess, because that's where the population [in Canada] of French-speakers is probably (Interview 2, 24:31-25:25)

Similarly, Participant 3 mostly only referred to Québec when referring to Francophone culture:

I think of well, I was just in like Québec City in January. So, I was there for Carnival. So, that's kind of something that comes to mind super quickly. I think of my friend who lives in Gatineau and we had a traditional Québécois meal I guess, just like tourtière. I guess her mom like pickles a lot of vegetables… (Interview 1, 18:07-19:29)
When thinking about Québécois culture, often Participant 1 and 3 would reference their previous lived experience whether they were taught only about Québécois culture or simply were more familiar with it than French culture. Both of these participants had never visited France, but had both participated in frequent visits to Québec and Québec city:

> Francophone culture, I find um, I associate it like immediately with Québécois culture. Because […], I've never met someone from France. I don't really think of France

( Participant 3, Interview 1, 17:20-17:58)

On the other hand, Participant 2 had visited France twice and been to Québec in the summer of 2014. Her lived experiences impacted her understanding of Francophone culture. She would refer to both when speaking about her experiences:

> There's a different accent in Quebec, and a different accent in France, right, but both I've been to Quebec and I've been to France they have the same response. In Paris, I went to some restaurant and I tried to order in French. Automatically they switched to English. Automatically. […] The only time in France that I was actually responded in French was when nobody spoke English. So, they just had to speak in French. Same thing in Quebec

( Interview 2, 17:04-18:32)

Therefore, it is important to note that each participant’s life experience seemed to impact how they understood or what they knew about Francophone culture. Perhaps more importantly, the cultural focuses of their French studies as well as the nature of any interactions and trips they had to French communities were determining factors which influenced their views of French culture.

* Cultural appreciation and cultural identification. * A recurring dialogue with the participants was the difference between appreciating a culture and identifying with it. Although *identity* is a subtheme in of itself (as I will describe below), the dialogue was recurring enough where it is deemed necessary to present the participant’s conceptualization of the issue.

Participant 3 noted that appreciating a culture is not the same as identifying with one. She stated:

> Yeah, for me, I feel like, ah, how do I explain this? If I identify with a specific culture, I feel it's like I am part of it somewhat. In a sense, but I think there's a difference between, identifying with the culture and appreciating it. I would say that because of my friends,
like I know, well I feel like I know a decent part of the Francophone culture but I wouldn't necessarily say that, like I'm part of it (Interview 2, 04:24-05:07)

Participant 1 also held the same sentiment. Just because she was knowledgeable in French did not mean she identified with Francophone culture:

[...] you could be a part [...] or like you could like grow somewhere and be from a specific culture, but then you could like feel like it doesn't represent you or like something happened where you feel like you don't identify with it because of a circumstance or something. I feel like you could still belong to it, it could be like where you're from but you could not identify with it (Interview 3, 08:36-09:39)

She expressed an interesting sentiment about the differences between being a part of a culture but at the same time the fact that this sense of membership did not guarantee an automatic identification with it. Again, this sentiment was shared by all the participants. Participant 2 stated:

I feel like I can't identify myself as a French person. But, I can for sure relate to them and understand them and I think that that's something that a lot of people, English-speaking people, can't do because they haven't actually been through [FI] and they don't really understand it (Interview 2, 02:58-03:37)

The same student indicated clearly that she not did identify with Francophone culture or again as a “French person”. However, she explained that she could “relate” to the group. It would seem that the participants in the case of my study use belonging and appreciation interchangeably because they associate one with the other. However, how do they conceptualize cultural identification?

Overall, the participants often defined cultural identification as an individual who felt strong ties to a culture and language. The participants shared their perception that cultural identification is a personal choice. Again, this is not a generalizable finding, but rather reporting what the participants of this study believed. In the case of participant 1, she stated:

I think it's more like a personal, I see myself a bilingual rather as I don't know, like being connected to a culture everywhere, in the city and like in Canada because I don't know that much about French culture. Like, I know what I've been taught in school and stuff,
but I read occasionally, but it's more like for me personally like I know I can speak French and English so I see myself as bilingual, but I feel like I'm not as into like French culture as I could be (Interview 2, 00:41-01:18) Participant 1 connected her linguistic identity with her cultural identity, but in her case noted that she did not identify with Francophone culture. Secondly, she attributed the reason for this disconnect as stating that “I'm not as into like French culture as I could be”. She reports that perhaps the reason she does not identify with it is because her lack of connectivity with it. Her stance is her own personal narrative.

It was somewhat noted by all participants that Francophones identify with Francophone culture and language but French immersion students only identify with the language. This was either attributed to the perceived exclusivity of Francophone membership or not being “French”.

For example, one participant noted:

The store clerks [in Québec], I talked to them in French and they would reply in English. It's kind of like I feel it gives off the vibe that it's very like exclusive. Like, you have to be Francophone to be a part of the French culture (Participant 1, Interview 2, 24:49-25:25)

Participant 1 explicitly comments on the sense of exclusivity that seems to exist within Canadian Francophones such that in order to identify and belong to this cultural group you had to originate from it, meaning you should be born into a French Canadian family. Similarly, Participant 3 noted the same finding:

Ah, well, I mean, I don't really identify with it, it's like I wouldn't say that I belong to the Francophone culture. [J: Why not?] Oh, well because I'm not French. (Participant 3, Interview 2, 03:20-03:55)

Here it is noted that the identity as a Francophone is characterized by variations of French. Therefore, because variations do exist there is room for her linguistic identity. Similarly, Participant 2 stated:

That's interesting. Umm, well I'm not French, it's not my first language and I don't really have a French culture in my family, but at the same time, because there are so many variations of it, like, there's Quebec, there's France. I still feel like I would I sort of fit into the Canadian French culture (Participant 2, Interview 2, 00:00-01:36)
She noted that because her family is not French and she isn’t either, this directly impacts her cultural identification with Francophone culture. However, she brings the discussion back to the concept of fitting in or belonging to it. It is difficult to unpack this notion without examining the heart of the data: positions and identity.

Next, I will describe these two themes, which in turn will continue to shed light on these students’ conceptualizations.

**Positions.** A central notion to this study was the theme of linguistic identity. The theme code chosen was *identity* in the broadest sense, in the event that general conceptualizations of identity arose. However, as noted in the conceptual framework, the study puts an important emphasis on the examination of linguistic identity. At the same time, it is difficult to talk about linguistic identity without examining the positionings of the participants. First, we will observe these various positionings by examining the duality of the positioning theme (Miller, 2009). Then, we will examine the various forms of identity reported by the participants, most notably their linguistic identity.

Each participant shared their positioning towards Francophone language and culture. In order to tie in the results of the questionnaires, when asking participants about their positioning, I would also discuss their chosen positioning as noted on their questionnaire. This proved to be a fruitful strategy because it revealed that their positioning was fluid, not stagnant. During the interviews, the participants reported a different positioning than that indicated on the survey.

**Subjective positioning.** Participant 1, based on her online questionnaire, identified her linguistic identity as Bilingual (French and English). During the interviews, Participant 1 maintained her positioning as Bilingual (French and English): “I see myself as bilingual” (Interview 2, 01:10). However, throughout the interview she did refer to herself as an
Anglophone as well as a Bilingual several times. In addition, she did weigh out her level of bilingualism by comparing herself to Francophone monolinguals by stating “I feel like there will always be a line because I didn't grow up Francophone or like French as my first language” (Interview 3, 10:57). She feels there will always be a present separation between her positioning and those of the target language group. At the end of the interview stage, she maintained her positioning as Bilingual leaning toward English more than French: “I think mostly bilingual, but probably leaning more towards like English-speaking” (Interview 2, 17:54) while adding that she hopes to become “super bilingual” at the end of her university studies.

Participant 2, based on her online questionnaire, indicated her positioning towards Francophone culture and language was Anglophone. During the interviews, Participant 2 struggled with her positioning. Throughout the study she noted three different positionings: Anglophone, Bilingual and Trilingual. In the case of this participant, prior to arriving at the University of Ottawa, she had a specific positioning: “Before, I thought of myself as, ah, as a bilingual student who, you know, who did English, who did French” (Interview 2, 04:08). However, after attending the University of Ottawa, she decided that her positioning was Anglophone, as indicated in the online questionnaire. In addition, after allowing this student a space to share her positionings and struggles, she concluded the interview by stating that her new positioning was now Trilingual. The participant chose this new positioning on her own. The reasons she changed her positionings are reliant on how she was positioned by others (interactive), which will be discussed below. However, most saliently, it was very exciting to have allowed the participant such an opportunity to voice this shift and struggle in her positionings because I was able to observe this shift in her positioning and listen to her work it out.
Participant 3, based on her online questionnaire, indicated that her positioning towards Francophone culture and language was Francophile. During the interviews, Participant 3 explained: “I wouldn't say that I belong to the Francophone culture” When asked why, the student responded “Oh, because I am not French”. In addition, she added, “I wouldn't say that I'm bilingual, for example. I wouldn't say that I'm like completely bilingual in terms of, I don't know what the other term is, but like I can't easily switch” (Interview 1, 0:35:15). For these reasons, she describes her positioning as Francophile based on the fact that she feels like she cannot adopt the positioning of Bilingual (French and English) because she is unable to easily switch between both languages. However, during the interviews she constantly referred to herself as an Anglophone. Upon asking her about her positionings, she noted that she also had recently shifted her positioning, similar to Participant 2. The reasons for her shift will be described below, but at the end of the interview she had decided that “I would say that I'm like an Anglophone becoming a Francophile”. In order to illustrate the shifts in positioning, Table 13 presents the different positionings chosen at different points in the study.

Table 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants’ Positionings Reported Throughout the Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjective or reflexive positionings were often those noted during the ‘online questionnaire stage’ and ‘end of interview stage’. Notably, the shifts in positioning observed in the narratives of
the participants were often because of how others positioned them, interactive positioning, especially Francophone peers.

**Interactive positioning.** As noted above, shifts in original reported positioning is largely attributed to the duality of the positioning theory (Miller, 2009). Participants changed their positioning based on how Francophones positioned them. In the case of Participant 2, she noted that “The reason why I chose Anglophone [on the online questionnaire] is because, everybody here calls me Anglophone” (Interview 2, 03:45). She adds:

> Everywhere I go here, all my French courses; all of my French friends, they are all automatically [are] putting me into that category and I guess when people place you in a category you start to believe yourself that's what you are (04:08)

She was very discouraged to report how she had been positioned. These positionings by others were so resilient that it did in fact cause her to shift her positioning from her former positioning as Bilingual (French and English), a positioning she was proud of prior to coming to the University of Ottawa. She also shared a story of an interaction she had with two Francophone friends:

> For example, I'm in a group with two French people. They're talking to each other in French, they turn to me and automatically [switch] in English, even though I can 100 percent understand it [French]. They have this position [to] automatic just English to me. I'm their friend, they care for me, but I'm not part of that group (Interview 2, 13:25-14:23)

She revealed that her friends speak to her in English despite the fact that they know she can speak French. In her own words, she clearly showed that she has been positioned and does not belong to the group: “I guess that was just the way I replied because of the atmosphere I've had here at UOttawa”. However, during the interviews, I allowed her the opportunity to reflect on her positionings. She noted that not only is her linguistic identity as a FI student important, but also her ability to speak English and Russian. After some reflection, she noted that she would like to tell Francophones that “I speak three languages and I would tell them that I'm equally, you know,
English-speaking as I am Russian-speaking as I am French-speaking because it's under different contexts and circumstances and environments that I use different languages. So, I wouldn't even say Anglophone or bilingual. So, I think it's a combination of all three. I'd say trilingual”.

Participant 2 revealed how quickly positionings could change, especially if FI students are being positioned by others.

Participant 3 had a similar experience. Although she noted on the questionnaire that her positioning was Francophile, she also explained that the reason she chose this positioning was because “when you're in the university environment, they're [Francophones] are always like, if you're learning French, you're a Francophile” (Interview 2, 34:21). Although Participant 2’s positioning by Francophones resulted in a different positionings, both participants experienced a similar positioning by others.

Participant 1 did not report instances of Francophones directly attributing a positioning to her. However, she did note that she wished it was easier for others around her to know that she can speak French. She felt that it took a great deal of work upon her part for others to automatically know that she spoke French and not simply address her in English, which in turn, did contribute to her positionings. She explained:

I wish it was more like evident I guess. I guess it's kind of hard without just having a conversation with someone in French or mentioning that you speak French. But, like, I feel like people don't know that [I speak French] often unless like I'm close with them (Interview 2, 02:49)

She feels that there is a disconnect between her own positioning as a Bilingual but also her potential positionings by others. In addition, she did share some concerns about how she fears how Francophones do position her, despite the fact that she had no experience of this: “I know when I hear people that are French speaking English and I can tell [that they are Francophone], I don't ever consider them not bilingual. I'm almost like ‘well they can speak both languages’, but I
don't know about everyone…so it's kind of always there like [concern], I don't know. Do people consider me bilingual? Do they think I can actually speak French? Or…” (Interview 2, 20:41). It is evident that the concerns about how others position her do impact her own positionings, to some degree. After all, at the end of the interviews she still maintained a positioning as a Bilingual (French and English), with leaning more towards English than French, as evidence of her relying once again on a reflexive positioning.

However, these positionings by others did not deter any of the participants from continuing their FI studies at the University of Ottawa. However, it certainly did impact their linguistic identities, as discussed below.

**Identity.** Unsurprisingly, identity was a recurring theme in the findings. As noted, identity was most often referred to by its form of ‘linguistic identity’. However, there were some occasions of generalized identity. For example, Participant 3 noted that she identifies more with her program of study than being a FI student:

I've always been in French immersion so it's kind of a regular thing. I identify more with my program and the French immersion is kind of like a side thing. Or like it's incorporated into it kind of it's not really like, I don't, it like introduce myself as, oh I'm a French immersion student (Interview 1, 32:22-33:13)

All participants had noted the longevity and habitual state of studying FI, as explains Participant 3. There is something to be said that because they have all been in FI since EI, they describe the experience as “regular”, “normal”, “used to it”. For example, Participant 1 adds: “I just always did French so it wasn't, it just seemed like, it was weird thinking that kids went to English schools” (Interview 1, 06:27).These thoughts of studying FI long term are not to be seen as negative but certainly do characterize their own experiences and linguistic identities as it continues to influence their positionings and gives additional opportunities to interact with Francophones.
As noted previously, linguistic identity is informed by the participants’ positionings and at times also their cultural identifications. Although the participants do not always identify with Francophone culture, they did in fact believe it was important to identify with the target language, French. Participant 1 explained it best by revealing why she believes it is important to identify with the Francophone language:

I think it's pretty important because I think it makes it easier to interact in French and to understand what's happening. If you can identify with the language you're speaking, it will make it easier to actually use it often” (Interview 3, 11:15-11:38).

She notes that identification with the target language has its own benefits because it allows her to be able to interact and communicate in French more often.

Some of the participants verbalized their own linguistic identity conceptualization (e.g. What is a Francophile? What is a Bilingual?). Participant 3 explained that, in her opinion, a Francophile is: “someone who's a majority Anglophone but who is able to carry a conversation in French” (Interview 1, 36:21). She also shares her conceptualization of what is a bilingual:

I find like the people who have come from, like Franco-Ontarian families for example, and who go to French school but they speak to their friends in English…That's super bilingual. Like it's just a sense that they can write easily in French, in casual settings as well as academic. Just being able to switch like that and not hear an accent. Not Anglicize things, I think is a big thing too (Interview 1, 35:29-36:21).

In order to define a bilingual, Participant 3 uses the native speakers, as described by Roy and Galiev (2011), referring to those who have spoken the language since birth. She notes how Franco-Ontarians are able to not only speak and write in French but they can speak English to their friends. Not only does she describe this group as bilingual but also “super bilingual”. It does raise the question, are there degrees of bilingualness?

Participant 1 shared a different view on what it means to be bilingual: “I can speak and read and carry on a conversation in both French and English” (Interview 2, 01:55). Not all participants had the same conceptualization of bilingualism, it was personal and varied. In
addition to conceptualization of their linguistic identities, participants also commented on the importance of these for their identities:

It's important. It's not like super like crucial, but like, I don't know, it's nice knowing that I can speak two languages and it's cool I guess having that be a part of me, so it's important in that way (Participant 1, Interview 2, 03:07)

Moreover, Participant 2 explained:

It's good, it feels nice. It feels really nice because the stream of French immersion is okay, not to say minority but there's much less than English-speaking or Francophone or French people. French-speaking, so, umm, it's nice because we're kind of in the middle; we can do both [...] It’s harder, so we do more work, but you know, I'm proud of it (Participant 2, Interview 1, 21:06-21:56)

The participants often referred to the importance of learning FSL in Canada via the RI program at the University of Ottawa. It did impact their linguistic identities and again the conceptualization of themselves. By their own admission, they consistently noted that continuing FI in the RI was important because it played a key role in their positionings. Of course, this new experience brought on some identity struggles, as revealed in the findings above. However, Participant 3 told a story of different types of identity struggles which were not anticipated in the data because her ethnic identity played an important role in relationship to her as her linguistic identity. For these reasons, citizenship and ethnic identity will be explored.

*Citizenship and Ethnic Identity.* Participant 3 had a rich cultural background. As noted in her individual case, she described her linguistic identity as a Francophile, then as an Anglophone becoming a Francophile. But, she had also shared how her ethnic background as a Malaysian was very important to her. Although her father speaks Hakka and her mother’s speaks Bidayuh, she did not. Her experiences with her ethnic culture also impact her identity. She explained:

I mean like I have, my own personal culture. My parents are from Malaysia, like I'm Aboriginal Malaysian. That's kind of my culture, so I wouldn't, even if I had to live somewhere, I wouldn't necessarily say that I belong to that culture” (Interview 2, 03:43-04:13)
Her family ties have a strong impact on her own ethnic identity and cultural identity. She also shared her story of her recent identity struggle: “because before, I would always be like oh yeah, like I would always just say my ethnic background is Malaysian…Um, it was only recently that I learned more about my mom's indigenous culture” (Interview 2, 11:02). Because of a recent trip to Malaysia in the summer of 2014, she was able to learn about her mother’s culture. In turn, this had a large impact on her identity:

Ah, this summer, it was very, like who am I? Because you're kind of in the middle and I feel like a lot of first generation Canadians are like that because you're in the middle of, like, okay in Canada, people assume that I'm from l'étranger. And then, like when I'm actually from the country that my parents are from, they see me as a foreigner as well. So, it's like you're in between and you don't really know how to identify (09:33-10:30)

She continued:

When I went to Malaysia this summer, it's interesting because here, people see me as like Asian. Like that's the first thing that they notice just because I'm like a visible minority which I get. But then, when I go over there, they said that I was white (Interview 2, 09:17)

It is evident that she experiences an identity struggle because of race and ethnicity. She is, at times, positioned as Asian and other times as white. She shared another narrative of a time where she experienced racial profiling in Canada:

I was walking to Carnival and this man, who seemed to be from Quebec, um, came up to me and said, Ni Hao. It was like, 'I don't speak anything that's remotely close to that!' Um, so yeah, I was just kind of taken aback by that. And, I was like, ‘oh, do other people assume that I'm like Chinese or that I speak Mandarin, or Cantonese, or something”? Ah, even though I could speak with them fluently in French. You know, so I think at that moment, I was kind of, like, oh, like what, what do other Québécois, like assume of me? (Interview 2)

It is not an easy task for her to negotiate all her forms of identity, especially when others around her positioning her in so many ways. During the identity struggle of her summer trip she came to the following conclusion: “So, now I'm just kind of, like I'm 50 per cent Chinese Malaysian, because of my dad and I'm 50 per cent Bidayuh. And then I'm a 100 per cent Canadian” (Interview 2, 10:43). She explained:
I think that the French really goes into my Canadian life, I guess my identity as a Canadian citizen because I feel like French is a large part of the Canadian culture [...] Yeah, when I say that, like I'm a 100 per cent Canadian, like that's kind of where it fits in (Interview 2, 15:36-16:00)

She was able to select an identity at that time that she felt it best represented her. Her ethnic identity as well linguistic one was reconciled. This participant showed that Canada is very much operating within a bilingual framework (Haque, 2012). Identity as a whole is an important finding for this study. It will be revisited again in Chapter 6.

**Reflexivity.** The notion of reflexivity can be examined via metaphors that were conceptualized by the participants. Creswell (2013) and Barkhuizen, Benson, and Chik (2014) have both noted the importance of metaphors for narrative studies. In the case of this study, metaphors were moments where the participants described their FI experiences up until the present time, April 2015. Because of their reflections, participants were able to use a metaphor to compare their experiences to a concept or notion. Participant 1 reported that her experiences as a FI immersion student is:

> Kind of like, you know, sometimes when an animal is raised with a different group of animals, like a wolf is actually raised with a bunch of dogs, because you're still really similar to what you're doing, but you're also different at the same time. Even though I'm learning French and I'm speaking French often here [UOttawa] it's still like, ‘oh but I'm different’ because I didn't grow up speaking French and it wasn't one of my first languages or my first language (Interview 2, 21:33-23:07)

Her metaphor of “wolf […] raised with a bunch of dogs” described her own identity struggle. She sensed that she does have a sense of belonging to Francophone language but still she noted that she was nonetheless different.

Similarly, Participant 3’s metaphor also compared her FI experiences to that of an animal:

> Almost like a chameleon […] taking on a new skin. I feel like as a French immersion student, you have a different experience than if you were to not be a French immersion student and say you live in French […] And when you're in a French class at [UOttawa], it's kind of like you, not change who you are, but it's like a different aspect of you, that you kind of explore. (Interview 2, 27:27-29:13)
Participant 3’s metaphor also reveals her own identity struggle where she notes that in some shape or form she does take on a different skin when interacting and learning French. However, she did not report this in a pejorative manor, she was simply being honest and open about her experiences as an FI student. On the other hand, Participant 2 reported that her experiences learning FSL as an FI student is “like a cheese” (Interview 2, 31:11). She explains:

At first when you start making cheese it's pretty hard to make. You know, you have to do all the process… It takes a while, so it's hard, at first. Then, when it's made once you get used to it. [...] The cheese is good, but then the more you do it, the longer you wait, the better the cheese gets. So, the more you do French, the longer you work in it and you stay in it, and that being said university and your career and so forth, the better the cheese becomes (Interview 2, 30:36-32:03)

Participant 2 related her metaphor to the process of learning French. At first, as she described, it can be difficult. But overtime, not only does the process get easier but the product also improves in quality. What is most important about the theme of reflexivity is that it reveals that the participants are able to look back on previous experiences and verbalize them via metaphors. The theme also indicates that the participants’ linguistic identities and positionings are rooted within their personal lived experiences.

**Habitus.**

**Secondary school.** The theme of Secondary School was coded when the participants reflected on their past experiences in secondary school or when learning FLS in Secondary School was mentioned in their narratives. These experiences were often categorized by two subthemes: 1) *In the classroom* and 2) *Outside of the classroom*.

*In the classroom.* Participants shared narratives of their experiences in their classrooms in Secondary School ranging from speaking French in class, friends not finishing the FI program and FI requirements. During secondary school, Participant 1 revealed the following: “Like, even though I was in [the] French immersion program, teachers would always be like, ‘you guys
should be speaking French in class’ and we would still…people would just always speak English” (Interview 2, 18:09). She explained that often students would privilege English over French in her secondary school experience. She characterized learning FLS as easy: “I just did French so much. Umm, it was pretty like, was easy; it was never difficult. Same with high school. I only got, like, verbs” (Interview 1, 06:41). The central focus of her learning was on grammar and verbs. However, she did share a time where it was different:

In high school, umm, the layout of our courses in Grade 9 was, like, verbs and mostly verbs. And, in Grade 11 and 12 was, grammar again and literature, but Grade 10 was really interesting for me because I had a different, teacher than the other years (Interview 1, 10:22-11:24)

She goes on to explain that the reason why it was different and interesting was because this teacher shared with them authentic resources and allowed them opportunities to use French outside the classroom, which will be discussed below. These moments of authentic learning are much more closely related to the new EDU FSL curriculum.

Participant 2 was more concerned about some of the dropout rates at her school as many of her peers did not finish the FI program. She noted:

High school was different because a lot of my classmates from elementary school dropped out of the French immersion program. Because in Toronto the system is that you have to take ten credits and then once you get the ten credits you get your bilingual, like, certification whatever it is. And, umm, many of them dropped out. Many of them took the easy courses or like, I don't know, people stopped taking it as seriously (Interview 1, 10:03-11:08)

In the case of Participant 2, she shares that many of her friends did not complete the program. The exact reasons why are not known, but perhaps the lack of contact with French outside the classroom could have been a factor. She did note that many of her friends found it strange that she would pursue post-secondary education in French. She noted “They kind of looked at me like I was, you know… ‘Why would you pursue French when you could do something like a great science program elsewhere?’”, but French for me has always been really important [to me]”
(Interview 1, 11:08). It would seem that Participant 2 had decided for herself the importance of French based on her interest and desire to become bilingual.

Participant 3 also reported moment of FLS learning in secondary school. She remembers that the evaluations were difficult. She explains:

A lot of the evaluations I remember were really hard. Because I, like my oral French is like my, what I was the least confident with I guess. So yeah, in Grade 12, that's what I remember a lot about French immersion. And, there was a lot of oral tests in French too” (Interview 1, 08:01-08:48)

She reports that she spent a lot time practicing oral test but also listening tests as she reveals later in the interview. In fact, she reported that she completed the Diplôme d’études en langue française (DELF).³ In the case admission to the RI at the University of Ottawa, students who obtain a B2 level or higher are exempted from completing the admissions test. In the case of Participant 3, she did in fact obtain a B2 level. Here is what her experience with the DELF looked like:

I never did anything oral in Grades 9, 10, or 11. I mean, we didn't do a lot of speaking. So, there wasn't a lot of presentations. It was mostly just reading or writing a lot. So, in Grade 12 it was a big jump to randomly do all these oral tests (Interview, 08:13-09:08)

Despite the fact that she found it hard to ‘suddenly’ complete the oral test, she did note that it was particularly beneficial for her to have done so. She found that it helped increase her oral comprehension and production skills. It is important to note that again, using the DELF in Ontario classrooms is very much in tune with the new EDU FSL curriculum. For this reason, it explains why Participant 3 suddenly felt like there was a jump in classroom activities and expectations; her teacher was beginning to implement the new curriculum in the classroom.

³ DELF is a well-recognized FSL test that helps benchmark students’ French language abilities in all of the four-skills. When completing the DELF, students obtain a certificate that is recognized internationally – put in your list of terms?
Outside of the classroom. Participants had opportunities to experience FSL outside of the secondary school classroom. Because the habitus, secondary school, did not only include classroom experiences, it was important to note experiences that happened outside of the classroom. Participant 1 was chosen as a tour guide for the Board of Education Centre in London, Ontario. Her role was to encourage young FI students to continue to learn French and why it is beneficial. In turn, she noted that the experience was also impactful on her own FSL learning. It encouraged her to pursue post-secondary studies in French.

Participant 2 had a similar experience in Grade 11 as she was chosen to be an elementary school French tutor. She realized through this experience that language learning is done over time. Helping others learn French reminded her that it is a process. She stated: “Well, it definitely helped and it made me realize that it is really important and it's not easy. Like, you can't just wake up one day and decide to learn a language” (Interview 1, 12:53-13:54). Her experiences as a tutor were also encouraging for her own FSL learning. Finally, Participant 3 had applied for the Page program at the House of Commons. This experience was insightful for her as she was able to ‘test’ her level of competence and ability in French. She was not accepted to the program and the refusal did not seem to impact her linguistic identity because when asked about it, she did not have any negative sentiments about the experience.

Beyond the experiences, mentioned above, all of the participants had visited Québec during secondary school and participated in exchange programs within Canada. These experiences were also of great value to the participants, as described in the themes above. Experiences that happened within this habitus were often influenced by the field of Learning FSL in Canada, more specifically the EDU’s FSL curriculum documents.

University of Ottawa. Since the current learning environment or habitus is the University of Ottawa, the mention of this habitus was more frequent in nature. Participants shared their
experiences in the classroom at the University of Ottawa while discussing the following items: RI program requirements and curriculum, Pass/Fail grades, Purple Bracelet and transitions. In addition, participants also referred to the University of Ottawa when sharing their experiences outside of the classroom, notably on campus.

**In the classroom.** At the University of Ottawa, FI students are able to follow content courses in French but hand in written work in English. This allows students to excel in their FSL learning but also turn in work in English in the event that they are concerned with the quality of their writing. Participant 2 explained how this was helpful:

> The only thing you do is reading your assignments in French, which technically you can even print that in English if you find them online. You just listen to lectures in French, that's it. Everything else, you can hand it in English, you can do your assignments in English (Interview 2, 41:36-43:47)

In her case, she explained that being able to choose whether to hand in assignments and at times complete readings in English, helps her with her classroom performance. However, she did mention that she was not told until the end of her first semester that she could hand in assignments in English. She mentioned that the FI office in the RI should make much clearer to students that this is an option.

In addition, the participants of the study shared their concerns about their performance in their class and noted the differences between learning FSL in a University FI program versus learning it in Secondary School. Participant 1 explained:

> Umm. It hasn't been that hard. I feel like the class itself, I can understand and I'm doing fine in them, but then like listening to other students talk in the class it's kind of it's different than listening to the professor (Interview 1, 07:01-07:36)

Participants felt that taking courses alongside Francophone peers and listening to Francophone professors was much different than taking a French course alongside fellow FI students. Although several FI students can be paired in the same content class (e.g. Anthropology),
Francophones outnumber FI students. When describing this experience, all three participants noted that taking classes with Francophones was “intimidating”. However, as they became used to it, the following narratives emerged as explained by Participant 3: “I feel like being in French class with Francophones, it helps a lot with the language. Like they just use a language that's more advanced or more complex” (Interview 2, 17:25). Participant 2 shared some similar insights: “Umm, it was, it was scary at first, but there are many people, actually, at the University of Ottawa that are very supportive” (Interview 2, 09:24-10:35). Participant 1 shared:

Rather than like learning it [French] just in school and never using it outside of school and just like appreciating it and now it's more like because I live with a bunch of people who speak French and I speak French at school and outside of school. It's more like I can identify with it (Interview 3, 10:24-10:39)

The participants noted that as their learning became contextualized, they began see how learning French alongside Francophones is helpful because she was exposed to the language regularly and was encouraged to interact in French. Yes, in the beginning, it is difficult; however, towards the end of their first year of undergraduate studies, all the participants were proud of their improvements in FSL because their ability to communicate in French was important to them.

At the University of Ottawa, FI students are able to change a final course grade to a qualitative one, either a pass or a fail. FI students may decide to change their French content course and/or FSL course grades to qualitative ones for a maximum of eight times during the first and second year of undergraduate studies. This practice allows FI students to maintain a high grade point average (GPA) which in turn allows them to keep scholarships and grants. Participants in this study reported how the qualitative or ‘pass/fail’ or ‘blocked’ practice has benefited them during their first year undergraduate studies. Participant 1 commented that
“It's definitely easier for a francophone to understand what's happening in class than a French immersion student. I think with the fail/pass, it's the only real advantage that a French immersion [student] has” (Interview 2, 39:08-40:02). Participant 2 noted:

Because I take a French course, even if I get a worse mark, I can't do as well, it can be blocked. I blocked French 1710 and 1720. I didn't do that bad, but because I need to maintain a 8.0 [GPA], by blocking French I got 9.0 first semester. It was really helpful. And, that's how I got into civil law (Interview 2, 43:29-44:08)

For her part, Participant 3 explained:

This semester [Winter 2015], I did use it. It was really, really helpful for politics. Yeah, I, I got a pretty bad mark on my midterm. I got a 55 and then a 50 on an assignment. Yeah it was really good that I had that option. (Participant 3, Interview 3, 00:58-01:48)

The participants benefited from this practice by keeping a high GPA. It is, as noted by Participant 1, a small helpful advantage for FI students. In turn the practice also encourages students to complete the RI requirements without fear that learning new content in their L2 will reduce their GPA.

In the RI at the University of Ottawa, a strategy developed to help FI students find each other in content classes is a purple bracelet. At the beginning of the first year academic year, FI students each receive a purple bracelet. They are encouraged to wear it in order to visually represent themselves. This way, FI students who enter large first year classes of 200 or more francophone students are potentially able to befriend other FI students in the class to reduce anxiety and form ‘study buddies’ early on. However, the participants of this study experienced mixed feelings about the bracelet. Participant 1 found that the bracelets were a nice idea but ineffective.

The bracelets and everything. It's like they [FI office of the RI] want you to be able to connect to other people, but the way they're going about it is kind of like… if I see another French immersion bracelet I'm going to be like: ‘wow, that's the first time I've ever seen one!’ I definitely and they [other FI students] definitely never wear them. I don't think I've ever seen anyone wear one (Participant 1, Interview 2, 43:45-44:53)
However, Participant 3 noted that because of the bracelets, she was able to meet other FI students in her course:

Actually, it helped the first week, to be honest, especially in my anthropology class. I was in the anthro. class, it was a 200-person class. It was my first class ever in university. […] Um, so it was really cool to see people with the bracelets. And then we would all kind of cling to each other because they’d be like, ‘okay do you understand what he was saying just now?’ And I actually made friends that I still talk to, to this day, because of the bracelet and because we happened to be immersion in the class (Interview 1, 25:44-26:49)

Evidently, this bracelet is an optional tool. It is a tactic used by the RI to reduce isolation. It is dependent on the students whether they use them or not. In the case of these participants, it is observable that if the FI student does wear it, there is a potential for successfully creating new friendships.

As noted in Lamoureux’s (2013) study, transitions from one habitus to another can be a great source of anxiety. In this study, transitions did not take up as much space in the findings as it did in Lamoureux’s study. Certainly, it was a topic of discussion among the narratives.

Participant 2 shared a story of how she prepared herself for her first day in the RI:

Well I, [laughs], I read a lot over the summer to work on my French. I, like, over the summer, I went to Quebec City, for two weeks, and I just practiced there. I just wanted to get a hang of what kind of an accent the Francophone, like the French people would have, because personally, from my French immersion school in Toronto, nobody had an accent. Like even my French teachers, they were from France. So it was a completely different accent and that was one of the things that threw me off when I came here, because there was a bunch of mixed accents, Franco-Ontarian, then Québécois and it was a little confusing (Participant 2, Interview 3, 03:02-04:17)

Participants also shared other moments of transition. For example, Participant 3 said:

The level of French is obviously different too. I found the readings were really hard in university even though I was used to reading a lot of text in French, like the level of French in university was really, really tough. And to this day, I have to read things, like multiple times to understand it (Interview 1, 28:26-29:38)

Likewise, Participant 2 articulated:

I don't think it is more so something that should have been taught, I think, I think we should have been practicing French more. I think a lot of, I think a lot of French
immersion students, and myself, at first it is really difficult to start communicating in French. [...] considering that in French Immersion high school we didn't practice that much because most of our courses were in English, I think that was the hardest part, to integrate and start practicing French, because I wasn't as fluent as I hoped to would be (Interview 3, 00:00-01:03)

The difficulty in transitions were often attributed to how prepared the participants felt in terms of language competency. As noted above, at times, the participants felt that one or more of their language skills were not as developed as they should be.

*Outside of the classroom.* Outside classroom experiences were also noted by the participants. Outside classroom experiences mostly referred to interactions on campus with Francophones. The participants were often concerned about their level of engagement and friendships with Francophones:

People that are in French immersion don't have a lot of Francophone friends that I know. Yeah, I actually think that's one of the things that I would have liked to see more, is like links between Francophone and French immersion students (Participant 3, Interview 1, 26:43-27:26)

Participant 1 articulated:

I want to be able to hold a conversation better in French because I'm capable of doing that, but like not as well as I'd like to be. So, for the future I'd like to actually be able to interact with people in French and like feel comfortable with it (Participant 1, Interview 1, 09:04-09:33)

Again, these concerns do not prevent students from excelling in their programs but are simply a reality of their lived experiences. Finally, Participant 3 shares her overall impressions of experiences of her first year as a FI student:

Well, I thought it was pretty amazing. I mean, just like in general. Yeah, I really liked it. I think it added a lot to my university experience to be able to be in French classes, meet new people, different types of people. It definitely added and if I took that out, I think it would be pretty boring. Or I would, I would kind of, like I feel for me, to be able to grow as a person you have to go out of your comfort zones and so a lot of times, speaking French, it was out of my comfort zone (Participant 3, Interview 2, 44:11-45:17)
Getting out of one’s comfort zones is an excellent way to summarize FI students’ experiences in the RI at the University of Ottawa (Séror & Weinberg, 2013). It reveals that despite the fact that FI students in this study have been learning FSL since EI, continuing their education in a post-secondary context in French is not necessarily the same experience as it was while in secondary school. The change in habitus, as described above, reveals these differences.

Next, the findings presented above will be discussed in relation to previous literature. Chapter 6 will examine how this study responds to the gap in the literature and answer its own research question by examining the implications of the data.
Chapter 6: Discussion

The following chapter presents a discussion of the findings related to the research question of the study: *How do French Immersion students who have graduated from a secondary school French immersion program in Ontario position themselves and are positioned vis-à-vis Francophone language and culture during their first year of undergraduate enrollment in University of Ottawa’s French immersion program?* In turn, it examines these findings in conjunction with relevant theories presented in the theoretical and conceptual framework and previous FI research.

The purpose of this case study with narrative trends was to explore the linguistic identity of three post-secondary French immersion students in Canada’s largest bilingual university via the positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Miller, 2009). In addition, it examined the issues related to this linguistic identity through an inquiry into the experiences of these three recent Ontario secondary school graduates who have chosen to continue their FSL acquisition by pursuing undergraduate post-secondary education in the RI program at the University of Ottawa.

**Discussion Results for the Research Question**

In response to the research question: “How do French Immersion students who have graduated from a secondary school French immersion program in Ontario position themselves and are positioned vis-à-vis Francophone language and culture during their first year of undergraduate enrollment in the University of Ottawa’s French immersion program?”

The findings revealed that FI students’ positionings towards Francophone language and culture were diverse in nature. I posited that although their positionings are not generalizable to all FI students in Ontario, they are transferable to other FI students in the context of the RI students at the University of Ottawa, a post-secondary context. The results of my study in both the questionnaire and interviews showed that there is a commonality where FI students’ linguistic
identity is fluid and shifts (Norton, 2000) depending on context and discourse exchanges. However, what my research added to the existing body of knowledge on linguistic identity in FI students (Dagenais, Day, & Toohey, 2006; Makropoulos, 2005; Marshall & Laghzaoui, 2012; Roy & Galiev, 2011; Lemaire, 2014; Lamoureux, 2011, 2013; Seror & Weingberg, 2012; Roy, 2008, 2010; Roy & Galiev, 2011) is the ability to be able to locate specific moments in time when students' linguistic identity changed, as shown through the positioning theory. Beyond that, this research also goes further than the simple location in time when linguistic identity has changed. It also described whether the shift in linguistic identity was self-ascribed (subjective positioning) or ascribed (interactive positioning).

First, based on the online questionnaire, it became evident that FI students did identify with a variety of positionings such as (but not limited to): Anglophone, Francophone, Bilingual (French and English), Bilingual (English and other), Multilingual and Other. As seen in Table 10 the largest positioning groups were ‘Bilingual (French and English)’ (n. 34), ‘Anglophone’ (n.22) and ‘Multilingual’ (n. 22). Although in this study a bilingual positioning has the highest number of survey respondents, one could also argue that the combined total of the other positionings (n. 51) exceeds the number of respondents who reported a ‘Bilingual (French and English)’ (n.34) positioning. For this reason, the initial focus of the discussion will be on exploring how the positionings were chosen among the FI students that were interviewed. Therefore, what is transferable to other research findings of first year FI students at the University of Ottawa is that linguistic identity is fluid and can be shaped both by subjective and interactive positionings. In addition, it would be a false use of data to conclude which positionings are fostered by FI in Ontario, as they are quite diverse and not all those who answered the online questionnaire were enrolled in FI since EI, as some were enrolled in Extended, MI, LI, Core or other and studied in other provinces than Ontario (See Table 7; 8; 9).
**How are positionings chosen?** In this study, FI students position themselves towards Francophone language and culture via two methods: their own subjective positionings (reflexive) and those of the target language group (interactive), as noted in the positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Miller, 2009).

**Subjective positionings.** First, subjective positionings or reflexive are established based upon the researcher’s interpretations of FI students’ experiences based on the following themes or factors: Capital, Culture and Identity. According to the experiences and narratives of the interviewed participants, these three themes helped describe subjective positioning and therefore showcased what type or types of linguistic identity the participants self-ascribed to.

The theme of ‘Capital’ impacted the positionings of the interviewed participants because it often revealed ‘why’ and ‘how’ French was deemed to be useful for students’ immediate and long-term future. Two types of capital reoccurred the most cultural and symbolic capital. Symbolic Capital, as interpreted by the researcher, help conceptualize that the participants in this study were goal oriented about future jobs and the potential that knowing and speaking French would help them achieve their career goals such as becoming either lawyers of public servants. In turn, symbolic capital will eventually manifest itself into Economic Capital. Cultural or linguistic capital also informed this study on how participants perceive acquired skill level in French. It revealed how the participants not only conceptualized culture but also their cultural appreciations, identifications and knowledge. Most strikingly, although the participants of this study reported that they believe knowing and learning French is important, as interpreted via ‘Symbolic Capital’, all three interviewed participants noted that they did not necessarily identify with Francophone culture. For example,

> I think it's more like a personal, I see myself a bilingual rather as I don't know, like being connected to a culture everywhere, in the city and like in Canada because I don't know that much about French culture. Like, I know what I've been taught in school and stuff,
but I read occasionally, but it's more like for me personally like I know I can speak French and English so I see myself as bilingual, but I feel like I'm not as into like French culture as I could be. (Interview 2, 00:41-01:18)

The use of Capital in linguistic identity studies in an FI context is not a new one. Indeed, Makropoulos (2005), Marshall & Laghzaoui (2012) and Seror & Weingberg (2012) report findings with themes of Capital in its various forms. Like this study, Capital helps reveal more information on how linguistic identity is shaped. Marshall & Laghzaoui (2012) reported that linguistic capital was considered important for their participants and any linguistic capital gained during elementary and secondary school should not be lost or wasted. For example, Makropoulos (2005) focused on cultural capital where the three participants of the study expressed opinions about their linguistic identity. For example, one of the participants of Markropoulos (2005) study, Romeo, “believes that immersion learners can adopt the Francophone identity if they master French and interact with native speakers. While Romeo aspires to become Francophone, he currently feels that his lack of proficiency in French prevents him from legitimately crossing into this space” (p. 1454). Likewise, Seror & Weingberg (2012) also use cultural capital to interpret how their respondents frame their linguistic identity which they note as being one of bilingualism tied to Canadian pride. Although these studies and this research study share similar findings, the way Capital, particularly cultural and symbolic capital, in this study is interpreted is different. It helps inform subjective positioning, as described below.

In addition, the theme of ‘Identity’ also impacted subjective positionings as it revealed that identifying with the target language makes it easier to speak it and learn it. For example, Participant 1 said: “If you can identify with the language you're speaking, it will make it easier to actually use it that often” (Interview 3, 11:31). In the narratives of the participants, it was also revealed that identity as a whole is not stagnant but constantly being defined and redefined based on experiences (Dewey, 1938).
Because the study explores linguistic identity via positioning theory, it is able to display how positionings change from one moment in time to another and discuss these changes with the participant. Shifts in positionings were evident in the findings. All of the participants reported a subjective positioning at the beginning of the study that was not necessarily the same ones reported at the end of the study. In addition, this suggests that when speaking about linguistic identity through the lens of positioning it is simply a snapshot of a larger and ongoing process. As described in Chapter 5, instances of subjective positionings were noted twice during the study, once at the online questionnaire stage (Question # 25) and once towards the end of interviews. In the case of Participant 1, she subjectively positioned herself as Bilingual (French and English) on her questionnaire response and reported the same subjective positioning at the end of the interviews. She stated: “I think mostly bilingual, but probably leaning more towards like English-speaking” (Interview 2, 17:54) while adding that she hopes to become “super bilingual” at the end of her university studies. Participant 2 subjectively positioned herself as an Anglophone at the start of the study and then subjectively positioned herself as a Trilingual (Multilingual) by the end of the study. She said:

I speak three languages and I would tell them that I'm equally, you know, English-speaking as I am Russian-speaking as I am French-speaking because it's under different contexts and circumstances and environments that I use different languages. So, I wouldn't even say Anglophone or bilingual. So, I think it's a combination of all three. I'd say trilingual (Interview 2, 05:45)

Last, Participant 3 initially subjectively positioned herself as a Francophile and then Anglophone becoming a Francophile. She said:

[It's] just hard because like, when you're in the university environment, they're always like, oh, if you're learning French, you're a Francophile. That's what [they-Francophones] always call you. But I mean, I feel like I'm an Anglophone, but it's like I'm learning French. I would say that I'm like an Anglophone becoming a Francophile (Interview 2, 34:55)
In between these two moments of different linguistic identities, the research has theorized how each participant experienced a different kind of positioning: interactive positioning. Therefore, what types of linguistic identities did participants ascribe to at the beginning of the interviews, in the middle of the study? As noted in the Table 14 below, a shift in a positioning can be observed. This is attributed to interactive positioning reported by the participants and accounted by the positioning theory (Davie & Harré, 1990).

The practice of coding was done in a methodical manner, however, the findings are most often interconnected because they each individually play a role on positionings but cannot always be discussed in isolation. However, when looking at these three themes together, they help better understand the subjective positionings chosen by the participants at different moments in time. Based on the information theorized by the study from the theoretical notions of ‘Capital’, ‘Culture’ and ‘Identity’, it is able to show that participants self-ascribe their own linguistic identity.

Table 14

*Participants’ Subjective and Interactive Positionings Reported Throughout the Study*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Subjective Positioning</th>
<th>Interactive Positioning</th>
<th>Subjective Positioning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#1</td>
<td>Bilingual (French and English)</td>
<td>Bilingual and/or Anglophone</td>
<td>Bilingual (more English than French).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#2</td>
<td>Anglophone</td>
<td>Bilingual (French and English) *Pre-UOttawa</td>
<td>Trilingual (Multilingual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#3</td>
<td>Francophile</td>
<td>Anglophone</td>
<td>Anglophone becoming a Francophile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Interactive positioning*. Positionings by others or interactive positionings in this study was associated to two factors: the theme of ‘Acceptance’ and reported spoken discourse by the
participants. As noted in the table above, a shift in positionings occurred in the middle of the study. During the interviews, participants were able to share their experience in the RI and discuss moments where interactive positioning impacted their linguistic identity. They were able to report instances, as described in Chapter 5, where they were either intentionally or unintentionally positioned by others through interactive positioning. The shifts in linguistic identity in the middle of the study (See Table 14) were attributed either to how Francophone peers had positioned them (intentionally or not) or the participants’ perception of how they were or were not accepted. Again, this reinforces what Roy and Galiev (2011) reported in their study that perceptions of FI students have an impact on their linguistic identity.

The theme of ‘Acceptance’ and the subtheme of ‘Legitimization’ help explain positionings because FI students most often used the native speakers as a barometer (Roy, 2010; Block, 2007a). As shown in the excerpts, Participants 1, 2, 3 were concerned about being accepted by Francophones and also reported more experiences of legitimization by others. In this case, this desire to have francophone peers and other Francophones outside of the University accept them as legitimate speakers of French impacted their linguistic identity via interactive positioning.

In the cases where the Participants reported feeling unaccepted or not legitimimized, they also reported experiences of interactive positioning. Interactive positioning is not necessarily considered a negative experience; it can also be a positive one. Participants reported both positive and negative interactions with Francophones. For example, Participant 1 shared two instances of legitimization. First, a time positive interaction, she sensed a legitimization by others when she was able to have a conversation about a quiz with a Francophone peer without feeling uncomfortable: “In class, like when I have a conversation with someone or when I like talk to the teacher in French, it's validating that I can speak French and be understood. I'm more connected I
guess” (Interview 2, 15:45). On other hand, she also experienced a negative interaction. She was visiting Québec city during a school trip. Although she spoke to a store clerk in French, he or she responded to her in English. Here is what she thought about the experience: “[I felt] kind of annoyed. Because it's a simple conversation just like I'm buying this or I want to order this. So, I felt like there wasn't any reason for them to reply in English” (26:17.9). In regards to Participant 2, a positive experience was when she obtained a higher grade than her Francophone peer. She said: “He was so surprised because he was he's top of the class. He was super smart and cocky and then I remember, he even asked me to read my mid-term. And, I'm like, 'yeah, sure read it.'” (Interview 1, 23:37). Participant 3 also shared an experience of positive and negative interactions, which impacted her legitimization by others. First, she explained that while visiting Montreal, she was told that she spoke French well. She said:

We went to the restaurants and [said] we're from Ottawa and we're in French immersion. And they were like, ‘oh wow, it's great, and then they'd talk to us in French and they'd be like, it's great that you're learning French. Your French is really great (Interview 1, 24:46)

Participant 3 certainly felt encouraged. However, she shared a negative interaction when visiting Quebec City. As described in Chapter 5, she was walking during the Carnival festival. A man walked up to her and said ‘Ni How’. This was her reaction:

I was like, oh, do other people assume that I'm like Chinese or that I seem Mandarin, or Cantonese, or something. Even though, I could speak with them fluently in French. People see, like my race for example, or ethnicity. What do other people think? Um, do they think that I can speak French at all or do they assume that I can't? (Interview 2, 22:40 - 24:09)

Participant 3, in this case, relied on others for legitimization but had a negative interaction. It is not entirely clear from the data if the man was a Francophone or not. However, Participant 3 seemed to believe so. In this case, she was interactively positioned by her ethnicity which in turn made her question her own legitimization as a French speaker.
All three participants, reported instances of legitimization by others, as observed via the theme of Acceptance. Because of these interactions, either negative or positive, of acceptance and legitimization, they had affected their own linguistic identity. Furthermore, it helps explain the shift in their linguistic identity. Participant 1 said: “I know when I hear people that are French speaking English and I can tell [that they are Francophone], I don't ever consider them not bilingual. I'm almost like ‘well they can speak both languages’, but I don't know about everyone…so it's kind of always there [concern], I don't know. Do people consider me bilingual? Do they think I can actually speak French?” (Interview 2, 20:41). In her case, the interactive positioning was her own interpretation of how others, such as Francophones, position her. In fact, she was aware of this type of positioning as she then said, “It never really like effects anything because I just sit in class and listen and contribute if I want to, but the thought is always there: are people going to judge me?” (Interview 2, 1:05). In this case, Participant 1 is reporting linguistic insecurity. She states that it does not effect as she sits in class and participates if she wants to. Although, she does not report the possibility of interactive positioning from those around her and she is aware of it. Participant 2 was the most vocal about interactive positioning. She reported moments of interactive positioning several times. For example, “I'm in a group with two French people, they're talking to each other in French, and they turn to me automatically in English. So for them, I'm not fully integrated into their French” (Interview 2, 13:25). She also said:

Everybody here calls me Anglophone. Everywhere I go, all my French courses; all of my French friends, they are all automatically putting me into that category and I guess when people place you in a category you start to believe yourself that's what you are. Before, I didn't think so. Before, I thought of myself as a bilingual student who, you know, who did English, who did French” (Interview 2, 04:08)

Not only was she aware of interactive positioning, She was, just like Participant 1, also aware of her personal perceptions of interactive positioning since she said:
Even though English is my dominant language and I speak it better and I like to use it more, I don't know, they [Francophones] just automatically assume that I'm one of those Anglophone. You know, like one of those English-speaking people that just came here and don't really care about the French culture, the French people, which is not true (Interview 2, 5:00)

In the case of Participant 3, she explained that she was told and interactively positioned because if you are “learning French, you're a Francophile. (Interview 1, 34:45). For this reason, she felt interactively positioned as such. However, when asked about her linguistic identity at the mid study point, she said: “Because I have spoken English at home, I identify more with like, and click as an Anglophone first” (Interview 2, 35:23).

Therefore, because the state of the participants’ acceptance by others influenced the FI students’ own opinion of their linguistic identity, these negative and positive interactions propelled shifts in their linguistic identity. Both interactions, while one is positive and one is negative, impacted participants’ positionings suggesting that it is these types of exchanges that help FI students validate their ability and competence in French and thus their positioning with regards to the target language community. This study agrees with Roy and Galiev (2011) that FI students do seek acceptance from Francophones because it shows how both types of positioning, subjective and interactive, can shape linguistic identity from one moment to the next. A reason for this could be that the evident goal of learning a second language is to not only use among fellow learners but to use the L2 to communicate with a larger body of speakers. Although seeking acceptance from Francophones can at times be problematic, it is only natural that FI students do so as they hope to be able to interact with a variety of French speaking populations.

However, positioning is not always ‘cut and dry’; as noted in the findings, most often when observing positionings, they are a complex web of interactions in which students do not always realize themselves why they position themselves the way they do. In fact, it is not always possible to separate the two as seen in the case of Participant 2 and 3. Their initial subjective
positioning reported in the questionnaire, were actually informed by previous interactive positionings prior to the study. For example, Participant 2 said the reason why she subjectively positioned herself as ‘Anglophone’ on her survey was “The reason why I chose Anglophone is because everybody here calls me Anglophone” (Interview 2, 03:45). Similarly, Participant 3 said “learning French, you're a Francophile. (Interview 1, 34:45). It is not always possible or reasonable to discuss one without the other; one helps inform the other.

**Overall impressions**

This study showed that not only is linguistic identity fluid and complex but that it is also changed based on positioning. Furthermore, it also shed light on the difficulties participants’ face of using certain positionings, such as bilingual, since these very positions can be challenged, either by the student or others around them. This raises the concern that current FI programing in the PSE context does not account for these shifts and the reasons they happen. In fact, as recommended by Roy (2008) in the middle school context, current FI programming and curriculum needs to:

> Rethink bilingualism and multilingualism in Canada. Much research has focused on evaluating the competences of French immersion students against those of Francophones. How can we evaluate French immersion students on the basis of who they are and what they can bring to our Canadian society as bilinguals and multilinguals? (Roy 2008, p.404)

I believe this also true for the PSE context. Because identities are fluid and constantly changing, there needs to be a larger discussion about how these very linguistic identities can be used in PSE FI education for the betterment of the students instead of simply focusing on language competency.

In addition, Swain & Johnson (1997) have pointed out 20 years earlier that FI students do not tend to consider membership to the target language community: “[…] in many immersion programs, the aim is not membership of a particular language community. Students (and their parents) see advantages – social, academic, or economic – in a high level of bilingualism, but
their sense of identity remains firmly rooted within the L1 culture and community” (p.10-11). Findings from this study show that this is not necessarily true. This study’s data shows that, at the post-secondary context, FI students do consider membership within the target language community. Similar conclusions exist in other research contexts, beyond FI identity studies (Dagenais, Day, & Toohey, 2006; Makropoulos, 2005; Marshall & Laghaoui, 2012; Roy & Galiev, 2011; Lemaire, 2014; Lamoureux, 2011, 2013; Seror & Weingberg, 2012; Roy, 2008, 2010; Roy & Galiev, 2011).

In addition, research in the field of French as first language and minority context can also add additional valuable insight to the findings of the study. Research in this context by Lamoureux (2011, 2012) reports experiences of FFL students transitioning from a secondary school context to a post-secondary one. Data from her studies show similarities to this study where FFL secondary school students have not had their linguistic identity contested before and find themselves unprepared for their new social context in a University setting. In fact, membership to the Francophone community is often challenged when choosing future PSE. Students are judged on their choices of University, an Anglophone or Francophone one, even if it’s for pragmatic or financial reasons. Lamoureux (2012) reported that:

The participants in my study had to confront narrow linguistic ideologies once they integrated into their new academic communities. What is particularly interesting is that almost all participants had their Francophone linguistic or bilingual identity challenged during their first year at University, whether they studied in English at an English-medium Ontario university or studied in a Francophone programme at a bilingual Ontario university (p.159)

All of Lamoureux (2012) participants had their linguistic identities questioned by others. Although similar instances happened in this research study, it is important to remember that the participants of Lamoureux (2012) study were FFL students. In addition, it is plausible to say that instances of positioning did happen in her study, but they were not conceptualized in this way.
For example, Lamoureux (2012) shares an instance where her participant, Regine, changed her self-ascribed linguistic identity:

In four short days in her new environment, Regine had changed her self-ascribed linguistic identity. When I met with her in late October for our first interview, she explained off-tape that she felt quite intimidated by the accent of her fellow classmates, and the fact that she did not seem to understand a lot of the inside-jokes they seemed to share. She further revealed that they referred to her as an Anglophone because of her accent and her lack of local French-language register, and that they would overtly laugh at her formal French, even in front of their professors (p.160)

Although the contexts are not entirely similar, future FI studies in the PSE context can look to minority FFL studies, in regards to how FFL students are also positioned in terms of linguistic identity. Similar to Lamoureux (2011, 2012), her study can help draw some parallel conclusions for this study. In this regard, she stated the need for Canadian universities to shy away from some of the existing linguistic ideologies. She comments further by stating in her conclusion: “Our globalised, plurilingual, complex realities demand that these [ideologies] be left behind if we truly value the vitality of our plural linguistic communities of practice” (p.163). The same is true for this study; positionings are important, but nonetheless rooted in ideologies of bilingualism.

As posited by the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of this study, a change in the habitus can also impact and potentially change an FI student’s positioning. Although the theme of ‘transition’ was not a prevalent one in this study, meaning participants did not refer to it in high frequency, arguably, because the participants transitioned from one habitus to another, it is in this moment in time that shifts in position were observable. Had these participants not decided to continue FI education at the University of Ottawa, one could argue that maybe there original positionings would have not changed or shifted the way they have.
Chapter 7: Conclusion

This chapter details the conclusion of the study, including its implications, limitations, recommendations for future research and final thoughts. This study adds to the current, yet limited, discussion on FI PSE and specifically linguistic identity in this context. The findings of the study show that the participants positioned themselves towards Francophone language and culture in various ways, such as: Bilingual, Multilingual, Trilingual, Anglophone, Francophile and others. These positionings are not fixed ones as they are often changing depending on subjective and interactive positioning. The findings also indicated that these participants find themselves in the middle of the bilingualism debate (Duff, 2007b). Despite these issues, student enrollment in FI PSE programs as well development of these very programs, continue to grow. This study adds to the urgency of the issue of better understanding the construction of linguistic identity in FI students but also the need to address these positionings in education and second language acquisition.

Implications of the Present Study

Pedagogical implications of the study help inform various stakeholders, educators, administrators, students about the importance of linguistic identity in FI studies and the need to continue to explore it.

Pedagogical implications. In regards to linguistic identity, as seen via the positioning theory, this study shows that teachers could allow more space to these very linguistic identities in their classroom. In the data, participants seldom mentioned whether linguistic identity was explicitly discussed in class, both at the secondary school and PSE context. Based on these findings, but also those that show that reflexive and subjective positionings can shift linguistic identity, it is worth considering how teachers can be more engaged with students on this issue. It could be beneficial to discuss the concept of linguistic identity at the secondary school level to
help prepare students for the experience of facing different types of positioning, whether interactive or subjective. Furthermore, stakeholders and administrators need to consider what benefits it would add to curriculum, if current Ontario curriculum would consider adding more emphasis in incorporating linguistic identity in the classroom. For example, as it stands now, current new FSL curriculum in Ontario does not address the concept of linguistic identity. Based on the results of this study, a clear distinction must be made between “confidence, proficiency and achievement” versus an identification, acculturation and appreciation of a language. In turn, this continues to raise the question, what kind of positionings is the EDU fostering for FI students if they have a not established its vision in this regards? If students are experiencing identity struggles, as they did in this study, how will these continue to be enhanced, diminished, or exacerbated at the post-secondary context, especially if current programing at the secondary school level has not addressed this issue? In addition, the RI of the University of Ottawa also does not have a vision for linguistic identity in its program. Similar to the EDU context, it would be beneficial for the RI to consider the impact of creating a vision of linguistic identity construction within its already successful and well received program. Currently, the RI stance on the issue is more one of bilingualism as competency and not one of identity. For example, in its program outcomes, the RI lists various abilities that students should be able to do at the end of their program. In regards to “bilingualism”, it is framed as competence by the following:

“Demonstrate autonomy and a positive attitude toward language learning and bilingualism; Use the second language with confidence for personal, academic and professional purposes” (University of Ottawa, 2014, p.8). The learning outcomes of the program do not address any other types of possible linguistic identity but focus purely on competency. Given that these positionings are happening on campus, the current RI program could consider addressing this reality and how to support students in this experience.
Limitations

There are some limitations to the study. One is that there were only three participants interviewed for the study. The smaller data set suggests that the findings cannot be generalized to all FI studies even if they can be seen as a helpful way to inform future research. Second, the study relies heavily on participant perception of interactive positioning. Since the researcher has no way of verifying if in fact the participant was positioned in a certain way, the research relies on the reported experience of the participant. In no way does this research study suggest that the participants were not truthful. However, if a participant did misinterpret an interactive positioning by a Francophone, their perception of their own linguistic identity may be informed in error. However, because the research sought to report the experiences of the participants, one does not have to assume that this limitation discredits the entire findings. Simply, it is important to take into consideration that participant’s perception and interpretation of interactive positioning can be subjective. In order to address this issue in future studies, it would be useful to be able to observe participants interacting with Francophone peers in order to potentially observe real-time interactive positioning. Third, this study did not provide any operational definitions for the various positionings reported in the study, for example of and operational definition of “bilingual” positioning. The study did examine what previous literature has done in regards to framing certain linguistic identities. However, this study chose to avoid assigning operating definitions to each positioning, such as Bilingual, Multilingual, Trilingual, Anglophone, Francophile and others because it was aware of the potential of setting the boundaries too tightly and potentially itself positioning the participants of the study. Going forward, future studies should consider whether assigning operational definitions to positionings would be beneficial for comparing and synthesizing findings. In this regard, choosing not to assign such definitions was
done deliberately as to not directly position participants but allow them to describe their linguistic identity as they saw fit.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

Future research in this area should continue to be conducted. For example, this study should be repeated in approximately 12 years. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, EDU released recent FSL curriculum and an adjoining framework that helped replace older FI curriculum. Although EDU expects the new curriculum to bring about great changes to FSL in Ontario and consequently impact FI students, the participants of this study did not experience the new curriculum in full since they all graduated in 2014 and the curriculum and frameworks documents were released a year prior, 2013. Their personal narratives and cultural associations are reliant on their FI experiences which are directly linked to the curriculum of 1999. In order to examine how the new curriculum has further shaped and reshaped positionings among FI students, it would be useful to conduct this study again. If there study were to be conducted again in 12 years, the data collection would be able to report on students who have experience the newer Ontario FSL curriculum in full. In addition, a comparative study could be made alongside this one. It would permit researchers to see how linguistic positionings have changed or not overtime. Alternatively, future research in this area could continue to examine linguistic identity via other theories and methodologies. Furthermore, given that language learning was described as life long process in Chapter 1, it would also be important to continue to research FI PSE in general whereas examining what happens to FI students when they finish secondary school and what opportunities do they have and choose in terms of further FSL education.

**Final Thoughts**

In the present study the research objective was to describe the linguistic identity of three post-secondary French immersion students in Canada’s largest bilingual university via the
positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Miller, 2009). In addition, it also examined the issues related to this linguistic identity through an inquiry into the experiences of these three recent Ontario secondary school graduates who have chosen to continue their FSL acquisition by perusing undergraduate post-secondary education in the RI program at the University of Ottawa. Not only did it use the positioning theory but also Social Constructivism (Vygotsky, 1878) and Bourdieu’s Social Theory (1977) and Dewey’s (1938) Principles of Experience.

The findings of the present study are relevant for various stakeholders in French immersion so that improvements to FI education across Canada can be made over time. Given recent Ministry of Education policies and documents and federal government financial contributions for minority and second language education across the country, Canada, and specifically Ontario, are strategically equipped to continue to improve FSL education and FI.

I started this journey long ago before ever entering a graduate study course. As a Franco-Ontarian, I have been aware of the concepts of membership to a linguistic group and its impacts on my identity. The participants of the study have shown that linguistic identity is an important aspect of learning a second language. It is time that we, as educators, researchers, and stakeholders face this issue head on. I look forward to continuing, working and researching this topic in the future and assisting FSL students at the University of Ottawa in their linguistic identities.
References


doi:10.1017/CBO9780511620829.004


doi:10.3102/00346543049002222


*Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 10*(2), 149-163.

In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and education*. Retrieved from


doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.2010.01141.x


Swain, M., & Lapkin, S. (2005). The evolving socio-political context of immersion education in


APPENDIX A: GRAPHIC OF REQUIREMENTS OF RI AND PROGRAMS OF STUDY

Rapport pour l’auto-évaluation – Régime d’immersion en français

### Régime de français enrichi
(Facultés des sciences)

1. Réussir le Test d’admission en immersion
2. Satisfaire aux exigences du programme d'études.
3. Obtenir au moins 42 crédits de cours enseignés en français, dont :
   - un minimum de 24 crédits dans des cours enseignés en français de la Faculté des sciences;
   - un minimum de 6 crédits dans des cours enseignés en français dans les humanités;
   - un minimum de 6 crédits dans des cours enseignés en français au niveau 3000 ou 4000 de la Faculté des sciences.
4. Réussir FLS 3500, le test de certification de compétence en langue seconde de l’Université d'Ottawa.

### Régime de français enrichi
(Facultés de génie)

1. Réussir le Test d’admission en immersion
2. Satisfaire aux exigences du programme d'études.
3. Obtenir au moins 42 crédits de cours enseignés en français, dont :
   - un minimum de 6 crédits dans des cours non techniques approuvés par la faculté
   - un minimum de 12 crédits dans des cours de première année d’études du programme
   - un minimum de 12 crédits dans des cours de deuxième année d’études du programme, qui comprend certains cours de niveau 1000
   - un minimum de 12 crédits dans des cours enseignés en français au niveau 3000 ou 4000 du programme d’études.
4. Réussir FLS 3500, le test de certification de compétence en langue seconde de l’Université d'Ottawa.
APPENDIX B: E-MAIL RECRUITMENT LETTER

Dear University of Ottawa student:

I am emailing you in order to ask you to participate in a research study. I am a Master’s student at the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa. This research is part of the requirements for obtaining my degree for an MA in Second Language Education from the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa.

I am seeking first-year students enrolled in the French immersion program at the University of Ottawa to participate in my study. The purpose of this study will be to describe the continued identity construction of French immersion students at the University of Ottawa.

The study will help me gain insights into how do first year French Immersion students position themselves vis-à-vis Francophone language and culture in their first year of undergraduate enrollment in a French immersion program. I am interested in studying students who are enrolled in various first year majors within the French immersion program. My particular focus in this study is to investigate and describe how French Immersion students’ identity with Francophone culture and language during their first year of university as they further their language studies in a French immersion context.

The first data collection stage can be completed today. It implies responding to an open-ended and multiple choice questionnaire. It is an electronic survey that is completed online and will not take you more than 15 minutes. The link to the study is the following: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/FIUOttawa

The second stage implies participating in 3, face-to-face, individual interviews. Each interview will take approximately 60 minutes. Only specific students will be contacted for the interviews, based on those who agree to participate in this second stage. Once you have filled out the online questionnaire, if you so choose, at the end of the questionnaire, it will ask you if you are interested in participating in the interviews.

The dates for the interview will be agreed between me and the participants at their own convenience. Each interview will not take more than one hour.

Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary. Your success in the French immersion program does not rely and is not affected by your participation in this study. Also, you are free to withdraw at any time. If interested, please fill out the survey at the following link.
https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/FIUOttawa

I would really appreciate it if you can participate. If you have further questions please do not hesitate to contact me.

Jessica Durepos
[email address]

Warm Regards,

Jessica Durepos
MA in Second Language Education
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa
[email address]
APPENDIX C: OPEN-ENDED AND MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONNAIRE

French Immersion Studies: a post-secondary context

The Linguistic Identity of the French Immersion Speaker: a post-secondary context

Invitation to Participate: I have been invited to participate in a master’s research project conducted by Mrs. Jessica Durepos under the supervision of Professor Fleming as part of her degree requirements for a Master’s in Education at the University of Ottawa.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of the study is to collect information on how University of Ottawa’s French immersion students identify themselves with Francophone language and culture in their first year of undergraduate studies.

Participation: My participation will consist of answering a short background questionnaire participating about my experiences with this issue. The questions will focus on my experiences as French immersion student. The questionnaire should take no longer than 15 minutes.

Risks: My participation in this study entails no foreseeable risks. However, if I experience any discomfort, I may decide to stop the answering the questionnaire at any time.

Benefits: By expressing some personal ideas about my experiences as a first-year French immersion student at the University of Ottawa, I will contribute to an enlarged understanding of the French immersion students’ experiences as second language learners in a university context.

Confidentiality and anonymity: The information I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents will be used only for the purpose of her master’s thesis and that my confidentiality will be protected through a pseudonym assigned to me by Mrs. Jessica Durepos. Results of the study will not be shared with any faculty or administrative staff affiliated with the Regime d’immersion (RI) en Francais at the University of Ottawa. However, Mr. Marc Gobett, director of the RI will be aware of students who have participated in the survey.

In this case, Mr. Gobett will have access to student participant’s emails for the purpose of the draw only. In the case where communication or follow up emails are exchanged with Mrs. Jessica Durepos, in order to minimize the risk of security breaches and to help ensure my confidentiality, it is recommended that I use standard safety measures such as signing out of my account, closing my browser and locking my screen or device when I am no longer using them.

Please be advised that the survey is hosted by an American provider (Survey Monkey). Therefore, data collected via American servers as subject to the US Patriot Act.

Anonymity will be protected in the following manner: Mrs. Jessica Durepos will assign a pseudonym to each participant. Pseudonyms will be kept during publications and thesis write-up. Mrs. Jessica Durepos will ensure that my identity is not recognizable.

Conservation of data: I have been assured that the data collected such as survey responses will be kept in a secure manner. Electronic data will be safeguarded on an encrypted external hard drive stored in Dr. Fleming’s office, in a locked cabinet. Hard copy data will also be stored in Dr. Fleming’s office in a locked cabinet. Only Mrs. Durepos and Dr. Fleming will have access to the data. The data will be retained for a period of 5 years. After 5 years, all data will be destroyed.

Compensation:

To thank you for your contribution to the research project, you will be given the option to enter your name in a draw to win a gift card or tuition credit valued at $25 (The selected winners will have the options to select their prize).

The draw is open to all research participants who enter their name in the draw, regardless of whether they decide to withdraw from further participating in the research project.
French Immersion Studies: a post-secondary context

Compensation (Continued):

On March 17th 2015, 25 names will be randomly selected amongst those who have entered and the person whose name is drawn will be informed by email. If the person cannot be reached within 14 days from the date of the draw, the prize will be awarded to the second name that is randomly selected and so on until the prize has been awarded. The odds of winning a prize varies based on the number of participants. The prize must be accepted as awarded or forfeited.

Your name and email that you provide when you enter the draw is collected for the purposes of contacting you if your name is selected in the draw. Your name and the contact information you have provided will be kept confidential and then destroyed once the prizes have been awarded.

We reserve the right to cancel the draw or cancel the awarding of the prize if the integrity of the draw or the research or the confidentiality of participants is compromised. The draw is governed by the applicable laws of Canada.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. Participation in this study does affect my academic success in the Régime d'immersion en Français at the University of Ottawa. If I choose to withdraw, data gathered will be preserved. Once data is submitted, it cannot be withdrawn.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5
Tel.: (613) 562-5387
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

**For your personal records, please print a copy of the form.

1. Do you agree to the above terms? By clicking Yes, you consent that you are willing to answer the questions in this survey.

   [ ] yes
   [ ] no
2. What is your gender?
- Female
- Male
- Transgender
- You do not have an option that applies to me. I identify as

3. What year were you born?

4. Which category below includes your age?
- 17 or younger
- 18-20
- 21-29
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60 or older

5. My mother tongue is (Please select all that apply.)
- Chinese
- English
- French
- German
- Italian
- Korean
- Russian
- Spanish
- Tagalog
- Vietnamese
- Cree
- Other/multiple languages (please specify)
French Immersion Studies: a post-secondary context

6. In what languages can you speak fluently? (Please select all that apply.)
- Arabic
- Cantonese
- Mandarin
- English
- French
- German
- Korean
- Russian
- Spanish
- Tagalog
- Vietnamese
- Cree
- Other (please specify)

7. Please describe what language(s) were primarily spoken in your childhood home.

8. How many years have you been studying French?
- Less than a year
- 1 year
- Between 2 and 3 years
- Between 4 and 5 years
- More than 5 years

9. In elementary school (JK-6th grade) I was enrolled in
- Core French
- Extended French
- Early French Immersion (Starting from JK-1st grade)
- Middle Immersion (Starting from 4th grade or higher)
- French first-language programs
- English only
- Other (please specify)
French Immersion Studies: a post-secondary context

10. In middle school (7th and 8th grade) I was enrolled in
   - Core French
   - Extended French
   - French immersion
   - French first-language programs
   - English only
   Other (please specify)

11. In high school (9-12th grade) I was enrolled in
   - Core French
   - Extended French
   - French Immersion
   - French first-language programs
   - English only
   Other (please specify)

12. What year did you graduate from high school?

13. Prior to attending the University of Ottawa, I completed my high school studies in
   - Newfoundland / Labrador
   - Nova Scotia
   - Prince Edward Island
   - New Brunswick
   - Quebec
   - Ontario
   - Manitoba
   - Saskatchewan
   - Nunavut
   - the Northwest Territories
   - Yukon
   - Alberta
   - British Columbia
   - in a country other than Canada

14. Do you use French in social situations outside the University? For example: in a restaurant, at a store, to ask for assistance
   - Yes
   - Sometimes
   - Rarely
   - No
15. Explain how and why you came to the decision to enrol in the Régime d’immersion at the University of Ottawa?

16. Why did you choose to enrol in the Régime d’immersion? (Please select all that apply.)
   - Scholarships
   - Want to pursue bilingual career
   - Want to work for the Federal Government
   - Why not?
   - To become fully bilingual
   - To improve my communication skills in French
   - Other (please specify)

17. What challenges do you expect to encounter/have you encountered?

18. I am currently enrolled in the _________ of my undergraduate program.
   - First Year
   - Second Year
   - Third Year
   - Fourth Year
   - Fifth Year

19. My major(s) is /are

French Immersion Studies: a post-secondary context

20. My faculty is...
   - Arts
   - Social Sciences
   - Sciences
   - Health Sciences
   - Engineering
   - Telfer School of Management
   - Civil Law
   - Law
   - Education
   - Medicine

21. Identify your level of comfort to participate in a social discussion with Francophones
   - No Problem!
   - It depends on who is there and the topic
   - A little shy
   - Uncomfortable
   - Would prefer to avoid

22. How likely are you to complete the graduation requirements for the certification from the Régime d’immersion?
   - Very likely
   - Most likely
   - Likely
   - Not likely
   - Will not complete

23. Explain what challenges could/can prevent someone or are preventing you from meeting the certification requirements.
French Immersion Studies: a post-secondary context

24. Since the start of my first year of university, I have successfully completed ___ courses offered in French.

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 6+

25. How do you describe your language identity?

- Anglophone
- Francophone
- Bilingual (French and English)
- Bilingual (English and other)
- Multilingual
- Francophile
- Other (please specify)

26. Would you like to participate in the second half of this study (3 x 1 hour long, individual interviews)?

- Yes
- No

27. If yes, please leave your contact information below. Please note you may also leave your contact information below to be entered in the draw without having to participate in the interviews.

Name
Email
Phone number
De : IMMERSIO
Envoyé : 9 mars 2015 15:04
À : IMMERSIO
Objet : Survey of immersion students

Chers étudiantes et étudiants,

Une étudiante à la maitrise veut étudier certaines caractéristiques chez vous, les étudiants en immersion. Nous appuyons ce projet et vous invitons à y participer.

The survey takes 5-10 minutes and you could win one of 25 tuition credits or bookstore gift cards worth $25. (If there are more than 50 participants, we will add more money to the draw.) The draw will take place on March 17. To qualify for the draw please provide your name and email address at the end of the survey, as it is the only way for us to know who has participated. We promise that you will NOT be obligated to take part in any further activities.

A follow-up interview will be proposed to those who provide their email address, and it is optional. However, participants who are ultimately interviewed will receive more tuition credit / gift cards.

Veuillez lire le message ci-dessous et rendez-vous au Survey Monkey https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/FIUOttawa
Merci de votre participation!

Le Régime d’immersion en français / French Immersion Studies

--------

Dear University of Ottawa student:

I am emailing you in order to ask you to participate in a research study. I am a Master’s student at the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa. This research is part of the requirements for obtaining my degree for an MA in Second Language Education from the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa.

I am seeking first-year students enrolled in the French immersion program at the University of Ottawa to participate in my study. The purpose of this study will be to describe the continued identity construction of French immersion students at the University of Ottawa.

The study will help me gain insights into how do first year French Immersion students position themselves vis-à-vis Francophone language and culture in their first year of undergraduate enrollment in a French immersion program. I am interested in studying students who are enrolled in various first year majors within the French immersion program. My particular focus in this study is to investigate and describe how French Immersion students’ identity with Francophone culture and language during their first year of university as they further their language studies in a French immersion context.

The first data collection stage can be completed today. It implies responding to an open-ended and multiple choice questionnaire. It is an electronic survey that is completed online and
will not take you more than 15 minutes. The link to the study is the following: https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/FIUOttawa

The second stage implies participating in 3, face-to-face, individual interviews. Each interview will take approximately 60 minutes. Only specific students will be contacted for the interviews, based on those who agree to participate in this second stage. Once you have filled out the online questionnaire, if you so choose, at the end of the questionnaire, it will ask you if you are interested in participating in the interviews.

The dates for the interview will be agreed between me and the participants at their own convenience. Each interview will not take more than one hour.

Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary. Your success in the French immersion program does not rely and is not affected by your participation in this study. Also, you are free to withdraw at any time. If interested, please fill out the survey at the following link.

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/FIUOttawa

I would really appreciate it if you can participate. If you have further questions please do not hesitate to contact me.

Jessica Durepos
[email address]

Warm Regards,

Jessica Durepos
MA in Second Language Education
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa
[email address]
APPENDIX E: ETHICS APPROVAL

Ethics Approval Notice
Social Sciences and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Last Name</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Douglas</td>
<td>Fleming</td>
<td>Education / Education</td>
<td>Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessica</td>
<td>Durepos</td>
<td>Education / Education</td>
<td>Student Researcher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

File Number: 08-14-27

Type of Project: Master's Thesis

Title: The Linguistic Identity of the French Immersion Speaker: a post-secondary context

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy) Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy) Approval Type
03/03/2015 03/02/2016 Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

Special Conditions / Comments: N/A
This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2010) and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above named research project. Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled “Special Conditions / Comments”.

During the course of the project, the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the project (e.g., change of telephone number). Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes which increase the risk to participant(s), any changes which considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project and safety of the participant(s). Modifications to the project, including consent and recruitment documentation, should be submitted to the Ethics Office for approval using the “Modification to research project” form available at: http://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/submissions-and-reviews.

Please submit an annual report to the Ethics Office four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval. To close the file, a final report must be submitted. These documents can be found at: http://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/submissions-and-reviews.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at extension or by e-mail:

Signature:

Riana Marcotte
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Barbara Graves, Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB
Hi Jessica,

Great, thank you for this. The following modifications are now approved:

1. **Compensation**: Participants will now be entered into a draw as compensation for participating. Students who win the draw will have the choice of a gift card or tuition credit, both valued at $25.

2. **Consent form**: All necessary changes concerning compensation and confidentiality have been made to the consent form.

These modifications are covered under your current ethics certificate, which is still valid until March 2nd, 2016.

Best regards,

Mélanie Rioux

Coordonnatrice d’éthique / Ethics Coordinator
APPENDIX G: SAMPLE OF COMPENSATION EMAIL TO PARTICIPANTS

RE: Survey of immersion students

IMMERSIO <[email address]>

Bonjor,

Vous avez gagné 25 $ pour votre participation, au mois de mars, au sondage décrit ci-dessous!!

Please reply to this message to confirm how you would like to receive this money: 1) a $25 credit on your tuition fees; 2) a $25 credit on your uOttawa card; or 3) a $25 gift card at the bookstore. The credits will be applied in the manner of your choosing. The gift card can be mailed to you, or you can pick it up at our offices later this week.

The delay in awarding the credits is my fault. Please accept my apologies for the tardiness in settling this.

Bonne chance dans vos examens.

Marc Gobeil
Directeur | Director
Régime d’immersion en français | French Immersion Studies
Université d’Ottawa | University of Ottawa
www.immersion.uOttawa.ca
Tél. | Tel.:
Dear University of Ottawa Student:

I am emailing you in order to ask you to participate in the second stage of my research study. As you may remember, at the end of the survey for my Master's Thesis study: "French Immersion Studies: a post-secondary context", you indicated that you were interested in participating in the interview stage of the study. Based on your responses, you have been selected for the interview stage.

Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary. Your success in the French immersion program does not rely and is not affected by your participation in this study.

The second stage implies participating in 3, face-to-face, individual interviews. Each interview will take approximately 60 minutes. To respond to this invitation, please consult the following doodle link: [link].

This tool will allow us to schedule meetings at your convenience. Please note, on days that I have not indicated a "time slot" are days where I can meet at any time convenient to you. I suggest meeting in LMX 254 (a meeting room) or a location on campus of your choice. I recommend meeting before the end of session in order to not interfere with your exam schedule and studies.

Once you have indicated three time slots that are convenient to you, I will email you to confirm the meeting times and location. However, if you are no longer interested in the interview stage, simply reply "Cannot Make It" (Located under the "Table" view).

I hope we will be able to meet in order to discuss your experiences as a FI student at the University of Ottawa. If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Warm Regards,
Jessica Durepos
**APPENDIX I: FIRST INTERVIEW PROMPT PROTOCOL**

Interview prompt protocol - *First Interview*
- Semi-structured narrative interview
- In person, one-on-one audio recorded interview
- Goal: Get to know each other, establish a relationship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date: ______________</th>
<th>Place: ______________</th>
<th>Time: ______________</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviewer: ______________________</td>
<td>Interviewee n: ________</td>
<td>Duration: 1 hour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Instructions for interviewer:
Thank participant for agreeing to be part of the study.
Ask him/her to sign consent form.
Ask the participant about their experiences of learning French as second language through the immersion program (elementary, High school, and now post-secondary)
Tell him/her you will be asking some questions about this event.
Tell him/her the answers will be audio recorded.

Demographic information:
How long have you been learning French as a second language? ____________________
Have you always been in a French immersion program? ____________________
Have you studied in other countries than Canada? ____________________

**Review Questionnaire***

Questions:
*Tell me about* your experience of learning French as second language through the immersion programs (elementary, High school, and now post-secondary)?
*Tell me how these experiences have shaped you.*
*So far, what is your most memorable experience as FI student at the University of Ottawa?*
*How are things different? The same?*
*What does it mean to you to be a “French immersion student” at the University of Ottawa? Do you have experiences to share?*
Thank you very much!

COMMENTS:
APPENDIX J: SECOND INTERVIEW PROMPT PROTOCOL

Interview prompt protocol - Second Interview
- Semi-structured narrative interview
- In person, one-on-one audio recorded interview

Date: ______________ Place: ______________ Time: ______________

Interviewer: ________________________ Interviewee n: __________

Duration: 1 hour

Instructions for interviewer:
Focus will be on lived experiences - narrative.
Tell him/her the answers will be audio recorded.

Questions:
How do you position yourself vis-à-vis French culture and language? Tell me what that is like to position yourself in this way. Does it shape you as a person?
Now that you are studying at the University of Ottawa, what do you think about taking classes with your francophone peers? Do you find it helpful, intimidating, challenging…? Tell me about a situation that made you feel uncomfortable.
Do you feel part of the francophone community at the University of Ottawa? Why or why not?
Can you provide some examples?
Can you describe a time and an example of when you DID NOT feel a part of the francophone community in general? Try to reflect back on that situation…. What was that like? (Who was there? What was the setting like? What did you do? Who did you talk to?) Was this during a school function or outside of school? How did it make you feel? Any other examples?
Can you describe a time and example of when you DID feel a part of the francophone community in general? Try to reflect back on that situation…. What was that like? (Who was there? What was the setting like? What did you do? Who did you talk to?) Was this during a school function or outside of school? How did it make you feel? Any other examples?
In terms of your language learning, how would you describe yourself? As a bilingual, francophone, multilingual, monolingual? Why?
If your language learning experience as a French immersion student could be defined in a metaphor, what would this be?
What are the reasons behind your decision to continue to pursue FSL studies at the post-secondary level? How do you believe this will shape your future?
What are the reasons behind your decision to study at the University of Ottawa’s French immersion program?
In your opinion, how important it is to learn French in Ottawa? Canada? Worldwide?
Have you travelled outside of Canada to other French speaking countries? If so, did you feel a part of the communities? If not, suppose you did travel outside of Canada, to what degree would you feel comfortable speaking French?
Thank you very much! COMMENTS:
APPENDIX K: THIRD INTERVIEW PROMPT PROTOCOL

Participant 1

Interview prompt protocol- *Third Interview*

- Semi-structured narrative interview
- In person, one-on-one audio recorded interview

Date: ___________  Place: _______________  Time: ___________
Interviewer: ________________________  Interviewee n: __________
Duration: 1 hour

Instructions for interviewer:
Focus will be on lived experiences- narrative and follow up.
Tell him/her the answers will be audio recorded.
Review transcripts and follow up questions for specific student.
What would you have like to have known about French (the language) before starting University of Ottawa?
What would you like to say to your secondary school teacher about this?
What advice would you give future FI students?
How did you prepare yourself for your first day in RI? Tell me a story of how you prepared yourself.
What would you like Francophones to know about RI or being an FI student (at the University of Ottawa)?
What should professors know about FI students?
Do you think belonging and identifying with a culture is the same thing?
Ultimately, how important is it to connect with the culture of a language that you are learning?
Can you tell me your life story as a French immersion student, the events and experiences that have been important to you up until now?

COMMENTS:

Participant 2

Interview prompt protocol- *Third Interview*

- Semi-structured narrative interview
- In person, one-on-one audio recorded interview
Date: ______________ Place: ______________ Time: ______________

Interviewer: ________________________  Interviewee n: __________
Duration: 1 hour

Instructions for interviewer:
Focus will be on lived experiences-narrative and follow up.
Tell him/her the answers will be audio recorded.
Review transcripts and follow up questions for specific student.
What would you like to have known about French (the language) before starting University of Ottawa?
What would you like to have known about RI before starting University?
How did you prepare yourself for your first day in RI? Tell me a story of how you prepared yourself.
Can you tell me your life story as a French immersion student, the events and experiences that have been important to you up until now?

COMMENTS:

Participant 3

Interview prompt protocol- *Third Interview*

- Semi-structured narrative interview
- In person, one-on-one audio recorded interview

Date: ______________ Place: ______________ Time: ______________

Interviewer: ________________________  Interviewee n: __________
Duration: 1 hour

Instructions for interviewer:
Focus will be on lived experiences-narrative and follow up.
Tell him/her the answers will be audio recorded.
Review transcripts and follow up questions for specific student.
Do you foresee any obstacles in the future that would prevent you from completing RI?
What do you think about the pass/fail option? Tell me a time this was helpful for you.
What would you like to have known about French (the language) before starting University of Ottawa?
What would you like to say to your secondary school teacher about this?
What would you have liked to have known about RI before starting University?
How did you prepare yourself for your first day in RI? Tell me a story of how you prepared yourself.
What advice would you give future FI students? What would you say to someone who does not want to complete FI in secondary school?
What would you like Francophones to know about RI or being an FI student (at the University of Ottawa)?
What should professors know about FI students?
In order to be better acquainted with Francophone culture, what are some of the other activities that you would like to try?
Can you tell me your life story as a French immersion student, the events and experiences that have been important to you up until now?

COMMENTS: