

Student Motivation and Identity Construction in an Intensive U.S. French Immersion Program

Alexis Maltais

Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the M.A degree in Education

Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

Abstract

This study explores how U.S. college students experience integrative and instrumental motivation and how their sociolinguistic identity is understood, represented and constructed through their multiple experiences learning French as a Foreign Language (FFL) in an intensive Summer French Language Immersion Programs (SFLIPs). The results of the study demonstrate that participants who exhibited the most characteristics in connection to integrative motivation were the ones who took full advantage of the opportunities of being immersed in an environment in which exposure and production of the target language were maximized. The study demonstrates how participants' lived experiences affect the way they construct their identity, how integrative motivation plays a key role in this construction and addresses a gap in literature by specifically addressing the themes of motivation and identity in the context of intensive French immersion in the U.S.

Keywords: Intensive Immersion, French as a foreign language, motivation, identity.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my thesis director, Dr. Douglas Fleming, for providing guidance to this project and for his supervision at every step of the way. Our frequent and lengthy discussions on the topics that surround this thesis have allowed me to become a better researcher and thinker. I am honored to have worked under his supervision, it has been a pleasure.

Many thanks also go out to the committee members of this project, Dr. Marie-Josée Berger and Dr. Sylvie Lamoureux, whose thorough readings of this thesis and insightful comments have been helpful in numerous ways.

I would also like to thank the numerous participants who have taken part in both phases of this research project. This thesis would not have been possible without their time, dedication and the wonderful insights they have brought to my research.

This thesis is dedicated to Ray, my father, to whom I had to say goodbye during the course of my studies. I know you have been watching from up there and I want to tell you that you are amazing and still very much alive in my memory. Words cannot express the gratitude I feel towards the intellectual legacy and passion you have transmitted to me from a very young age.

Finally, I'm dedicating this thesis to my mother, Nathalie, and my brother, Ugo, both of whom I love with all my heart. Your support and encouragement throughout this sometimes painful process is appreciated and does not go unnoticed. Thank you.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Abbreviations.....	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
French immersion in Canada and the United States.....	4
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	9
Learning contexts.....	9
Structuralism and Poststructuralism.....	10
Identity and Motivation.....	13
French Immersion Research.....	17
Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework.....	21
Explanation of the Continuum.....	21
Chapter 4: Methodology.....	27
Overview.....	27
Research Design.....	28
Participant and Recruitment.....	29
Data Collection.....	31
Data Analysis Procedure.....	33
Limitations of the Study.....	34
Questionnaires.....	35
Chapter 5: Findings.....	39
Presentation of Participants.....	42
Maya.....	42
Benjamin.....	43
Natalie.....	45
Claire.....	46
Naomi.....	47
Andrew.....	48
Thomas.....	50
Ashley.....	51
Polar opposites: The Case of Michael and Alexandra.....	53
1. Learner Background.....	54

2. Views of Self and Other.....	56
3. Relationship with Community.....	61
4. Orientations, Goals and Expectations.....	65
5. Time Management, Workload and co-Curricular Activities.....	69
6. Satisfaction with the Program.....	73
Chapter 6: Discussion.....	80
Section 1: Integrative Motivation, Investment and Identity Construction.....	80
How does integrative motivation relate to investment in learning French in the program?	80
The question of developing a second language identity or modifying one’s previously held identity through integrative motivation and/or investment - How does the change in identity manifest itself accordingly?.....	85
Section 2: The Importance of Extra-Curricular and Social Activities.....	87
Taking full advantage of the opportunities of being immersed in an environment in which exposure and production of the target language were maximized.....	87
Integrative motivation, identity positions and investment in extra-curricular activities.....	89
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	92
Implications and Practical Recommendations.....	92
Summary, Contributions and Recommendations for Future Research.....	94
References.....	97
Appendices.....	105
Appendix A: Letter of Information.....	105
Appendix B: Informed Consent Form.....	107
Appendix C: Open-ended Questionnaire Sent via Email.....	109
Appendix D: Interview Prompt Protocol.....	111
Appendix E: Questionnaire Participant Demographic Information.....	114
Appendix F: Questionnaire Participant Qualitative Information.....	119
Appendix G: Interview Participant Demographic Information.....	124
Appendix H: Ethics Approval.....	125

List of Figures

Figure 1. Integrative-Instrumental Motivation Continuum.....21

List of Tables

Table 1. Important Categories by Theme.....42

Table 2. Number of Mentions per Nodes/Categories Relevant to Satisfaction.....74

List of Abbreviations

SFLIP	Summer French Language Immersion Program
IM	Intensive Immersion
FL	Foreign Language
FFL	French as a Foreign Language
SLE	Second Language Education
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
L1	First Language
L2	Second language
SA	Study Abroad
INT	Integrativeness
HIS	History
ALS	Attitudes towards the language situation
MOT	Motivation
SE model	Socio-Educational model

Chapter 1: Introduction

In today's globalized world, there are many ways to go about learning a foreign or second (L2) language and many contexts to choose from. Generally, as I elaborate on below, there is consensus in the academic literature that the learning of a new language is closely connected to the learning of a new culture. This implies that two factors are at play: the sociocultural context and the construction of individual subjectivity. Both of these factors are linked to the notion of *identity*, which has been particularly useful for researchers who wish to gain insight into how learners negotiate the experience of L2 learning and the role of motivation. As Ricento (2005) points out, "within sociocultural approaches, identity is not viewed as a fixed, invariant attribute... [but] theorized as a contingent process involving dialectic relations between learners and the various worlds and experiences they inhabit and which act on them" (p. 895). In this sense, identities are also understood as subjectivities, serving "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" (Norton, 2010, p. 2).

The purpose of this study is to explore how U.S. college students experience integrative and instrumental motivation and how this links to the way their sociolinguistic identity is understood, represented and constructed through their multiple experiences learning French as a Foreign Language (FFL) in an intensive SFLIP. The research question that guided this study is the following: How do American students experience integrative and instrumental motivation in a U.S. intensive SFLIP and how is this linked to the notion of investment and their sociolinguistic identity construction?

The program in question here is the French School of a summer language immersion program, where 189 students, from all over the United States (and internationally), come for seven weeks to learn French and live in French. A language pledge is in effect for the duration of the program,

meaning that students are forbidden to speak any language other than French. I was able to get good insights into the participants' lives on campus since, as I describe in more detail in my methodology chapter, I was employed as a bilingual/linguistic assistant in the school for the duration of the summer.

Based on the literature review outlined below, a conceptual framework consisting of an integrative-instrumental motivation continuum was developed specifically for this study. This continuum reflects a manifestation of the extent to which participants experienced tendencies toward integrative or instrumental motivation. The results of the study demonstrate that participants who exhibited the most characteristics in link with integrative motivation were the ones who took full advantage of the opportunities of being immersed in an environment in which exposure and production of the target language were maximized. After having outlined a general individual conclusion for eight of the ten participants, situating them on the continuum, particular importance was given to two participants whose characteristics contrast the most.

Within this context, the relationship between identity, language, and the social aspect is key since the program is meant to be transformative in terms of L2 learning and self-development. Thus, sociolinguistic identity is used because "language use and notions of... social identity are inextricably linked" (Leung, Harris, and Rampton, as cited in Norton, 1997, p. 419). It then becomes apparent, as Djité (2006) notes, that linguistic identity on its own is insufficient, since "the concept of 'linguistic identity' focuses on language in terms of an identity that is lost or gained, and fails to capture the dynamic of continuously constructing one's own identity through language" (p. 14). When one adds the notion of social identity, however, referred to as "the relationship between the individual and the larger social world" (Norton, 1997, p. 420), we understand identity as transformative and inseparable from the language (learning) experiences we encounter at any given time and in any given space.

Moreover, there is a link between identity and motivation that I make clear below, while examining Gardner's (2001) seminal notion of *integrative motivation* in second language acquisition (SLA), in relation to the concept of identity. Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) note that bigger factors are at play here, namely that motivation is currently in the midst of being "reconceptualised and retheorised in the context of contemporary notions of self and identity" (p. 1). Furthermore, they add that "in short, notions of social identification and ethnolinguistic identity have always been implicit in the integrative concept" (p. 2).

This study addresses an existing gap in the literature on motivation, identity and language immersion in the area of Second Language Education (SLE) as it relates to SFLIPs. As I shall detail in my literature review, identity has been a popular theme in recent years in SLE research, and is today often considered an essential research area that sheds light on language learning, while motivation has been studied for quite some time, particularly since the 1970s. Norton (2010) mentions that this constitutes "a shift in the field of language education from a focus on psycholinguistic models of language acquisition to include greater interest in sociological and anthropological dimensions of language learning" (p. 2). Block (2007) acknowledges Norton's role in this movement and points out 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). This call was part of a "general push to open up SLA beyond its roots in linguistics and cognitive psychology" (p. 864).

While there has been a rise in the body of literature on identity and L2 learning over the years, there is still very little that touches on motivation, identity and intensive French immersion. As my literature review will substantiate, no study exists so far addressing the link between motivation and identity construction in the context of Intensive Immersion (IM), let alone that of SFLIPs. This study

contributes to the existing literature on all the topics mentioned here, by providing a concrete description of the lived language experiences in the IM context. The IM context is also known as intensive domestic immersion and frequently takes place during summer programs where "students dedicate all of their time studying the L2 in a first language (L1) setting...where the surrounding culture is their L1 [and where] a balance is struck between learning and communicative contexts" (Collentine and Freed, 2004, p. 156). Furthermore, as I discuss in my conclusion, this study will help inform educational institutions in this context on how to make instruction more meaningful to students, both within and outside the classroom.

French Immersion in Canada and the United States

In Canada, the birth of French immersion classrooms can be traced back to the influential work of Wallace Lambert, a professor of psychology at the University of McGill from 1954 to 1990, known as one of the pioneers in studies of bilingualism in Canada (Genesee, 2011, p. 3). In 2005, 296,428 students were enrolled in school-based French immersion programs across the country (Roy, 2008, p.396). French immersion is defined as a "content-based approach to learning French that integrates language-teaching into the rest of the curriculum" (Roy, p. 396). Hence, French is not taught as a separate subject as in a foreign language classroom, but through regular school subjects, either half (partial immersion) or full-time (total immersion) and may start in kindergarten, elementary school or secondary school.

The reason why French immersion has been so strong in Canada is highly political. An historical look at the laws passed some forty years ago allows for better understanding. English and French became the official languages of Canada after the 1969 *Official Languages Act*, which made Canada officially bilingual. Five years later, in 1974, marked the passage of the *Loi sur la langue officielle* (Official Language Law), which made French the only official language in Québec. Both of

these laws were important for the expansion of French immersion programs throughout the country, because being bilingual suddenly meant better access to resources, and jobs such as working for the government. For Anglophones living in Québec, the 1974 Official Language Law was particularly significant, as Roy points out, since it "result[ed] in a shift in who would access resources in what languages in Québec" (p. 398). And while a bilingual identity constitutes an important aspect of knowing both languages, Heller (2003) argues that it is more a matter of "understanding language as being primarily a marker of ethnonational identity, to understanding language as being a marketable commodity on its own, distinct from identity" (p. 474). Hence French immersion fulfills an important social function in Canada, where the value of knowing the two official languages has an important impact on the lives of individuals and communities.

In the United States, as one would expect, due to different sociopolitical regulations concerning language policies, the situation is quite different. It is a well-known fact that the United States does not have an official language nor does it have an official language policy. However, some states such as New Mexico and Hawaii have adopted official languages (Spanish, and English and Hawaiian respectively) (Finegan, 2008, p. 3). Whether the United States should or should not adopt an official language is the subject of an important controversy in a country where close to a fifth of the population speaks a language other than English at home. Finegan points out that the camp is mainly divided by those in favour of an "English-only" and others for an "English-plus" policy; while the former "push for legislation that would outlaw the use of non-English language in certain circumstances", the latter "are concerned about loss of the social, cultural, and political treasure that linguistic diversity represents" (p. 4). It should come as no surprise then, that language immersion programs in the United States fulfill a different purpose than those in Canada. Genesee and Gandara (1999), in comparing Canadian to U.S. immersion programs, mention that while the former's aim was

to "promote bilingualism and foster greater understanding of French Canadian culture...[, the latter] have been viewed primarily as linguistic interventions, with little or no attention paid to intergroup issues that might affect students' adaptation to American schooling or society" (p. 676). Moreover, Howard, Sugarman & Christian (2003) note that despite a recent growth in two-way immersion programs in the United States in the last 20 years (30 in the mid-1980s to 266 in 2002, the majority at the elementary level), the United States "has traditionally had a weak foreign language education system, typically producing students with some familiarity with other languages and cultures, but with limited ability to speak, read, or write in a second language" (p. 1). More importantly perhaps, they add that "for all students, given the evidence of an increasingly global economy, bilingualism, biliteracy, and cross-cultural awareness are three key assets for an individual and for society as a whole" (p. 1).

As of 2001, there were a total of only 502 immersion programs (242 one-way and 260 dual) in 10 different languages across all elementary schools in the United States, approximately half of which were in Spanish (Potowski, 2004, p. 76). In a country where the population is ten times that of Canada, this means that very few students will be exposed to foreign language learning from an early age. Clearly this presents a problem in terms of a lack of immersion programs and fewer opportunities for research. As Jackson & Malone (2009) quite relevantly cover in their article, the need for 1) development in the areas of L2 and FL immersion in the United States and 2) more research are pressing matters due to a high demand for foreign language speakers. And while several longitudinal ethnographic studies have been conducted in dual immersion schools in the United States, very little is known about language immersion in connection with identity and motivation (Potowski, 2004).

As I argue below, we know relatively little about either L2 learning and identity, let alone how the two operate in relation to one another within various educational and learning contexts, or how motivation comes into play. Sixteen years ago, Norton (2000) was one of the first researchers to develop "a comprehensive theory of social identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context" (p. 12), as can be seen in her concept of *investment* (explained below), a construct which has been tremendously influential among today's identity researchers in SLE (Block, 2007). Indeed, we are only in the beginning phase and the challenges associated with linking poststructuralist identities and language learning are as many as they are complex. Ricento (2005) makes the interesting observation, for example, that "despite the fact that many researchers have acknowledged the dynamic nature of social identity, they still use methods – questionnaires, observations, interviews, and so forth – that do not allow for dynamism, as they are typically one-time occurrences" (p. 905).

There is a need to examine the various positions and challenges L2 learners are subjected to in the context of different L2 learning environments, and this is no small task for two reasons: First, a great variety of complex L2 learning contexts exist, and second, these contexts are characterized by the learners themselves, who represent complex individual, social, and membership identities that are ever-changing and constantly reconstructed and renegotiated, especially during L2/FL learning periods.

This thesis is organized as follows: after the *introduction and context*, I will present in the *literature review* the seminal literature on the topics that deal directly with motivation, identity and language immersion, namely *learning contexts, structuralism and poststructuralism, and identity and motivation*. I then move on to describe and explain the integrative-instrumental motivation continuum which I developed specifically for this study in the section *conceptual framework*. I will then present

the *methodology*, where I will give an overview of methodological procedures and concerns. In the *findings* section, I will present the data collected in response to my research question and outline the general conclusions in regards to all my respondents, while focusing on two participants and the themes of learner background, views of self and other, relationship with community, orientations, goals and expectations, time management, workload and co-curricular activities, and satisfaction with the program. In the *discussion* phase, I will analyze the findings in relation to the integrative-instrumental motivation continuum , make links with the notions of investment and identity construction, and comment on the relevance of social and co-curricular activities. Finally, in the *conclusion*, I will make concrete practical and theoretical recommendations, comment on how this study contributes to the literature in the field, pedagogical practices and policy, and make recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Learning Contexts

Intensive Immersion incorporates several characteristics found in various L2/FL learning contexts. Block (2007a, 2007b) identifies three of these contexts where identity has been studied in recent years: a) naturalistic (N), where the L2 is the dominant language found in the social environment; b) foreign language (FL) where the L2, non-dominant in its environment in this case, is learned formally in the classroom; and c) study abroad (SA), where the L2, most probably the dominant language of the country, is learned abroad. SFLIPs incorporate different elements of the N and SA environments (although artificially so it could be argued, given that the environment is "recreated" per se), where learning is supplemented by formal FL classes. SFLIPs, which are scarce in the U.S and Canada, have been mostly ignored by researchers. As Freed, Segalowitz, and Dewey (2004) point out, "There have been a handful of studies that address learning by students in IM programs... and an even smaller number of qualitative studies that explore learning in IM settings" (p. 277). And while the learning context is indeed important, these authors point out that it is not "the context per se that promotes various types of learning but rather... the nature of the interactions, the quality of the experiences, and the efforts made to use the L2 that render one context superior to the other" (pp. 297-298). Hence, it is imperative to characterize L2 learners as complex agents, able to develop and negotiate multiple identities as they embark on their own unique language learning experiences. This is especially relevant given that these learners differ in their approaches to learning and use of strategies, responding in many different ways to the various stimuli proposed by L2 learning environments.

Most of the research addressing identity and language either: 1) tends to focus on naturalistic or SA settings as opposed to IM (or SFLIP); 2) has focused on either early (kindergarten), middle (4th

or 5th grade) or late (7th grade) immersion and/or one-way or dual immersion, and not on intensive post-secondary contexts; and 3) has taken place in Canada and not in the United States, where the sociopolitical situation is different (Freed, Segalowitz, and Dewey, 2004; Potowski, 2004, 2007). Moreover, research conducted around identity in immersion (see Dagenais, 2003; Makropoulos, 2005, 2010; Potowski, 2004, 2007; Roy, 2008) has never formally addressed the IM/SFLIP context, as a thorough search through ERIC, LLBA, and a number of education and linguistic journals has demonstrated. Hence, my research brings a unique perspective in a specific area that has been overlooked. The topic of L2 learning and identity is by no means the result of coincidence: in today's global markets, the value of knowing another language (multilingualism essentially) is increasingly seen as economic and cultural capital (see Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Investing in the construction of a "transnational identity", initially unforeseen by immersion programs in their early stages, is more relevant than ever (Dagenais, 2003). This is directly backed up by Makropoulos (2005, 2010) and Roy (2008) who argue in favour of the need for a more sociological approach in immersion studies, in order to understand the often overlooked student's perspective. Hence, there is a "need to further examine the relationship between immersion learning and the construction and reconstruction of identity" (Dagenais, as cited in Makropoulos, 2005, p. 1448).

Structuralism and Poststructuralism

This study is situated in a poststructuralist framework, consistent with a socioconstructivist approach. Poststructuralism is referred to as "a movement of thought- a complex skein of thought embodying different forms of critical practice. It is decidedly interdisciplinary and has many different but related strands" (Burbules & Peters, 2004, p. 18). Much of the research conducted on identity and SLA/SLE refers to poststructuralist thought as a key framework because of the undeniable advantage it proposes in the field of sociolinguistics (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). As Pavlenko and

Blackledge (2004) point out, a poststructural framework is "well equipped to capture the complexity of identities in postmodern societies, where languages may not only be 'markers of identity' but also sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination" (p. 4). And while a poststructuralist perspective is useful in terms of informing research on identity and language education, there is no specific and precise way in which it should be used, nor can it be used to come up with clear aims and objectives for a research study. The use of poststructuralist literature has helped guide, inform and orient the process and practices of the different stages of this research. For example, my research is informed by Norton's (1995) notion of investment, although this notion does not come with an existing set of procedures and guidelines. Norton (2010) points out that since

theories of language and identity offer important ways of connecting the possible and the desirable [and because] diverse identity positions offer learners a range of positions from which to speak, listen, read or write, [then] the challenge for language educators is to explore which identity positions offer the greatest opportunity for social engagement and interaction. (p. 10)

This is in fact an argument that allows me to understand identity in terms of position and social interaction, thus informing and enriching my teaching practice. However, we should be careful as researchers, "not to homogenize the thought of many contemporary thinkers into one set of theoretical practices that can be easily packaged into a methodology to be adopted by researchers in the field of education who call themselves 'poststructuralists'" (Burbules and Peters, 2004, p. 34).

To better understand the interplay between language and identity, it is useful to comment on the differences between structuralism and poststructuralism, and review some of the history behind both modes of thought. Structuralism is associated with Ferdinand De Saussure's seminal work as a linguist at the beginning of the 20th century, and Claude Lévi-Strauss's work on anthropology during

the 1950s and 1960s. It is difficult to know exactly when the movement started although researchers would agree that the 1960s era certainly popularized it (Clarke, 1981; Burbules & Peters, 2004).

Structuralism emphasizes the explanation of systematic rules and laws that follow certain sequences, to be applied in various domains of social sciences, though there is special attention paid to language and meaning (Burbules & Peters, 2004). Lévi-Strauss, as Clarke (1981) points out, "was concerned with the most general properties of the human being, those which are expressed in every society. He sought those characteristics which have 'meaning for all men', rather than those which concerned with only one society" (p. 30). In fact, whether in linguistics or social sciences, the orientations and aims of structuralism were (and arguably still are) often straightforward enough: to be able to make scientifically-based, generalized claims about the systematic functioning and categorizing of human agency within society.

Poststructuralism displays important distinctions with structuralism, while also sharing certain similar elements. Poststructuralism can be defined as a

specifically philosophical response to the alleged scientific status of structuralism...and as a movement...that sought to decenter the 'structures', the systematicity and scientific status of structuralism...to extend it in a number of different directions, while at the same time preserving central elements of structuralism's critique of the humanist subject. (Burbules & Peters, 2004, p. 8)

The "subject" is important here, as Belsey (2002) points out: "subject can be more precise than 'identity' as a way of thinking about issues...Identity implies sameness: that's what the word means. Subjects can differ – even from themselves" (p. 52). Hence, a poststructuralist view of identity entails that a person's identity is multiple, dynamic and ever-changing, and because as "subjects" we may

take different "positions" (e.g., opinions on social issues) over time and space, then the only constant is in fact change.

Another important concept in poststructuralism is *difference*. Difference is understood in the sense that "meaning is differential, not referential, [which] has profound implications for our understanding of the relations between human beings and the world" (Belsey, 2002, p. 10). This is where poststructuralism differs the most from structuralism: the former rejects "any logical foundation for a system of thought. For poststructuralists, there is no foundation of any sort that can guarantee the validity or stability of any system of thought" (Gutting, 1998, p. 597). Hence, poststructuralism is essentially at the heart of a philosophical debate that addresses questions of meaning, identity, language, and science, among others, and can be interpreted in a number of ways. Pursuant to the aims of my research, poststructuralist thought will be referred to in order to better understand how identities are constructed through time and space.

Identity and Motivation

It is difficult to pursue the discussion on poststructuralist identity without reviewing some important earlier SLA notions related to *motivation*, since both notions share a lot in common, and the former is sometimes seen as a preferable replacement approach to the latter (see Norton, 2010). Albeit, the concept of motivation is still widely used and referred to in today's SLE/SLA research, as we elaborate on. As MacIntyre, Mackinnon, and Clément (in Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009) argue, it might still be too early to "throw the baby out with the bathwater" (p. 64), a comment that refers to an observed tendency to discard motivation as an important variable in the field. Despite the ideological divide that separates both notions, contemporary notions of identity in SLA are often seen and recognized as having built on the construct of motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). Seminal studies in L2 learning incorporating motivation as a main variable (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Dörnyei,

1994; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Gardner, 1985; Gardner & Lambert, 1972). and the closely related notion of *social distance* and *acculturation* (Schumann 1976, 1986) today stand in clear contrast to those taken from poststructural identity theories (Block 2007a, 2007b; Bourdieu 1977, 1991; Cervatiuc, 2009; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Ricento, 2005) and those focussing on globalization as an important element for understanding identity (Alim, Ibrahim & Pennycook, 2009; Caine, 2008; Dagenais, 2003; Djité, 2006; Heller, 2003, 2008; Pennycook, 1998, 2001, 2007). While motivation is seen as a psychological construct that falls essentially in the structuralist camp, poststructuralist identity takes a more sociological approach to L2 learning. Moreover, quite a few researchers criticize early notions of motivation and acculturation for being out-dated and not as relevant today as they were in the past. Ricento (2005), for example, claims that "one problem with these approaches is that they presuppose (often unwittingly) an exclusively *assimilationist* model in which the price of acceptance into a host culture is the loss of one's identity, or at least the adoption of dual identities" (p. 897). Poststructuralist theory on the other hand, claims to be better equipped to deal with L2 learning theories in part because it views the L2 learner as a more active agent in society, capable of developing multiple identities.

Gardner's (2001) *Socio-Educational model* of second language acquisition (SE model), which elaborates on Gardner and Lambert's (1972) earlier notion of *integrativeness* (INT), is key to understanding motivation. INT refers to a "genuine interest in learning the second language in order to come closer psychologically to the other language community [and involves] emotional identification with another cultural group" (Gardner, p. 7). In this model a variety of learner factors, such as *History* (HIS), *Attitudes Towards the Language Situations* (ALS) and motivation (MOT) - essentially effort, desire, and enjoyment - interconnect with one another to explain some important dynamics surrounding L2 learning. Closely related to integration and motivation is Schumann's

notion of *acculturation* (1986), based on his earlier notion of *social distance* (1976). Both notions present the idea that the degree to which one integrates into the target language group (TL), psychologically and socially respectively, predicts L2 learning success. Essentially, the *Acculturation Model* predicts that the closer one becomes psychologically and socially to the TL group, the easier one will integrate or acculturate and thus learn the L2.

Deci and Ryan's (1985) *Self-Determination Model* is another influential model that focuses on the distinction between four types (or levels) of extrinsic motivation (seen on an "internalization" scale), namely: external, introjected, identified, and integrated regulation, followed by actual intrinsic motivation. It is useful to have a clear understanding of what both types of motivation entail here. As Deci and Ryan (1991) state: "Intrinsically motivated behaviours are engaged in for their own sake- for the pleasure and satisfaction derived from their performance... freely, with a full sense of volition and without the necessity of material rewards or constraints" (p. 328). Thus, this type of motivation represents the "prototype" of self-determination theory because motivation comes from within, and is seen as genuine desire to do something just for the sake of doing it. Extrinsic motivation on the other hand, is instrumental in its nature and "performed not out of interest but because they are believed to be instrumental to some separable consequence" (p. 328). Here, both types of motivation are not seen as being antagonistic to one another but complementary and gradual, hence the different levels of extrinsic motivation on the scale leading to intrinsic motivation. Thus, it is not a question of one being intrinsically or extrinsically motivated but rather how extrinsically motivated one is.

Ricento (2005) points out that some of these notions are problematic in that they constitute "attempts to legitimize the 'other' usually result[ing] in the reaffirmation of normative categories in which the 'normal' (for example, heterosexuality or Western ways of thinking) is counter poised to the 'other' (for example, homosexuality or Oriental ways of thinking)" (p. 896). This is one of the

reasons why these notions are being modified to reflect poststructuralist thought in much of today's SLE research.

Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009) argue that motivation is currently in the midst of being reconceptualised. Essentially, the authors argue that motivation researchers can no longer afford to overlook social aspects of SLA and certain notions related to social identity: "Put simply, L2 motivation is currently in the process of being radically reconceptualised and retheorised in the context of contemporary notions of self and identity" (p. 1). While this constitutes an important shift in thinking, Gardner and Lambert's (1972) notion of integrativeness (essentially integrative motivation), in which social identification is key, is important because it serves as a basis for Dörnyei's (2009) *L2 Motivational Self System*. Drawing on the theory of "possible selves", this concept is defined as follows:

Its central concept is the *ideal self*, which refers to the representation of the attributes that someone would ideally like to possess (i.e., a representation of personal hopes, aspirations or wishes). A complementary self-guide is the *ought-to self*, referring to the attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e., a representation of someone else's sense of duty, obligations or responsibilities). A basic hypothesis is that if proficiency in the target language is part and parcel of one's *ideal* or *ought-to self*, this will serve as a powerful motivator to learn the language because of our psychological desire to reduce the discrepancy between our current and possible future selves. (p. 4)

Norton, (2010), whose work is associated with poststructuralist thought, also argues that motivation theories may be more a thing of the past, and that her concept of *investment* is better suited to address the challenges that SLA studies face. She states that

unlike notions of instrumental motivation, which often conceive of the language learner as having a unitary, fixed, and ahistorical 'personality', the construct of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex identity, changing across time and space, and reproduced in social interaction. (p. 4)

Norton's investment theory is based on Bourdieu's (1977) concept of *cultural capital*, which is the "knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups in relation to specific sets of social forms" (Bourdieu and Passeron, as cited in Norton, 2000, p.10). Investment examines why and how learners become "invested" in L2 learning as opposed to just being motivated. For Norton, identity investments can only be understood meaningfully from a poststructuralist point of view, as she states:

while structuralists conceive of signs as having idealized meanings, and linguistic communities as being relatively homogeneous and consensual, poststructuralists take the position that the signifying practices of a society are sites of struggle, and that linguistic communities are heterogeneous arenas characterized by conflicting claims to truth and power. (p. 1)

French Immersion Research

As far as the research in French immersion goes, Goldberg and Noels (2006, p. 428) point out that little has been conducted past the secondary school level, or even outside Québec and Ontario. Their concerns seem legitimate: "This gap is particularly disconcerting because the vast majority of French immersion high school graduates enrol in post-secondary institutions" (Harley, as cited in Goldberg & Noels, 2006, p. 428). In Canada, for example, Explore's Summer Language Bursary Program (SLBP), founded in 1971 under the initiative of the Government of Canada, and whose mandate is to "provide young Canadians with the opportunity to learn their second official language",

has had over 7000 Canadian post-secondary students participate in the program every year¹.

However, the program has been the focus of very little research, aside from a few M.A theses (Eidoo, 2003; Gravel, 2009) and some previous studies (Kaufman, Shapson & Day, 1982; Keating, 1989).

Among those who have applied notions of motivation to research in immersion settings (Goldberg & Noels, 2006; Wesely, 2009), the results seem inconclusive as to whether or not motivation - without a concern for identity - under its different forms and intentions, explains much about L2 learning.

Goldberg and Noels (2006), whose research objective was to "examine intensive French language graduates' motivations for continuing to learn French beyond high school and, concurrently, their sense of identity" (p. 437), came to the conclusion that "it is impossible to discover the causal direction of the relationship between motivation to learn an L2, ethnic identity, language use, and post-secondary choice in a correlational study such as this one" (p. 440). Moreover, Wesely (2009) who makes no mention of identity in her study on the motivation of elementary school children in one-way immersion in the United States, found that "although students appeared to be motivated by both instrumental and integrative factors, relationships with teachers and peers were also influential" (p. 270). Having applied Gardner's (2001) SE model to her research, Wesely concludes by affirming that "other theories in motivation and SLA could shed more light on L2 learning motivation" (p. 270), when in reality, exploring the relationships in a hierarchal structure such as that of school cannot avoid addressing issues of power and identity.

Researchers using poststructuralists framework in their research on French immersion settings (they are unsurprisingly quite numerous), seem to have come up with results that genuinely legitimize and justify focusing on the perspective of identity, to better explain phenomena related to L2 learning and language socialization (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 1999; Dagenais, 2003; Gravel, 2003;

¹ For further information consult <http://www.myexplore.ca>

Makropoulos, 2005, 2010; Potowski, 2004, 2007; Roy, 2008; Spielmann & Radnofsky, 2001; St-Hilaire, 2005). Potowski (2004, 2007), the first researcher to look at students' investments in one-way or dual immersion, focused on students' language use in Spanish within the context of a dual immersion in an elementary school in the United States. She found that investment constitutes a valuable language framework and a "useful tool for understanding students' language choices" (2004, p. 96). Furthermore, she points out that L2 learning growth highly depends on whether language programs and classroom environments succeed in creating participation opportunities that are consistent with the students' identities and investments in the language (p. 95).

Roy (2008), in her ethnographic research on social factors and success (or lack thereof) in French immersion, reports some serious concerns in the conversations she had with some of the school staff. One teacher for example, thought that "kids are all the same", while another one asserted that "kids adapt easily to the Canadian context, we don't have anything really to do" (p. 403). Roy makes a valid point when she mentions that "teachers who treat all students the same do not really understand issues related to identity and language learning", because, as she further adds "their pedagogical approaches [consequently] do not take into account the multiple backgrounds or special needs of their students" (p. 403).

Finally, Spielmann and Radnofsky (2001), who conducted research on L2 proficiency in French and cognitive and affective tension in a SFLIP, point out that although achievement in the L2 is important, the challenges associated with developing an "emergent L2 self" (p. 273) for the students are greater. In this case, it is important to point out that the concept of community in SFLIP is key. They conclude the study by stating the following:

What drove our respondents most strongly was a desire to become fully functional as newly minted speakers of French and to be treated accordingly by others in the community.

These students struggled to establish fresh social identities in a manner comparable to the immigrant women studied by Pierce [Norton] (1995). (p. 273)

Clearly, the concepts of motivation and identity in L2 immersion environments, are fundamental to explore, judging from the research presented here.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

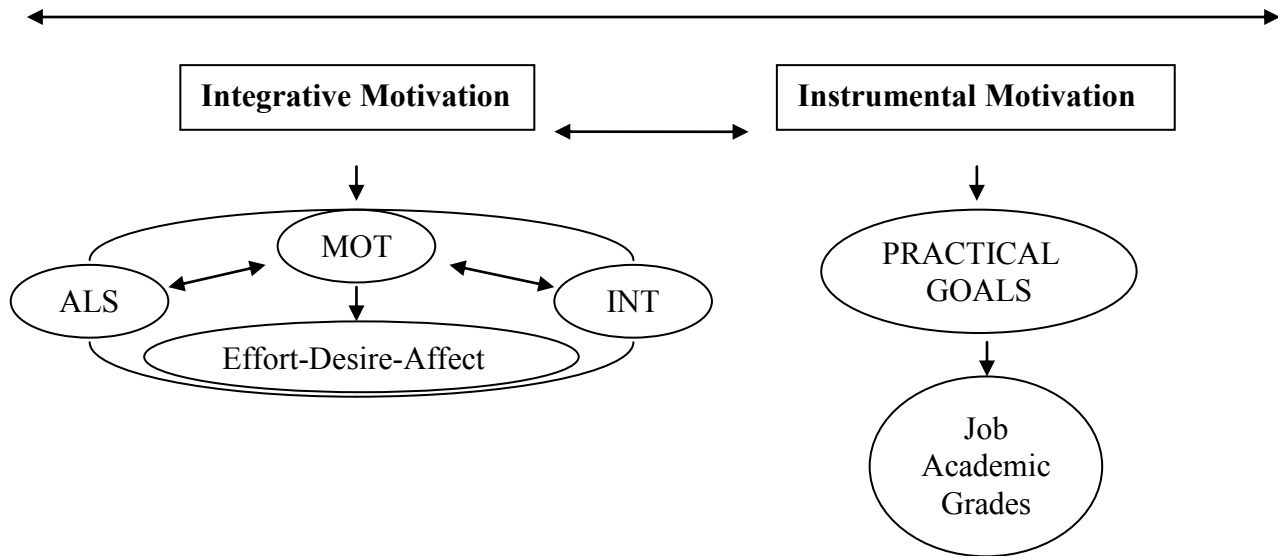


Figure 1. Integrative-instrumental motivation continuum
Adapted from Gardner (2001a)

Explanation of the Continuum

This continuum reflects a manifestation of the extent to which participants experienced tendencies toward integrative or instrumental motivation. The intent of the continuum is not to assign each participant with a score or number, nor is it to place them in a specific group, since it is not the goal of this study to attempt to quantify the qualitative information from the interviews. Rather, the objective is to demonstrate why one participant tends toward one end of the continuum while another will tend toward the middle or the other end. The reason for developing a continuum this way is to avoid having to justify any sort of statements in regards their performance, since the data collected was through interviews and thus cannot be quantified (in our case at least). Furthermore, although some participants may appear to be more motivated than others, it is more a matter of determining how differently they are motivated from one another than to what extent they may be so (quantitatively speaking). Thus the key word here is difference and not quantity, since this is

qualitative study. In this sense, integrative motivation and instrumental motivation are not viewed as being mutually exclusive or separated, and neither is one necessarily better or preferable to the other.

Integrative motivation is defined as "a complex of attitudinal, goal-directed and motivational attributes" (Gardner, 2001a, p. 9). Essentially, there are three conditions that the integratively motivated individual displays: Motivation (MOT), Integrativeness (INT), and Positive attitude towards the language situation (ALS). MOT refers to three elements that are more or less linked together: effort, desire and affect or enjoyment. Effort means that one expends considerable energy to learn the language, whether through homework, communication or any other means that contribute to L2 learning. Desire refers to the achievement of goals and wanting to succeed, as well as working hard to achieve this success. Affect refers to the enjoyment of the tasks surrounding L2 learning and the challenges associated with it. This first condition is at the heart of integrative motivation. Without MOT, integrative motivation is not possible, even if the next two elements are present. INT refers to "the desire or willingness to identify with the other language community" (p. 9). In this study's intensive domestic immersion context, the other language community consists of everyone: professors (for some of whom French is a L2/FL), or the students (for all of whom French is an L2/FL). The last condition, positive ALS, signifies a tendency for the individual to assess the learning situation and its environment as positive.

On the other side of the continuum is instrumental motivation. Individuals who display this type of motivation aim to learn the target language for practical purposes and precise goals, usually with the promise of some kind of reward. Examples of instrumental motivation include learning an L2/FL in order to obtain employment, earn an academic degree or any other situation where language is used mainly as an instrument to reach an objective.

Today, integrative orientation is not always thought of as being a more powerful determinant for L2 proficiency, as once was the case in Gardner & Lambert's (1959, 1972) studies. In fact, the integrative orientation may, in many cases, and depending on the learning context, not be relevant to all learners (Noels, 2001, p. 44). Thus, in this sense, integrative motivation and instrumental motivation are not seen as the be-all and end-all on a motivation continuum, because other orientations exist. Some examples of these orientations include learning for travel purposes, friendship, knowledge, identification, prestige, career and school, media usage, national security, or obviously for a combination of these (Noels, p. 44). Sometimes, the identified orientation(s) for learning may be integrative as well as instrumental, which makes both notions complementary rather than separate from one another.

There is a distinction to make between the use of the words motivation and orientation, since they are similar but do not represent exactly the same meaning. Gardner (2001b) defines orientations as "classifications of reasons that can be given for studying a language" (p. 16). The reasons are obviously part of the motivation but they do not replace motivation, which is to say that motivation is the more important element when it comes to success (p. 16). Thus, even though both terms are often used interchangeably in the literature, it is important to note that an integrative orientation may indicate a sign of integrative motivation but not integrative motivation per se.

One will also notice that instead of the continuum being placed vertically, it is placed horizontally in order to avoid the image of some participants placed "higher" or "lower" than others; they are simply placed differently without any judgement as to their performance. Rather than classifying participants in groups or on a numeric scale, they are put on a qualitative motivation-identity continuum, specifically developed for this study and based on the literature review, more specifically Gardner's (2001) Socio-Educational model.

The concept of motivation, as we saw in the literature review, must incorporate other elements of social theory in order to remain relevant (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009). This means that the notions of identity and investment constitute strong underlying elements of a motivation framework. Indeed, one important human element in the conceptualisation of the continuum is the element of agency, defined as "the ability of individuals to make choices and to enact them in the world, as opposed to being passively affected by deterministic processes" (Cervatiuc, 2009, p. 266). This element is important because investment implies more agency along with the acknowledgement of potentially problematic external dimensions (i.e. power) on the participant's part, thus highly likely leading to integrative instead of instrumental motivation.

It is impossible to ignore identity, for a few reasons, when addressing the question of motivation and language learning. According to Norton (2010), the construct of motivation by itself is likely insufficient in explaining why a learner may succeed or fail at L2 learning. On the other hand, "if learners 'invest' in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (p. 5). This has profound implications for the way learners in turn negotiate and construct their identities. The inclusion of this construct within our conceptual framework allows us to look for themes that are crucial to our topic, such as those of power and positioning. It does not come with a how-to guide on how to proceed in step by step fashion; rather, the construct allows us to frame data and make assumptions by situating ourselves within a particular poststructuralist train of thought. Identity, in this sense, is understood in terms of the diverse identity positions that learners are afforded within the program, whether through speaking, listening, reading or writing. It is in fact fundamental "to explore which identity positions offer the greatest opportunity for social engagement

and interaction" (p. 10) when looking at motivation, since what is bound to motivate students in the first place can be seen in how they respond to their particular learning situations.

In the present conceptual framework, I chose the integrative/instrumental motivation framework as a main part of the continuum because of its relevance to the question of social identity, and because of its superiority within the field. According to Noels (2001), "indeed, the integrative orientation refers to social identity issues that are addressed by neither the intrinsic orientation nor the identified regulation [, part of the extrinsic orientation]" (p. 53). Furthermore, the author points out that the two orientations that have received the most empirical attention in the field of motivation are the integrative orientation and the instrumental orientation (p. 45).

It should be evident to see how the continuum described hereby relates to the notion of identity and investment. In fact, the more one integrates, invests, or becomes engaged due to integrative motivation, the likelier it is that the first linguistic identity (and subsequent ones as the case may be) will be questioned, according to Gardner (2001). The author gives the example of a letter to the editor in a Japanese newspaper, in which the author of the letter displays a level of extreme integrativeness in relation to his "Japanese identity":

I am Japanese. This is not a reference to my nationality, for I hold a passport issued by authorities in a country other than Japan. Rather, what I mean is that I am Japanese at the "sub-conscious level. I have lived in Japan for nearly six years. I use the Japanese language in my job, I pay Japanese taxes and I read Japanese newspapers and watch Japanese TV to get the latest information. I also have a Japanese car, which I legally drive with my Japanese driver's license when travelling to various places in Japan. When I bump into something I unconsciously say "itai!" So for all intensive (sic, intents and) purposes, I am Japanese. (p. 7)

It is rather clear from this example, that such a high level of integrativeness must be linked to a considerable identity investment on the part of the writer, along with an important detachment or repositioning vis-à-vis not only language identity, but identity in general.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Overview

This study was conducted within the paradigm of the socioconstructivist approach. This worldview was useful because my study set out to explore and examine the complexity of the different meanings that participants construct through their social and cultural experience of learning French as a foreign language (FFL) on campus. The important elements of this approach have to do with the three following principles pointed out by Crotty (as cited in Creswell, 2009, p. 8): First, "meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting"; second, "humans engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspectives"; and third, "the basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community".

The site under study was the campus of a private liberal arts college situated in a rural area on the north eastern coast of the United States. During the summer, numerous languages are taught on campus in the context of an intensive summer language schools immersion program. A "language pledge" was in effect at all times throughout the seven weeks, meaning students were only allowed to speak the target language of their school. This study took place at the French School, where all 189 students were, for the most part, on campus only for the summer and were completing a university degree either in the United States or elsewhere. Students were either taking undergraduate or master's level classes in French, that count as credits toward their regular-year study program or completing a master or doctorate degree in French during the summer only, with the exception of those enrolled in the Summer/study abroad program in France.

Possibly the most important aspect of the program is the language pledge that takes effect once the student arrives on campus. Each and every student must pledge to speak French and only

French for the whole duration of the seven weeks, except on occasions where, in the utmost discretion and far away from others, the student is allowed to make occasional phone calls to family members, and also in case of emergency on campus (at the hospital, with the law, etc.). A student who does not show respect to others by constantly breaking the pledge may, after being warned, face expulsion from the program. This pledge is at the core of the program and the *raison d'être* as to why students who participate in the program generally feel like they have achieved much more in terms of learning than they would have in any other program. Obviously, the idea is that the more one participates in all spheres of the program's life, the more a student is put in situations where authentic real-life communication with native and non-native speakers (from all levels) alike is likely to happen, thus steadfastly increasing the speaker's linguistic, pragmatic, and communicative proficiency.

Research Design

My research design consisted in two phases following a mixed methods approach. A mixed methods approach was a good choice for my study because the use of quantitative data in the surveys, as I elaborate on further in this thesis, allowed me to plan for purposive sampling in qualitative data collection. Hence, there was a precise reason for deciding to use both methods. Furthermore, a mixed methods approach allowed me to gain a broader perspective of meanings in the data I collected. As Dörnyei (2009) points out, mixed methods research "offer a radically different new strand of research methodology that suits the multilevel analysis of complex issues, because it allows investigators to obtain data about both the individual and the broader societal context" (p. 242). Moreover, Abbuhl and Mackey (2008) point out that using both methods judiciously "can allow the researcher to examine different aspects of the same problem... [and] yield a clearer understanding of SLA" (p. 103).

Participants and Recruitment

Mears (2009) recommends developing tentative interview questions and practicing "role-play" interviews with colleagues, to see where questions and techniques can be improved (p. 84). Two interviews were conducted informally, during the month of March 2011, with two students who attended the summer program the year before. The interviews lasted 30 minutes each and the data was transcribed verbatim in order to practice preliminary data analysis and identify important themes. Initial questions were reworked after the interviews to address issues such as themes that were missing or needed to be addressed differently, and repetitiveness. This step allowed me to conduct the official interviews with greater confidence and certainty that questions and procedures were relevant.

My sampling frame consisted of 10 students from every level (100 to 400; masters) at the French School, who were selected to participate in interviews: one level 1, two level 2, one level 3, two level 4, and four masters' students. No restrictions applied as far as sampling went, meaning students from all level, ethnicity, or language background were allowed to participate, as long as they had filled out the initial online questionnaire to demonstrate their interest. In the end, thirty-eight participants filled out the questionnaires, of which ten volunteered to participate in the interviews.

Here is a description of the procedures followed to conduct my study. Once the ethics for my research were approved by the committees of the University of Ottawa and the establishment where the study was conducted, in June 2011, I presented an online questionnaire to the French School administration for distribution to students. The online survey instrument, *Fluid Surveys*, was used to make the data collection process easier, after the school agreed to distribute the list of French School students' emails to me directly. There was a three-week period between the time that I distributed the online questionnaires and the beginning of the summer semester, though many completed the

questionnaires up until the last day of summer in August. This did not pose any inconvenience and potential participants were informed that they could fill out the questionnaire any time during the summer. As I outline in more detail below, I received most of the questionnaires from my participants and obtained a sufficient number of participants who agreed to take part in the qualitative phase before the semester started. This enabled me enough time to make arrangements with each and every one of the 10 participants to conduct the first interview as soon as they arrived on campus. More details concerning the questionnaires are presented at the end of this chapter, in the *Questionnaires* section.

I occupied an administrative position for the French School throughout the summer, and thus spent the whole summer with students on campus which allowed me to spend long periods of time in the field, and familiarize myself thoroughly with the research context (especially since this was my third summer as a bilingual assistant there). My position as a bilingual assistant, along with the administrative duties I occupied in the program, did not compromise the study in any way throughout the summer. However, it is impossible to ignore the fact that I did occupy a position of power over the students because I worked for the French School, though unlike professors or administrators, I could not exercise any influence on the standing of the students in the program. My duties as a communications assistant were limited exclusively to maintaining the school's website, sending out informative emails and working on the weekly gazette.

Consent for the questionnaire was obtained through the questionnaire itself, as the letter of information stated the following: "your decision to complete and return this survey will be interpreted as an indication of your consent to participate". Participants who filled out the questionnaire and returned it were aware that this indicated consent to participate in the first phase of the research. Consent to participate in the second phase of the research project (interviews) was obtained on

campus before participants took part in the interviews. Participants had a chance to read the consent form before (through an email) and were asked to sign it before being considered official participants in the research project. Furthermore, all potential participants were informed that participation was strictly optional, and that under no circumstances or conditions would their refusal or acceptance to participate have any effect on them or their standing in the program, nor would any information be communicated with the institution. This was clearly stated in the letter of information and in the consent form. All real names of participants in this research have been replaced with pseudonyms, while the main researcher is identified as "I".

All appropriate documents were obtained and will be kept in a locked filing cabinet for the duration of ten years, after which they will be destroyed. I also allowed all participants to review their interview transcripts by sending secured emails through the safedrop website with transcripts attached. Only one participant acknowledged the email and responded saying the transcripts were fine and accurate.

Data Collection

Quantitative data was collected by administering a one-time, online questionnaire to all 189 students accepted in the French School for the summer of 2011 (see Appendix C). This survey sought to find out important preliminary information about potential candidates for the second qualitative phase of the study. More particularly, it sought to discover the following information about participants: name, age group, sex, previous experience learning French, goals for learning French in the program, and occupation. This questionnaire also collected qualitative information about the participants regarding: place of residence, spoken language(s), reasons and motivations for deciding to enrol in the program, and perceived challenges for the summer. This information allowed me to

scan profiles of potential participants and served as supplemental data for a better understanding of qualitative data by triangulation.

The qualitative phase of the research consisted of interviews. Semistructured interviews were held one-on-one, face-to-face, on campus (see Appendix D). They were taped using a digital audio recorder and later transcribed verbatim. The following protocol was used to structure my interviews: handing out instructions to the participant being interviewed; taking handwritten notes before, during and after the interview; asking general, simple and broad questions to serve as ice-breakers followed by subquestions that probe for more detailed answers (see Creswell, 2009, p. 183). The purpose of the interview process was to collect data that reflect the changes in identity undergone by participants throughout their seven weeks learning French, that is to say how their perceptions of themselves as L2 learners (and of the French language) have developed over their time on campus, and how this is linked to the way they view their motivation to learn French. I started interviewing participants as soon as they arrived on campus on their first or second day (before the pledge took effect) for the first interview and ended with the second interview at the end of week 7 (having obtained permission from the language school's president to do so, even though the pledge was still in effect). Given that it may have been difficult for many participants to express themselves in French, I decided to conduct both interviews in English despite the logistical challenges associated with doing so.

Open-ended interview questions were developed to explore the relation between the participant's experiences to the themes of my research. The reason for developing two interviews is that a "one-shot interview...does not provide the necessary contextual basis for adequate interpretation" (Mishler, as cited in Mears, p. 104). Indeed, the second interview allowed for the participants to be more comfortable and share more information with the interviewer because a first contact and trust had already been established. Interestingly, Mears mentions that the aims and

content of a first and second interview are different, the first being "a chance to hear the narrator's description of the event or experience and to learn about the participant's specific background and relationship to the topic", and the second "to invite deeper conversation regarding the specific experience being investigated, and ... encourage narrators to expand their narrative, searching their memories for parts of the bigger story and life experience they may not have offered in the initial telling" (p. 105). The first interview lasted between 15 and 25 minutes and was an opportunity for the interviewer and the participants to get to know one another, establish trust and converse on various themes related to the research question without going in depth. The second interview often lasted just under an hour and invited the participant to open up about his or her experience on campus, and go into detail regarding the specific elements that comprised the language learning experience.

Data Analysis Procedure

After all interviews were completed and transcribed, I first analysed the 38 answered questionnaires and compiled statistics about the quantitative and qualitative questions asked in the questionnaires for all the respondents as well as interview participants. I used the software Nvivo 7th edition to then analyse the data from the interviews. As Wiersma (2000) notes, one of the most important part of data analysis is to organize the large amount of information from the initial data by reducing it through the process of coding in order to literally "see" what one has in the data (p. 203). Thus, I first read through the data once to take notes and get a gist of it as a whole and read through the whole data again, this time developing categories in which I thought statements could fit. I ended up developing 58 free nodes in total, representing the multitude of themes that was apparent in my data. Examples of the most important nodes/categories I identified dealt, for example, with the following topics: identity, goals and expectations, language pledge, co-curricular and social activities, relationships, difficulties, community, and many others. As I reread through the data the second time,

I dragged and dropped every quotation(s) from interviews in one or more of the free nodes, this for both interviews and all ten participants. Once I was finished with the coding, I started reading through the themes that appeared more prominent (with the most references) and looked for patterns that I could relate to my research question. Indeed, Berg (2001) suggests isolating the patterns that seem more meaningful and comparing them with the previous themes and studies found in the literature on the subject, which was a useful step (p. 240). The most important themes ended up being the ones most referenced. I also realised that it would be useful to place all participants on a continuum that I developed, according to the extent to which participants displayed characteristics that were linked to the most important themes. This is also when it became apparent that it would be a good idea to focus on two participants out of the ten. I then reread through my literature review and started making useful links, which allowed me to come up with the general conclusions in regards to my research.

Limitations of the Study

This study presents several limitations as far as methods and procedures are concerned. First, there is the issue of longitudinality that is crucial in studies attempting to link identity and language learning. Duff (2008) points out that "a cross-sectional research design or one more limited in duration, although it may illuminate the intricacies of the socio/linguistic practices themselves, does not capture change over time, end-state knowledge/participation, or nonlinear developmental patterns and contextual changes" (p. 114). Because my study only lasted seven weeks, it is important to point out that the results it generated can only be explained within the limitations of the context and time in which it took place, therefore limiting my capacity to make empirical claims regarding the shifting dynamics of one's identity through L2 learning. Secondly, when obtaining data from participants, "it may be difficult to obtain crucial 'emic' insights from participants themselves about their

understandings, experiences, and identities for a variety of linguistic, cultural, cognitive, personal, and practical reasons" (Duff, p. 116). This is especially true in regards to the problem of representation and voice, attributed to the participant's unconscious pressure to fit within particular dominant discourses and the reluctance to position oneself against pre-established modes of thoughts (Hodgson and Standish, 2009, p. 318).

Questionnaires

The main goal of the questionnaires initially was to collect data that would inform the content of the interview questions. However, it appeared that having already tested an initial set of interview questions before the official data collection began (in the practice interviews as described above), proved to be most useful in terms of reworking and modifying the official interview questions; the data questionnaire, in this sense, did not help inform the content of the interview questions. In this matter, it is worth mentioning that familiarity with the site on the part of the researcher provided enough background and experience to put together the questions for the survey as well as a start list of questions for the interviews, thus enabling me to overcome time and logistic constraints. No adjustments were made to the interview questions after having collected most of the questionnaires. Thus, the main findings consist of the interviews; the questionnaires are there to support the research and provide some perspective.

It would have been very difficult, however, to perform the recruitment for the interviews without the use of the questionnaires. To be eligible to participate in the interviews, interested candidates first had to fill out the online questionnaire. Once all the questionnaires were in, an email was sent to all participants to ask them if they wished to participate in the interviews. Of the 38 participants, ten people expressed their interest and became the study participants. Initially however, the objective was to scan the 38 questionnaires and pick ten participants from various levels and

backgrounds, but only ten people (which represented the goal) showed interest. Everything worked out well in the end since these ten people actually do come from all levels of proficiency (see Appendix G, table 15). Thus, it is safe to say that as the research and data collection progressed, it was important to re-evaluate the role and goals of the questionnaires. If more people had volunteered for the interviews, the questionnaires would have been more useful in the selection process.

Out of 189 students in the program for the summer, only 38 students filled out the questionnaires and 10 participated in the interviews as mentioned. It is possible that the reasons for having so few volunteers come forward for both phases are due to time and technology constraints. First of all, the questionnaires were sent two weeks before the beginning of the semester, thus leaving little time for potential respondents to fill them out. Secondly, although it would have been more profitable in terms of numbers to distribute the questionnaires physically, the only option available at the time was to send them by email. This proved to be the quickest and most convenient option, given the time constraints and currently available technology. Further adding to the pressure of time is the fact that interview no.1 had to be conducted before the language pledge took effect, that is, one day after the students' arrival on campus, since no English is allowed on campus after the pledge is in effect. Thus, one interview was conducted using Skype before the student's arrival, and all nine other interviews were conducted as soon as the participant arrived on campus. A special permission was obtained from the director of the program to conduct interview no.2 in English during the last week, even though the pledge stays in effect till the very end.

The demographic information from the questionnaires (see Appendix E, tables 1 to 9) indicates that nearly 2/3 of respondents are female; almost half are part of the 18-23 age group; a little more than half have five or more years experience with the French language; close to half are in the masters/doctorate level, the rest are undergrads; almost 2/3 are students; more than half are in the

program for the main goal of further study; more than 2/3 were born and reside in the United States; more than 3/4 have English as an L1/mother tongue; and more than a third speak English only with nine other languages spoken across all other participants.

What emerges out of the questionnaire participants' demographic information is that there is a good balance in the variety of my respondents, and this is apparent in each category. For example, although most respondents are in the 18-23 age group, we find many participants also in the two subsequent age groups. That is to say, no overwhelming majority takes up all the percentage in any category, which reflects the diversity in the characteristics of my respondents. The interview participants' demographic information (see Appendix G) also indicates this variety in the characteristics of my respondents. If the demographics from that of the questionnaires and that of the interview participants are in concordance, it is difficult to say whether this is also the case with all 189 students from the French School, since very little information on them is available.

In addition to demographic information, the questionnaires also collected qualitative information concerning the topics *other language learning experiences*, *reasons for enrolling in an SFLIP*, *hopes for the summer*, *main motivation(s)*, and *foreseen challenges* (See Appendix F, tables 10 to 14). This information is quantified on the basis of the number of mentions. Each answer was put in a category (node) that is indicated in each table. Because respondents were allowed to indicate more than one answer for each question, the total number of answers differs from table to table, while being considerably higher than the total number of respondents (N=38).

In the *other language learning experiences* section, nearly half of the answers tend towards either experience studying, working and/or living abroad or classroom (college) learning experience. In the *reasons for enrolling in an SFLIP*, these vary, though the most popular reason concerns the effectiveness of immersion programs for learning languages. In the *hopes for the summer*, an

overwhelming number of answers unsurprisingly tends toward linguistic proficiency. In the *main motivation(s)*, a number of equally important categories of motivations appear to be important for learners, including those of linguistic, communication and fluency, learning environment, effectiveness and quality of program, and activities abroad. In the last question of the survey, concerning *foreseen challenges* for the summer, more than a quarter of all answers concern the language pledge in effect on campus.

Judging from these answers, a few themes stand out as being more important than others for the respondents in general. More often than not, these indicate that the following elements are the most important for respondents: living abroad to learn/experience French (usually in Paris/France); how effective students expect intensive domestic immersion programs to be; linguistic proficiency in general including speaking, listening, reading and writing (though communication and fluency are usually most important); and the language pledge as an important and essential element of the program. Thus, it is safe to say that the three most important categories deal with the quality of the learning environment, linguistic proficiency and concerns relating to the use of the French language abroad. These categories, as we will see in the *findings* section, are all important in the interview respondents' answers, though are not limited to this.

Chapter 5: Findings

This section of the thesis is divided in two parts. The first section presents the general findings concerning the overall eight respondents in terms of the elements found in my conceptual framework. This section provides a summary of the eight participants along with their experiences for the purpose of presenting a perspective for the study, and in order to show the saliency of the recurring themes deemed as important for the participants and for this study. This section is followed by a second one, focusing exclusively on the other two of the participants who differ the most in terms of the characteristics they exhibited, for the purpose of illustrating the contrasts that exist between them.

The characteristics of the overall eight participants described below are not ranked or given numerical scores. However, I do comment on how generally each one tends to fit in terms of the continuum, created for this study by the author, between integrative and instrumental motivation. For eight of the ten participants, varied traits exist in terms of this continuum. On the basis of what these participants told me about their goals and experiences, I placed them somewhere in the middle of the continuum. However, since my goal here is not to present a definitive ranked order for these eight participants, I have not focused on where exactly these particular respondents fit in terms of this continuum.

I would like to state, as my conceptual framework clearly demonstrates, that no attempt was made to determine the success that my ten participants had in the program, as this would have been beyond the scope of this study. Rather, I was interested in finding out whether or not participants felt as if they had had a successful experience, according to them, and them only.

As I have outlined in detail below, two participants, namely Michael and Alexandra, presented characteristics relevant to my conceptual framework in terms of their respective experiences in the

program. The behaviours exhibited by both participants, according to their own accounts, is illustrated in much greater detail than the eight participants presented in the first section, making clear which characteristics demonstrate how each fits on the continuum, and the reason for their "ranking". These two specific participants are chosen because of the extent to which they differ. While Michael demonstrates a clear tendency to exhibit a vast majority of traits corresponding to high integrative motivation and low instrumental motivation, Alexandra exhibits a high preponderance to instrumental motivation and low integrative motivation. While it is apparent that most participants fit somewhere in the middle of the continuum, this is not the case for Michael and Alexandra, as I demonstrate. By taking these two participants as prime examples of extreme integrative motivation and instrumental motivation respectively, it also becomes easier to see where other students "fit" on the continuum between Michael and Alexandra, and why they fit where they do.

Both sections present the findings in light of the integrative-instrumental motivation continuum as it is presented in the conceptual framework. Here, the elements of the framework act as a scope through which the findings are presented, so as to always stay in range of our subject, and avoid getting lost through the relatively large amount of data collected during this study and the vast array of themes to come out of it. Through every experience and theme presented in this chapter, the objective is to demonstrate with clarity how participants (especially Michael and Alexandra) express their motivation. All claims are substantiated with examples from the participants' experiences and quotations. Moreover, because the notions of identity construction and investment are inextricably linked to that of motivation, it is impossible to ignore the salient role and influence they play in the participants' experiences. Thus, while this chapter touches on the notion of identity, insofar as it relates to integrative and instrumental motivation, it is the subject of a more explicit discussion in the next chapter.

In order to illustrate the participants' motivations, it is necessary to take a closer look at their behaviour, personality and overall experience, according to their accounts. There are many aspects that can affect or shape how one exhibits motivation. In this sense, motivation is hereby understood as and seen through the following themes: hopes, orientations, interests, attitudes, reasons for learning the language, desires that accompany the reasons, efforts put forth, affective reactions, and integration and identification processes, though not necessarily in this order. All of these elements form an integral part of the notions of integrative and instrumental motivation as presented in the conceptual framework, and thus constitute our focus here.

Essentially, the presentation of each and every participant focuses on the six categories/themes outlined in table 1. This, however, is more applicable to the second section of this chapter. These themes are in fact the over-arching categories under which the most important nodes to come out of data analysis fit, while also being very relatable to the themes of our conceptual framework. As previously outlined, only an overview of the eight participants is presented in the first section (touching upon only certain of the six themes of table 1), followed by a more detailed presentation of our two main participants in the second section. Each participant is "placed" on the continuum (left, center, or right), according to the type of motivation they exhibit. Only the level and occupation are given as demographic information for each of the eight participants (see Appendix G for more information).

Table 1

Important Categories by Theme

Categories/themes
Learner Background
Views of Self and Others
Relationship with Community
Orientations, Goals and Expectations
Time management, Workload and Co-curricular Activities
Satisfaction with the Program

Section 1: Presentation of Participants

Maya

Maya is an African-American English literature student in level four. She has a dynamic personality and is both socially and academically oriented. One of her big motivations in the future is to live in France and perhaps pursue graduate studies. There is an important element of racial identity in her case, where she feels that as an African American, she lacks the cultural legacy of a second language:

But as far as my identity goes, I think it's because I'm African-American, I have mixed ancestry, but predominately African-American, so we don't really have a second language that we speak at home. Like if you are Hispanic you could always have... your parents could speak Spanish or... and stuff like that so it's... they have a heritage that accompanies the language, but I don't have that. And most African-Americans don't have that. So it makes me feel good about learning French, to have the second language that I could teach my children, and to be a part of the community.

She feels that being bilingual is personally, culturally and globally important, almost as if it were an obligation. She mentions that she would like to leave the legacy of a second language to her

children. This acts as a powerful motivator for her to push herself to learn French, although she clearly enjoys the process and finds fascination within the linguistic elements of the language as well as the literature. She enjoyed her experience on campus and feels that the professors provided a lot of support and were dedicated. The semester was very busy for her and she would have liked to participate in more workshops, though she took opportunities to do quite a bit of extra-curricular. She sees the language learning process as being creative rather than mathematical.

Maya leans heavily on the left side of the continuum and is therefore highly integratively motivated. She isn't learning the language for purposes that are particularly specific to career or academic goals; she simply enjoys the literature aspect of French and the fascination that comes from studying a second language. She views the summer program as a very positive experience and has met many friends throughout the summer. She clearly enjoys the learning process and has expressed her desire to become more proficient in French. There is an important element of identification with French, in relation to her racial identity and the desires she holds for the future, when she mentions that she would like her children to be bilingual.

Benjamin

Benjamin is an FFL teacher completing his master's through the four-summer option. Although strongly academically oriented, he is one of the most socially oriented participants of this study and feels that he performs and learns best when interacting with others outside of class. He places great importance to hierarchy and respect for the more experienced and more knowledgeable students in the program. He has a strong identification with other masters' students, with whom he makes friends easily, though he feels differently about undergraduate students, whom he refers to as "the kids". He identifies very strongly with his group of friends and is very proud of his identity as a graduate student:

Exactly anyone who knows me and where I'm at here knows exactly which people I hang out with, and same for them, and it's just been interesting because like I will be just sitting there, and I will spend more time with them during the class, so I'm learning more, we learn more from each other informally and not even trying. Just like I will be writing a paper and call out a friend 'hey what's better to say should I use this or should I use this for an adverb and why'? And then someone else so answers, 'because you should do this and da da da okay' and within five seconds I have learned a completely new word, a completely new concept and...

He goes to great lengths to feel included, though as a second summer student he's already quite appreciated by his peers and is known as a party goer. His motto is "work hard, play harder". Metacognitive learning processes are really important for Benjamin, who constantly evaluates and assesses his progress. As a FSL teacher, he feels that professional development is important, though does not state this as a main reason as to why he is completing his master's. Not knowing what to expect in his first year as a master's student, he soon discovered that the program was perfectly suited to his needs because the classes are rigorous and the opportunities to socialize are ever present. He is interested in how others perceive him differently when he speaks French, as well as how differently he perceives others when they speak French. He states that one of the big challenges for him lies in the presentational mode, with which he struggles, and feels that he strongly relies on the interpersonal mode as if to compensate for other weaknesses. As a second year student in the program, he feels much more comfortable because he knows people and is aware of what to expect, which makes life on campus easier.

Because he is very social in his orientation and doesn't talk much of professional development even though he is a teacher, Benjamin also leans heavily on the left side of the continuum and is considered to be highly integratively motivated. He knows that a master's in French will give him better tools as a teacher and he does care about that, but he does not rely on this as a main motivation to push himself in the program. He has strong identification with his community and French speaking friends, and views every learning situation as a positive challenge. He knows when it's time to work

and when it's time to relax and has no trouble motivating himself, since he enjoys learning French so much. He states that he loves the challenges he encounters everyday in the program and simply wants to learn "as much as I can".

Natalie

Natalie is a full-time graduate student of French in the program, as she will be spending the year in France to complete her degree requirements. She has been in the program before, though in a different language school. She speaks English and Greek from birth, as well as Spanish, Italian and French as additional languages. She loves learning new languages and knows no other way, since it is an integral part of her lifestyle since her youth:

My love for languages, growing up in a bilingual home, I've always have that bond, that drive to learn more languages; after this I want to learn German and Arabic, but I'm going to do that in another time... but it's the want to go and learn the language of another people, to learn their culture, to learn their way of life, and to be completely immersed in it, which is the point of the [going to live in Paris for a year].

She is extremely confident in her language learning abilities, probably because of her level of experience in this domain, and stands as the most academically oriented participant. Even as a master's student and self-professed "French speaker" (not all students who speak French consider themselves as so), she feels that her level of French, specifically her academic base in the language, is still perhaps insufficient for functioning well in Paris. In her opinion, she is good at learning languages, loves it and that is why she does it. There is no specific purpose nor is she very socially oriented. A lot of her motivation and desire to study in French comes from what goes on inside the classroom, to which she refers a lot: "It's in that classroom professor-student setting that's nerve wrecking because I've always been that super nerd that I always had the right answer, when I don't have the right answer it's frustrating". She is very concerned about what her professors think of her and her performance in French, and thinks she could have benefited from more encouragement and

support from them this summer, as this would have brought more enjoyment to her learning. She did participate in one extra-curricular activity which she really enjoyed. Overall, she states her experience as good though not exceptional.

Textbook knowledge of French is primordial for Natalie, more so than anything. It constitutes the base she can use to move on to other levels of practicing the language. Thus, moving to Paris constitutes a very powerful motivator in her case. However, there are no clear or precise end goals to her learning of languages; speaking and learning new languages is an integral part of her identity and one of the things she excels at. For these reasons, Natalie is considered to be in the middle of the continuum since she has the desire and puts in the effort but lacks a bit of the enjoyment, for several reasons. It is as though she thinks of herself as being programmed to learn more languages. Although she identified with the language community, she expected to make more friends ("it is what it is") and feels the relationships she had with the professors were not quite "up there", which affected her. She still evaluates her learning situation as positive, however, and is hopeful for the future.

Claire

Claire is a student in her hometown, and she is in the third level in the program. She is not particularly academically nor socially oriented, though she is fascinated about what goes on inside her head when she is learning French, and is very conscious of metacognitive processes. She states her French linguistic professor at home as the most important influence for her learning French and deciding to enrol in the program. She cites him as one of the most inspirational persons she has ever known. She is very focused on the linguistic elements of French and enjoys discussing syntax, semantics, phonetics and language structure. Although communication and exactitude in expression are important to her, she has very little to say about her relationship with the community or about the friends she has made during the summer. It is as though she sees the process of learning French as a

game she has to understand, and it all goes on inside her head: "It's obviously a door to an entirely different group of people, a different set of literature, and I just I find other grammars and other sets of vocabulary fascinating. It's like a puzzle, how do they make it work"?

While Claire has specific goals for learning French (unveiling the linguistic mysteries of the French language and "getting [her] ideas across" mainly), she also seems to perform the tasks and get her motivation out of the sheer pleasure of the challenge it brings her. Motivation or effort for her is not a big issue and she states that the semester was "actually easier" than she expected it to be. She enjoyed the summer and learned a lot, though it does not seem to have had a big effect on her affectively. In the end, she mentions that she has no idea what the French language will bring her nor is she even sure if she is getting credit for her semester. She also states that speaking French for seven weeks has made her miss the English language tremendously: "I spent like 15 minutes sitting somewhere thinking, I wish I could just say 'indeed'. It's such a wonderful word. I just feel great affection for a particular specific word with the color to it". Thus, we can consider Claire on the moderate left side of the continuum, or moderately integratively motivated: all elements of integrative motivation are present and she evaluates the learning situation as positive, though there is less identification with the community and the enjoyment/affect linked with the learning of French is also moderate.

Naomi

Naomi is an FSL teacher, in her second summer as a master's student. Unlike any other participant, she is building upon her extensive French heritage, since she has family and friends who speak French and she has been speaking it since she is young. Thus, the social element in her case is not as important, at least not in the program. Naomi is not there to make friends or live an interesting French experience. Her reasons are personal, as she would like to "get some exhale time" and "feel

stronger at the end" because she sees the program as a sort of vacation where she only has "one thing to do, that is learn French", whereas at home she is overwhelmed. There is also professional development since she is there to get an M.A in "pure French", as she refers to it (she already has a master's in second language acquisition), which she hopes will allow her to eventually teach at the college level. In the end, Naomi ended up a little disappointed since she did not have any time to do anything other than homework, and felt overloaded with work. She was looking forward to being away from home in a rural environment and focus only on learning French, but things did not go as she expected. As it was her second summer in the program, she knew what to expect, but that still did not make things easier:

I: Would you have liked to have a little more time this summer? To do stuff that's not academic?

Naomi: I would have and that's a little bit disappointing. That's a negative point I do have actually. I almost wish I had taken two classes [instead of three], so that I could have... you know I didn't even really get to take a bike ride around you know other than needing it where I was going. I mean I think I went to town one time. I think I went one Saturday afternoon, went to [town] or something with some friends. I mean really I didn't get to do anything.

I: Just working all the time?

Naomi: It was all the time. It was serious.

In the end, Naomi was not very satisfied with her experience though she does remain positive. Even though things got really tough at one point, she chooses to focus on the positive gains from the program. Thus, she leans more on the moderate right side of the continuum, because there were more instrumental reasons for her to be in the program from the beginning, she didn't particularly identify well with her learning environment, nor did she have a really good time. The desire is there, though it seems a desire more towards getting away from home than actually learning French per se.

Andrew

Andrew is a regular-year student in the college where the program takes place, and is the only beginner student (level 1) out of all the participants. He admits to being quite reserved, though

attributes this behavioural change to the French language, as well as struggling to communicate. He feels that Spanish (one of his mother tongues) allows him to be much more extroverted than French (or even English) does. He likes learning French, but it could very well be Portuguese or Italian and it would not really matter. There is nothing he finds particularly fascinating about French. In fact, he is learning French almost strictly for professional reasons, since he would like to work as a diplomat in the Caribbean and perceives the knowledge of French as bettering his chances of finding work in that area:

In the future I hope to work in development and things like that in the Caribbean and Latin America, so I'm learning French to be able to communicate with the people from those countries. If French wasn't spoken in the Caribbean I mean... that's what my main goal is now, so I can say that, but I don't know if I would learn French if... I can say that I came to this program because that's what I wanted to do. Learning French for me I don't know, it's a priority because I want to do the things that I want to do in the future. I don't know if I would have learned French otherwise.

Despite this highly instrumental orientation for learning French, Andrew describes his experience as very positive and feels a huge sentiment of accomplishment towards his seven weeks in the program and how he has progressed. He made numerous friends and identifies strongly with his group of beginner learners. Though he states that integration with higher levels is a little more difficult for beginners, he feels he has integrated in the community quite well and is more than satisfied with his experience. He does state, however, that he is unsure whether he will be returning to the program for another year. Andrew's experience has proven to be very rewarding personally, academically and socially. For this reason, despite being primarily instrumentally oriented in appearance, Andrew leans moderately on the left side of the continuum because he exhibits traits that correspond to integrative motivation. Yet, his main reason for being there in the first place is highly instrumental. He has enjoyed his experience, no more no less, and has somehow found the desire to

put in the effort and identify with his community, while remaining positive yet cautious of his learning experience and environment (it is still difficult for him to be himself fully in French).

Thomas

Thomas is a FFL high school teacher who is in his first year of the summer master's program. He is an independent type of person who likes to do his own thing though he loves to socialize, make friends, and has enjoyed extra-curricular activities this summer. Professional development is key for Thomas, and this is his main reason for being in the program (his work is also paying for it). Thomas desires to become more knowledgeable in French as well as becoming a better French speaker, both of which he associates with being a better teacher. He feels that bettering his oral fluency, for example, could really benefit him:

I: I see from your survey answers that your main motivations are to improve your teaching and also I see a lot of fluency, right?

Thomas: Yeah, oral fluency in particular. It kind of... just on the level of pronunciation there are couple of sounds that I'm aware that I don't distinguish well. And given that I'm teaching I feel like I really need to polish those up, so my students can develop their accents a little bit better. And also I've noticed, when my classes drop... it's not always my students' fault. It's often me because I'm not giving the feedback in a way that they understand and I can't find another way to explain what they need to say in French. So having a little more confidence in my oral fluency, I feel that like will help kind of with the circumlocution part of... that I need to really keep the focus on French in class.

There is an interesting identity divide in his case, where he very much associates English with his personal life and French with his professional one. He also admits to being "a much different person in French" and shares some interesting views on identity and language. As a first summer student not knowing exactly what to expect, Thomas admits to maintaining a good balance between the social and the curricular throughout all seven weeks. The program was not easy, though it was not a struggle either, according to him. He maintains that he has been feeling very free all summer, and that although there was a lot of homework to do, it was easy to balance free time and work. Moreover, Thomas feels extremely at ease with everything that relates to school ("this is what I do,

this is what I'm good at") and muses "I often joke that I became a teacher because school is the only thing I'm good at". For Thomas, the learning of a foreign language is important "in and of itself", not just for professional development, but for everything that it contributes to personal growth.

Thomas takes a keen interest in talking about his professional development and linking this with what he is learning in the program. In this sense, he appears to be instrumentally motivated since he is primarily there for professional development, yet he finds French and the learning of a new language a fascinating process. Thus, he leans on the moderate left side of the continuum and is considered to be more integratively motivated than instrumentally, despite his main orientation. He obviously entertains a deep desire to learn French (whatever the reasons may be) and admits to having worked hard this summer, which contributed to his high satisfaction with the program. He sees the learning environment as very positive, though he identifies mildly with his community and enjoys not being pressured to participate in everything or having to socialize with everyone.

Ashley

Ashley is an undergrad student at home, and a level four in the program even though she only has about one to two years of experience with French. One of the most interesting facts about Ashley, is that she started by teaching herself French at home with "just books and stuff", though she admits that she was a little overwhelmed being placed in level 4 at first, since she felt her communication skills were not quite up to par, given her lack of experience. Despite everything, she mentions that the summer went very well. Ashley started learning Spanish a few years back because her aunt recommended it, and then French because one of her professors thought it might be a good idea. In fact, she really cannot state one reason as to why she is learning French for the summer, aside from the fact that it was either this or finding summer work: "I feel like this would be a better experience than like getting an internship this summer because that's the alternative". This lack of a reason for

coming to the program has created a problem for Ashley, since she now expresses the desire to use French in real life, but does not have a plan for the future; she even goes so far as mentioning that she will have to find a way to use and maintain her French in the future: "So I don't really know where that puts me with this French, but I would like to continue learning it... I'm just thinking about where I could use it, so that's kind of the question".

Moreover, she is very concerned about what other people at home think of her speaking French, since nobody around her speaks it and she does not have a reason of her own to learn it. Interestingly, she glorifies French a little in her first interview and entertains a romantic and mysterious view of it, whereas during the second interview she realizes that even though she enjoyed her learning experience, French is not the beautiful fairy tale that she initially imagined it would be: "It's just another language and like had I been born in France, it wouldn't be like 'The French Language' ...".

It is not clear as to where the motivation to learn French comes from in Ashley's case. On the one hand, her experience is a positive one where she has made a lot of friends and the motivation and desire to learn are present. On the other hand, she does not feel intrinsically passionate about learning French, nor does she have a good reason of her own to learn it, besides from entertaining a desire to eventually find an avenue where she can use it in the future. Thus, Ashley leans on the moderate left side of the continuum since she displays quite a few integrative characteristics and few instrumental ones.

If the line between instrumental and integrative motivation often seems fuzzy and unclear in the eight cases described above, that is because, as mentioned earlier, both types of motivation are not enemies but rather complement one another in various ways. However, in the next two cases, which I purposefully chose to keep as the salient part of this section, the line is much clearer.

Section 2: Polar Opposites - The Case of Michael and Alexandra

This section focuses on presenting the two participants who exhibited polar opposite characteristics, in relation with integrative motivation and instrumental motivation. Instead of presenting participants one after another as was done in the last section, the six themes outlined in table 1 are focused on one after the other, in order to compare Michael and Alexandra's differences theme by theme. Whereas the previous section only gives an overview of how certain themes are exhibited by each participant, this section goes into much greater detail in order to illustrate with exactitude why Michael and Alexandra represent polar opposites for each given theme, and how this is linked with the conceptual framework. A link between the theme and its relevance to the integrative-instrumental motivation framework is first made, after which both participants' experiences are illustrated.

Both participants are university students: Michael is an undergraduate French major at an American college while Alexandra is a PhD student in art history at a Canadian university. Michael has a fascination with French and is in the program to meet like-minded individuals who share his passion for French and with whom he can practice French, because he feels there are no such resources for him in his home town of Detroit. Alexandra's reasons are a little different: her approach is "the more languages the better I guess" as she states. She needs to access archival materials in other languages (including German, which she also studied) for her PhD thesis, and thus her university is paying for the program and "she doesn't mind the experience". While this is just a little background information on both participants, Alexandra's reasons and Michael's reasons for being in the program are highly different to start with. As this section demonstrates, Michael exhibits high levels of integrative motivation, a deep-rooted desire to identify and integrate with the community and attitudes that are favourable to his learning environment. Alexandra, on the other hand, exhibits very few of

the integrative motivation characteristics described here. She quickly finds out that the program is not everything she imagined and, although she manages to cope with challenges and difficulties quite well, she demonstrates rather high levels of instrumental motivation.

1. Learner Background

Personality and background are important themes in the context of this study since they embody the external influences that participants bring with them to the table and that affect second language learning motivation. This is part of what Gardner considers as the influence of "history" (under the section "external influences" in his SE model, 2001a), which he defines as "that complex of social and personal variables that the individual brings with him or her that can influence second language acquisition" (p. 4). Even though this study focuses on the experience of the participant within the seven weeks, it is impossible to ignore what they bring to the program in terms of background experiences, since it is bound to shape future ones. This theme relates to the elements of the conceptual framework in the sense that every previous experience and learner background trait may influence why one decides to identify (or not) with a certain group, and may help reveal the source of desires and therefore the efforts that are expended along with the enjoyment one may experience through certain tasks.

Outside the program (in his hometown of Detroit), Michael struggles to find people to speak French with. Even in his classes at college, he has been ridiculed for trying to start conversations in French with other students: "I would try to speak French with people, and they would look at me, and they were like, 'What are you doing?'". Furthermore, none of his friends or family members understand what his interest in the French language is. Michael feels that in the United States, there is this conception that one is much better off learning Spanish, not only because it's perceived as being more manly than French, but also because it's more useful: "I've known a lot of people at my

university that kind of downplay French like, oh you are learning French why not Spanish? They think Spanish is a more masculine language". However, Michael is not worried about the language he loves becoming useful, since he has a passion for it. In the program, Michael has none of these worries. Thus, Michael is not concerned with the instrumental purpose of French because he does it strictly for enjoyment. Despite what others may think of him learning French, he identifies with the program's community like no other participant:

And here it's been the first time that I met other people that, not just study French, but love French, and have a passion to learn it, and don't really have any inhibitions when they speak it, and don't really worry, 'Oh what are they going to think?

He also feels really at ease with everyone in his community, which is important to him.

"Everyone kind of mingles and wants to experience what everyone has to offer, and it doesn't matter what level you're at, and I really like that, that's really encouraging". Not having to worry about what others are going to think of him when he speaks French is all the more encouraging (and therefore motivating we can assume) to him.

Alexandra, being Canadian, feels she has an advantage learning French since she's from a bilingual country: "being Canadian, it's always a little bit... I think you are always little bit surprised by how much vocabulary you know just from the whole like bilingual thing...". She adds that "a lot of people... yeah like the Americans and the other people from overseas they do not have the same advantages as like an Anglophone Canadian". However, despite this perceived advantage, it seems like the pressure is also greater for her since she feels there is an element of expectation for her to speak at least a little French as a Canadian, whereas this is not the case for Michael. For example, Alexandra mentions at one point during the second interview that she has mixed feelings going back to Canada with so little French acquired, and that she's going to have trouble explaining to her friends (and supervisor) how she didn't manage to do better, since the way she sees it, "Canadians have an

advantage over Americans" when it comes to learning French. When she speaks of her return back home and her meeting with the people in her surroundings who speak French, she identifies this as a source of anxiety: "I think it might be kind of a mutual anxiety about language... I got a lot of friends who can speak French and I'm a little worried when I get back". It's difficult for Alexandra to perceive herself as a non-French speaker and this is mostly due to her background and what she has come to expect of herself as a Canadian, apparently.

Alexandra's reasons for speaking French, as described here, differ from those of Michael's because they are linked to elements of fear, pressure and expectations as opposed to pure enjoyment. In this case, French for Alexandra becomes an instrument to rid her of those negative emotions whereas for Michael, it simply fulfills feelings of enjoyment.

2. Views of Self and Others

The views that language learners entertain towards themselves and others play a significant role in how they approach language learning, as the findings demonstrate. A positive view of oneself and of others tends to be linked with positive attitudes towards the learning situation, which is an essential component of integrative motivation. Furthermore, it also leads to greater identification with other language learners, and the community in general, since there is less disparity between learners. This is apparent in the case of Michael and Alexandra, as we illustrate here.

Michael's view of other language learners is broad: he refers both to the very talented students on campus as well as those who, in his view, are inhibiting their own learning. When comparing himself with other learners who, in his opinion, are very talented at language learning, he maintains a very positive view of himself. He understands that some people learn one way and get great results and that he may be learning another way and get different results:

I know a girl who is a missionary, she is a U.S. citizen, but grew up in France. She has a French citizenship, and so she is completely fluent in English and French and she is probably

the only person I know who I can't even tell like she could be a French native speaker or a native English speaker. It's kind of crazy. I can't tell a switch when she speaks, and with me I definitely feel that switch, so it's definitely this a mental switch that I make, and to be honest I think French is a lot more complex just to me.

Michael is well aware that he stands on the lower-end scale of the proficiency scale in the French School but he sees this as a productive challenge rather than a source of discouragement:

I: So with people who are higher speakers than you that would be one of the biggest challenges, and you like to speak with these people, that's the thing right? You're not necessary looking just to have... just to stay in your levels. Yeah you like to communicate with the masters.

Michael: Definitely. I think it's encouraging when you do... generally, I think for me it's encouraging when I speak with the student from a higher level, even if I don't comprehend everything because it gives me an opportunity to listen to higher level speaking. But as you realize that that there are just certain people like... it's just really hard for me to speak with, and it's a little frustrating because with English the problem isn't there. But yeah, I think you just kind of have to know... for me I just kind of have to know that with certain people and accents, of course, it's just harder...

Even though Michael is a beginner comparing himself to people who speak French almost fluently, he acknowledges that learning French represents a complex task to him, all the while maintaining an objective view of his relationship with the French language. Thus, while Michael recognizes that he may not be the most gifted French learner because "mental switches" are difficult for him, he is also able to acknowledge that he is different from others in terms of identity: "I feel like I'm... I know some people kind of maintain the same identity when they speak another language, but I feel like for me, it's different". Thus, he sees himself as distinct from others, not necessarily better nor worse, just different, as if he does not let other learners' performance set the bar for himself. Perhaps more importantly, however, French changes everything for Michael since he sees himself differently, actually more positively when he speaks French than when he speaks English:

And there's not a lot of pressure [in my level] to select the most appropriate words and expressions and emotions because everyone knows that not everyone in my level knows everything or has a really high competency that the student in the 300 level would. And I think it's really, for me, I feel really free. I don't worry about what word I'm going to choose, what is this person going to think of me when I say a sentence this way or that way because

with English, my English proficiency is so high that it's really impressionistic, if that works. Everything I say in English I know is going to leave an impression on another Anglophone who knows the same amount of words and structures and pragmatics that I do. But for French here, you can go with it, and really explore the language.

For Michael, learning French is serious business and he has trouble dealing with other students on campus who he feels are wasting their time as well as his by not taking the experience as seriously as he does. He is really aggravated and utterly confused by people who don't respect it. The best example of this is when he talks about the two-day trip to Montreal with the school, which he refers to as "totally detrimental" to his learning given that many people in his group just spoke English all the time. When I asked Michael about his trip to Montreal, it is apparent that others who broke the pledge was a big deal to him:

So I drove with them to Montreal for two days. Unfortunately, the girl that traveled with us, I don't really... she's a beginner, doesn't really have a lot of motivation. I'm not really sure why because it's really expensive to be here. But the whole weekend she spoke English, and that was really bad for me, really detrimental. Even now, it's been... this past week has been really hard for me to readjust. I didn't speak in English back with her, and then she thought I was weird for not responding to her. But that was really bad, I was really worried when I got back because my head was just completely English filled.

This episode seems to have affected Michael's motivation, since his identification with others in the program (those who broke the pledge) suffered, as well as his tendency to evaluate his learning situation as positive. In fact, this just demonstrates the extent to which identifying with his community and maintaining a positive learning environment are important characteristics for Michael. Had Michael not been integratively motivated, this situation would never have affected him to such an extent. For Alexandra, it is a different story.

Alexandra talks about other people's success stories (students who are or have been in the program) like she is very envious of them but feels that she is different from others when learning a language (she refers to herself as "stupid" twice). In fact, her views of herself as a future speaker of French are almost entirely based on other gifted students' achievements, which affect her self-esteem.

In the first instance, Alexandra feels stupid because she perceives others as having done better than her and realises that she probably is not like them:

I feel like, I just also don't know that I could have been better, but I would have wanted to do better. I know, and I have seen other people, but I just don't think I'm actually necessarily like others... it made me feel stupid for a while.

In another instance, she talks about someone she has heard about who was a beginner and progressed very quickly:

I heard stories about people coming in who didn't like... as beginners I guess and there is this one guy who is a professor in Quebec and he came as a beginner, and I think he only did the year with the beginners [in the program], but he really picked up, and so because I had all of that in the back of my head...

When I asked her if it was difficult to accept feeling different from others, she talks about one of her friends who had the same problem, once again referring to herself as "stupid":

Yeah that was probably like the hardest thing, I think that's why I was like upset for a long time and I was saying to my friend that goes to Columbia, because she actually had a very similar problem although I think that she has a little bit better French orally than me, cause before she came here, she had some friends that live in France that she communicated with regularly, but it was a little bit discouraging to find out it might be something I'm just not... I might be a little stupid at... with the languages...

Particularly difficult for Alexandra as well, is the fact that she mentions many times feeling like an infant when speaking French:

Yeah and we just... and but then, often we would be this child like... I just think about that takes away your sense of agency like it's... you have the same ability to do things except you can't express them there's... it immediately regresses you to a degree. I actually had conversations with people at school like. It wasn't only women I'm sure, sometimes guys too, but I have the toughest conversations... like why, why are people crying all the time, I honestly think it's... they expressed that it was also the fact that you are speaking like an infant again and you have the same frustration. It really gets you in touch with being frustrated and being a child again.

In another instance with a classmate, she again expresses the same emotion: "When you want to express a complicated thought, and you can't... it's the same kind of feeling of being a child, a little bit. Yeah it's a little infantilizing".

While Michael talks about other students, not as a reference point for his learning, but simply as students with maybe more experience and talent than him, Alexandra feels like she has to perform as well as others and it is difficult for her to accept that she may not be at everyone else's level.

Along with using others as reference to where she feels she should be, in terms of proficiency, she feels she is lagging behind:

For me it was oral and I'd get frustrated too because obviously it's immersion and so... For a long period of time I didn't understand what was going on in the class, and so there was a lot of frustration. For a while I was certain that if only I could... if only there was like... I was certain that I wasn't necessarily going as fast as I thought I was.

Thus, there is a difference in the way Michael and Alexandra monitor their own learning and progress. There seems to be much more confusion on Alexandra's side:

I: For you it is important to gauge your progress and that was something that was just difficult to do?

Alexandra: It was absolutely. I guess I rely a bit on our engagement with progress and it wasn't always clear what my note was in the class also, and some classes it was quite clear but, for example, I knew I didn't do well because it's my worst class, but I have no idea of what I have done overall, I'm thinking badly quite frankly but I have no idea.

Despite the confusion that Alexandra experienced, she acknowledges that she may have come to expect too much of herself perhaps, in such a short time:

But there's also sometimes a sensation that I was also kind of standing still like there was no progression, but then it was a false sense. And I think that is partly because it's just so much, it's such a short period of time. But also I think that may be because there wasn't always a clear feedback in all the classes... I mean it was verbally. But half of the time I couldn't understand them so there was no choice.

It is apparent, that part of Alexandra's motivation to excel at French comes from the fact that she would like to do as well as others in French, while Michael is satisfied with monitoring his own progress according to what he believes he can achieve, as opposed to should achieve. Thus, Alexandra has trouble identifying with the community, but not in the way that Michael does. While Michael has trouble identifying with those who lack seriousness because it inhibits his learning,

Alexandra has difficulty identifying with people who she perceives as being better learners than herself, and this affects the attitudes she has towards herself along with her motivation. Alexandra's attitude leans more towards performing as well as others; when this does not work out, it negatively affects her self-esteem in particular. It is important to emphasize that this is only the way she perceives herself and not necessarily the reality. In fact, despite her thinking that she did not progress steadily enough, she acknowledges that she may have had false hopes at the beginning and that she did eventually progress:

I: How do you feel about yourself when you speak French now?

Alexandra: It's surprising. I think when I arrived, I thought I could speak a little bit in French and I couldn't. I don't really know how to describe it like I can have a conversation now, and it's not good, and it's not grammatically correct, but it's a conversation.

I: So you feel like you've gone from someone who couldn't have a conversation to someone who can have somewhat of a conversation?

Alexandra: Yeah absolutely.

This only goes to show that the extent to which one perceives how "good" one is, can have important repercussions on one's motivation. Michael did not necessarily do better than Alexandra, but the attitudes he holds towards himself are usually more favourable, and this results in him being more integratively motivated in the end.

3. Relationship with Community

While the last point presents the views that Michael and Alexandra have of themselves and other learners, this section focuses on the relationships they have with other students and professors on campus. The quality of these relationships is important since it contributes to the attitudes that participants have towards their learning environment (ALS) and to the way that they identify with their community (INT), and thus, the motivation they experience. If students fail to develop meaningful and pleasant relationships with others, it will necessarily affect the way they perceive their environment and the other students in their community.

Michael has made a lot of friends in the program and has thoroughly enjoyed his time learning French within his new community, almost as if the program was specifically tailored to his needs:

Michael: The community here is really what I think works the best for me. Speaking French outside of the classroom with everyone is really the thing that helps me the most. The material's there, the experience with the material, with the curriculum outside of the class between the other students, and with me this is really important.

I: And did you feel like you were part of the French community here on campus

Michael: Definitely. I think, in my experience just with the college thing in the U.S., it's fairly difficult to break into a lot of different groups as such. But here, it wasn't difficult at all to find a place to fit in.

Once again, he talks about how "encouraging" the program is because it allows him to truly be himself and not have to worry about what others think:

You hear about problems in the classroom where students don't learn the language because the others... because their peers kind of antagonize them when they speak well. I know that that's a problem within the field of linguistics, and it doesn't happen here at all. It's really encouraging.

When I ask Michael if this is what he expects out of his experience, he once again seems surprised at how fantastic the people around him are:

I: And were you expecting that or were you more just expecting to learn the language?

Michael: Learn it and... not really the whole large community. I don't really see a lot of pockets within the French school here. Everyday seems like I have a different conversation with a different person and that's good. I've definitely experienced a lot of different things with the language. It's a really encouraging program here. I think that's the main thing that I have experienced.

Michael often mentions how easy it was for him to integrate in the program, whereas back home, that does not tend to happen to him a lot. It is also evident that the way in which the program is organized is really at the heart of his motivation:

I: So overall, the things you say that motivated you to stay here and just participate in everything are really the interactions you had with other people?

Michael: Definitely. It's interesting because you meet a lot of people here who are really, really interesting I think. From a lot of different backgrounds, cultures, countries, languages, and automatically I want to find out like, really what makes them tick and... just because I'm interested. The community here, I think it's more of an open community anyways because it

just fosters... and learning and another language is just a great way to really discover a different way of thinking and culture.

Michael does not think that this aspect of the community only applies to him; he feels that this is something that genuinely lives within the social space of the French School, as he mentions here:

Yeah and it's not just me, I think it's other students here too because there is someone within the 400 level and obviously I don't see them all the time because they are in a completely different program than, but I see them, I know their name, and we have a little pleasant conversation, and with me that doesn't really happen in English.

Along with entertaining a very good relationship with his community, Michael also feels that the professors are what really made the difference to him. He refers to one professor specifically, who is "astounding", has "so much energy", and who has contributed very positively to his learning:

I: So she's had a big impact on your learning?

Michael: Yeah she's the best teacher I ever had so far, and it's been really evident.

I: So you feel like the quality of the professor is really something [the program] can brag about?

Michael: Yeah I think that the quality of professors here is really something that sets it apart.

Apparently Michael also feels this way not only about one professor, but all of them:

It's been great, completely different from all of my past experiences. The professors here are really... they teach... just all the energy that the professors have for not just my group within the level of 200, but all the groups, all three groups, it's just astounding.

Things for Alexandra did not go as smoothly as they did for Michael. While she did make "a small group of friends", a few of whom she plans to stay in contact with, and maybe even visit in the future, she refers to one friend in particular as a misery partner:

I'll say one thing that helped was that another woman in my group... she was like a PhD at Columbia. And so it was nice, its misery loves company kind of thing. So I had kind of solitary with her occasionally...

Alexandra also mentions that adapting to the environment was difficult because of the culture shock:

But at first it was like shocking and not just probably particularly for us, the people that were a bit older, but also for the undergrad students it was a shock, it was like a cultural shock. But eventually I got used to it. It's now funny.

When she speaks of her interactions with the community and the people around her, she sees them as "necessary" and "a kind of work". While this is positive by all accounts, it still reflects the instrumental and pragmatic intentions that Alexandra brings with her to the program:

I: So the interactions you had with other students were definitely helpful?

Alexandra: Absolutely, yeah. I would say they're probably necessary. I mean sometimes they weren't like, they took me away from actually studying, right but at the same time I do recognize that that would be a kind of work, and also because it would still... we talk in French and then often you would be like, someone would say a word, and that's where like blah blah blah with him, and you would still be learning.

More difficult for Alexandra are her relationships with professors. There is an element of culture shock that is difficult for Alexandra to cope with, and although she thinks "the professors are nice", she did have "difficulties with their teaching styles occasionally", more specifically with one in particular:

It was also the French system is different than the North American system as I've learned and we had when one professor that would tell us that we were awful and stupid. And it was like 'it's a terrible answer why do you not understand this?' And she would scold the class at the time, and over time we got used to it.

Whereas Michael feels supported by his professors, Alexandra's experience with them often tends towards difficulties in communication and challenges in mutual understanding. Alexandra gives the example of a frustrating experience in class, where she and a professor cannot understand one another:

It was [a word] with 'I' with a different pronunciation. I said it one way, and it was the wrong way, and I was corrected, and I was like, Oh but why? I want to ask why because I don't know the other word. And she is like 'not why, this is it'. And I was like, but I want to say... I want to know... am I not understanding the rule properly? But she wouldn't let me finish. It was like, 'No, that's not the word.' It was like 'I understand but...' Often I find that would be the case, not just for me, but if we wanted clarification perhaps because something you learned was contradicting something we were doing around that time, you couldn't express it. It

wasn't just me I saw other people too. It was so frustrating and then probably they would not understand that they are being mean.

Oftentimes, in fact, Alexandra's uneasiness with certain professors had to do with a certain miscommunication between the class and the professor, along with expectations that were not made clear because of the fact that no English is allowed:

Particularly at the beginning it was so frustrating and one teacher would never write the homework on the board, and we would go home and after and would be like 'what is the homework?' and it would be like would you just please write it on the board whatever it is... but she never would and I really don't know if it's because she didn't understand us or like if it was a perfect example of how just one minute of English would've actually made everything so much better.

It is apparent, in the previous examples, that both participants reacted very differently to the teachers' personalities and teaching styles, as well as to the friends they made. Michael describes his experience on campus and with his community as challenging but encouraging and motivating, while Alexandra faces more difficult challenges with the professors and has less to say about the friends she has made and the spirit of the community. Michael identifies with those who are as serious about learning French as he is, and this motivates him to improve and work harder. Thus, Michael shows easier integration, identification and better ALSs, while Alexandra shows more difficulty integrating and identifying with her community, which in turn often seems to affect her self-esteem.

4. Orientations, Goals and Expectations

Michael came into the program with an "I'll do my best" sort of attitude. He is looking to get a "better grip" on the language, "speed up the learning process" and identifies his "biggest challenge [as] trying to get to the point where I don't have to have people repeat so much". Another important goal of his, as he states in the first interview, is to get out of his comfort zone:

Yeah so I just want to really push myself... cause for me and it's just my personality I usually find a couple of friends and I'm going to stick with that. Yeah I think it's important that I work on that yeah. And just not get in a rut where I'm just speaking and hanging out with the

same people you know and it might be great you know... great people and great speakers, because I think this is really a rare opportunity just for anybody, yeah.

This element of authenticity in Michael's words confirms he is in the program to really get the most out of this experience. His desire to get out there, meet people and match it with effort and motivation is truly apparent in the way he describes his experience. More importantly, however, he approaches the learning situation of the program with great humility and sets his goals according to his reality, while not going overboard in his expectations:

Yeah I feel I accept that, I feel it's okay. I'm not... I don't expect to be the best right off the get go. I don't even expect to ever be the best, I just want to... I want to learn as much as I can, and I mean I've taken some English as a second language classes, like teaching it, and they kind of teach the... you can approach native like fluency as a second language learner, but it's very hard to obtain that wholeness.

This idea of the native speaker is a bit of a concern for Michael, and although he would hope someday to reach native-like fluency, he does not put a priority on it from the start:

It's definitely possible to approach it, but especially like me I'm being 21 to learn it later, I'm still pretty young, and I have a pretty good chance of doing well, but I never intend to be speaking like a Quebecer or something like that's because... that's just unrealistic, like I don't know.

By not expecting too much out of his experience in terms of "results", Michael can concentrate on putting in the effort and not worrying excessively about where he will be at the end of the program. Thus, there is little discrepancy between his answers in the first and second interviews. He feels he has improved quite considerably, but realises he still has some way to go because he sees the learning process as a continuous one: "I have a little bit of a natural ability, but I know that I have a lot to improve on, and I want to improve. And I want to make sure that I don't stay stagnant".

Even though Michael realises that he may have "a bit of a natural ability", as he states, he refrains from thinking that he will quickly and easily succeed in learning French, instead anticipating that the road ahead, while certainly pleasurable, is paved with difficult challenges. He compares his

abilities in French to those he has in music and understands right away that he may have to work harder to learn French than he has when he learned music:

I played bass and tuba, stuff like that. One of my teachers always told me that people with natural abilities are sometimes the hardest people to get to work really hard because they are used to that natural ability and they kind of slack out when it gets tough, and when they have to like get over that hump, because I think there is a... in the process of learning, if you have a natural ability for whatever you are learning it comes easy for a while, and it comes tough for people that are actually trying to learn it from the very beginning without their natural ability, so you hit that wall probably sooner.... and with French it's not so natural for me as it was with music, but you know... being enforced to just speak French and do it really gives me a lot of motivation to work harder

Here, Michael is in fact gauging right away the effort he knows he will have to put in to succeed, but he associates this effort with success and the desire to work hard. Both elements form an integral part of integrative motivation as the conceptual framework illustrates. For Alexandra, while effort is also sometimes associated with these elements, it is more often linked with frustration and difficulties (see point no. 6 of this section).

Alexandra's hopes at the beginning differ in many ways than Michael's. Right away, there is a sense that she perceives herself more negatively than Michael, as she states: "I need to obviously get a lot better than my clumsy French". She is hopeful and positive about the learning situation before it starts: "it's hard to get to know people when you can't speak that language in common. So it will be challenging, but I'm looking forward to it". However, she later hints that being there is not entirely her choice, because she talks about being "forced" to participate in the program: "I think it's a good thing like I'm excited to be forced to do it".

Whereas Michael's goals are a little vague and general, Alexandra's are much more precise and leave less space for error, thus appearing to put heavy pressure on her right from the start: "I honestly have very high expectations... I expect to become fluent to a degree, not totally fluent probably, and I'm not going to be writing poetry, but yeah I could pass as relatively fluent".

Furthermore, she also hopes to not feel like an "infant" anymore when speaking French, which is something that really bothers her. Alexandra opens up during the second interview about not having reached her initial goals, which is still surprising to her:

I have certainly met my ability but my expectations were pretty high and I certainly... I don't know that they were unfounded cause I have certainly observed other people I know just swim in the language. They just pick it up really well.

Once again, Alexandra relates to her expectations not according to what she has set for herself, but according to what she has seen from other learners. In many ways, after the seven weeks, she feels like she is not where she should be in terms of proficiency. This even leads her to think about more serious preoccupations when she mentions: "I even wonder for a while like if I had an auditory disability or something, I really could not understand people yeah". Remarkably, however, even after her difficult experience and not having met the goals she set for herself, Alexandra still sees a positive value in her learning of French. When asked what she might do with the French she has learned now, she sees the instrumental value of what French may allow her to do: "Yeah for research it's also not a bad idea. But for the future, when I started looking for jobs, there is a pretty good chance I'll be in Canada and the bilingual thing is always a plus".

Even though Alexandra maintains a positive view of her learning experience in the end, she realizes that she might have to reassess her expectations the next time: "In terms of French I guess what's changed is I realize it would take me longer so yes I will be taking more classes". In this sense, Alexandra sees her experience as a French learner as more of a destination (becoming fluent, sounding less child-like) and a necessity:

I: And do you feel like learning French is important to you?

Alexandra: As I said, I will certainly continue with it. I'm not sure exactly how.... I mean I'll continue with it formally, cause that's necessary for me but...

Indeed, it is necessary for her since the initial objective for learning French is to do research; interestingly, she knows exactly why it will be useful to speak French in Paris as it will allow her to communicate better with the librarians:

It's necessary for research. But it's also going to Paris, being able to navigate the national library, like being able to communicate to the librarians, which is a huge thing. When you do archival work, like especially at the library, it takes you usually about three or four weeks for them to trust you and like really start bringing the materials. Like this is a lot of archival and work you need to develop a relationship with a librarian. So it's a funny thing to navigate, but that just happens.

Whereas Michael participates out of sheer pleasure and is here of his own volition, Alexandra has won a fellowship and feels it is necessary to learn French, since it will allow her to complete her PhD. When I ask Alexandra about her motivation to be in the program, I get the sense that she is doing it partly out of obligation:

I: What are some of the things that motivated you to stay here, and just keep on learning despite the fact that you paid quite a bit of money?

Alexandra: Yeah, no I didn't pay anything actually I won a fellowship to come here. So yeah I mean... if I had paid that would have been definitely a bigger motivation, but there is someone else who pays... it was motivation because...

I: Because you really earned this?

Alexandra: I think they get numerous applications a year. Like I'm going to get the opportunity I should certainly make it work. A lot of people can't depend on the same opportunity, so I should really try my hardest right? Otherwise I think that would be terrible of me right? So I was definitely a little bit concerned about trying out for the fellowship...

Michael, on the other hand, does not envision a specific goal, but rather sees the experience as a process that is continuous and perhaps a lifetime adventure. His desire to learn and the efforts he puts in, while not necessarily stronger or more valuable than Alexandra's, come to him more easily, with more enjoyment and also less frustration.

5. Time Management, Workload and co-Curricular Activities

In many ways, the reason for the existence of an intensive immersion program has to do with what goes on outside of the classroom, through the social events and co-curricular activities available

to students. Oftentimes, as the data shows here, the curricular comes first and, if participants have free time, they often choose to engage in one or two workshops and certain social events. This means that managing one's free time with curricular workload and homework can become a daunting task in a program meant to be intensive. If one's workload becomes heavy to the point of physical and mental exhaustion, it can be difficult to engage in any kind of social activity, which can, in turn, be detrimental to motivation levels since integration with groups of friends is not as frequent (and so is identification). In fact, many factors linked to motivation are at play here.

In both interviews, Michael makes no mention of having difficulty managing his time. Like most other participants, he enjoyed meals the most as a "free time" period of the day and he also participated in the soccer workshop twice a week:

I: I'm curious, was there a specific time of the day, or of the week, during a certain event or a certain activity that you felt most comfortable to speak French, and felt like you were getting the most out of your French learning experience

Michael: The most comfortable... I think there's a little bit of a difference with me for the times when I'm most comfortable to speak French. Definitely with soccer like, casual and just play the sport that I love and just kind of play around with French casually... but for this sport it's not really necessary to use a lot of different expressions in French, so the best experience on the whole... probably at meal, our meals.

Most surprising is not that he participated in social events, as many other students did, but rather that he states enjoying doing everything in French much more than he would have in English (his L1):

I: Maybe I could ask you... did you feel the need or pressure to participate in social events at the French school, or it was something that you did because you would really enjoy doing it, and so it wasn't even a question?

Michael: I don't really think there was a question.

I: I mean whether it would be at workshops or theatre or parties on the weekend?

Michael: Yeah I don't think it was really that big of a question for me. I think maybe, I'm not sure, but I think maybe with my English there would have been questions, if I would speak in English because...

I: Because what do I have to gain from going there?

Michael: Yeah, whereas in French, I don't know I can have this liberation, like 'hey, cool'!

I: Yeah. Doing everything in French seems that much new, right?

Michael: Yeah new, another opportunity to be...

I: Everything's cooler in French sort of thing?

Michael: Kind of yeah, and everything is new, everything is different, and that's another experience, yeah definitely.

For Michael, it wasn't so much a question of managing his time, as it was one of adjusting to the different challenges that occurred throughout the summer. He mentions adjustment as something of a concern for him, especially after midway, though he never explicitly refers to an overload of work or a lack of time. He sees this adjustment as something positive:

I think... it's been interesting. I think there's a different... I noticed it's a different feel after the midway point. I feel like the first four weeks there is definitely an amount of work required, but I think that the professors in the program at that stage are still feeling out what works and what doesn't, because every class, every student is different.

According to him, things got a little more difficult after the fourth week because the expectations are different:

Yeah I think it was harder after midway point. It's harder now because we do know more, and the initial problems aren't there anymore like, I can understand my professors, I can understand what is expected. Yeah, and I think what goes with that is also because we are more prepared after that midway point and I've noticed the workload is more heavier. And it has been hard for me too, I will admit two reasons that I think are important for you to know. I got used to the rhythm I guess after the first four weeks, and then the change hit, and it's been kind of hard to adjust, you know I have to work after lunch, and before dinner I just have to do it. So, the first four weeks it wasn't really that necessary because there were a lot of introductory preparatory things, so there has been a big adjustment there.

Michael associates a heavier workload and a need for readjustment with being "more prepared". Although it was difficult for him to adjust after the first four weeks, he does not associate the need to adjust or the difficulties that arose with feelings of frustration or discouragement.

Alexandra also managed to maintain a healthy social life, go out with friends once in a while and exercise on top of that. But unlike Michael, who has had a lot of energy all throughout the program, Alexandra felt, at times, overwhelmed with homework while also regretting not doing everything she set out to do initially:

I don't attend too many workshops. I have like a small group of friends. I find a lot of the social activities tend to be aimed at the younger crowd, like there's a lot of dances and that's fun, and but I'm just kind of well, I'm probably 10 years too old for the dance... you know? I did the cuisine, but it turned out that was only once, a one shot deal like I guess everybody wants to do the cuisine and I think I mentioned I was going to do the phonetics workshop, it was Monday... but then every Monday I slept through it. It was terrible, and I went to a few of the workshop of art history, but I found that I didn't actually enjoy them that much.

She mentions that one of the reasons why it was difficult for her to do what she initially set out to accomplish is because she had too much homework. This is an indication that it was more difficult for Alexandra to manage her time, since she felt overloaded during the entire length of the program:

I mean the cuisine was fun.... And I wanted to do the badminton thing, but I never got around to it. Maybe I just also had too much homework and there were those things that I would do this week but then I would have like six or seven hours of homework and I just...

When I ask Alexandra how she feels about not having enough time to participate in the co-curricular, she points out that, in her opinion, most of the students were overloaded with work and thus restricted in terms of free time:

I: Do you feel like you could have made a little bit more out of this? Like you could have been... you could have gained more out of your experience [in the program] if you would've had a little less academic work because isn't the point of immersion that you know you are not only doing homework because you can do it at home? So isn't that a little bit illogical in a sense?

Alexandra: Yeah certainly. At that point like it was absolutely illogical. And I think it was also unfortunate that the major workload happened in the second week because that's when you begin all the workshops and I know for a lot of people they couldn't go to certain ones in general because you go for I believe enjoying it... It's a little messy yeah, absolutely.

Alexandra's experience illustrates how tired and overwhelmed she felt at times. She also lacked the energy to accomplish everything she set out to do, and was considerably more ambitious than Michael. However, she still managed to get a balance of exercise, social activities and curricular ones, even though she appeared to struggle more than Michael with managing her time:

Honestly like in the first couple of weeks it's crazy. It was really crazy and I remember like there isn't one day out of all of the second week that I wouldn't get up at really early. I would get up at 5:30 and then go to bed at midnight and I would like work the entire time like ridiculous, yeah it was ridiculous. It was the entire second level as far as I can tell... it's stupid.

One of the problems which made time management difficult for Alexandra relates once again to the lack of clarity in the communication between her and some of the professors. She gives the example of homework guidelines that were not clear:

On the second week, when I had like a little breakdown, and I wasn't the only one, it was because like I don't understand even what I'm supposed to be doing. It would take me an hour or two to even figure out what was supposed to be done even before I began doing it... and that was really frustrating... It was like, well this is ridiculous.

It is apparent in the description of experiences above that Michael did not struggle as much as Alexandra in managing his time and activities. Again, Michael's efforts seem to come from a deep desire to identify and integrate with the community, all the while maintaining a positive attitude, which instead of leaving him tired gave him energy: "I've been having a lot of energy that I've never had when speaking English". Alexandra, although she obviously put in the effort, had trouble accomplishing the activities she was interested in, perhaps because she was too demanding of herself, whereas Michael initially only set out to play soccer. Thus, this section demonstrates that managing one's time and expectations efficiently, plays an important role in exhibiting integrative motivation.

6. Satisfaction with the Program

The satisfaction experienced by participants in the program is directly linked to the type of motivation that comes out of it. As the conceptual framework clearly demonstrates, enjoyment (or affect) is one of the three essential elements of MOT in integrative motivation. On the whole, we can assume that the more a participant has enjoyed his or her experience, the higher will be his or her satisfaction with the program.

In the end, both Alexandra and Michael were satisfied with their experience in the program, though in Alexandra's case, the satisfaction was considerably less. Michael mentions this being one of the best experiences in his life, whereas Alexandra, although able to see everything positive she has

gained from her experience, reports much more frustration and difficulties than Michael. Table 2 illustrates the number of references/mentions per certain nodes (categories relevant to satisfaction or lack thereof) as seen in the coding of the data. It is apparent from these numbers that Alexandra has struggled with more difficulty than Michael, while experiencing less satisfaction.

Table 2

Number of Mentions per Nodes/Categories Relevant to Satisfaction

Nodes/categories	Michael	Alexandra
Overall Positive Learning Experiences	14	1
Enjoyment	6	9
Fears, Anxiety, Stress	1	6
Difficulties	8	12
Disappointment	11	3
Frustration	0	15
Confusion and Overwhelming Feeling	0	14

As indicated in table 2, Alexandra appears to have experienced more enjoyment as well as considerably less disappointment than Michael. While these results may seem surprising, they illustrate that, despite Alexandra's difficult and challenging experience in the program, she managed to enjoy herself at times while retaining positive elements from her experience. She seemed to enjoy herself most in her classes and through her conversations with peers:

I mean I really did enjoy reading aloud the poetry and these kinds of exercises. I thought it was a really great way to learn the language. And then in oral class, as terrible as I was, I had a great time usually as we have conversations about topics that wouldn't necessarily be like a

structured learning experience. So I guess when it came to conversation, usually I enjoyed it the most. I wasn't good either again.

The nature of Alexandra's source of satisfaction often seems to come from doing something that she sees as being practical in connection with learning French, hence the instrumental motivation she experienced. When she talks about learning verb tenses in class, she links this to how it will lower her level of stress when communicating with others:

I: What are your views about learning inside the classroom, and outside of the classroom? How did you feel about both? Did you enjoy one more than the other, or did you feel like you were learning more inside or outside the classroom?

Alexandra: I don't know, presumably inside the classroom... right even if it didn't always feel that way, I mean those were the tools you take outside the classroom with you. And it wasn't normally... I would say inside the classroom cause even sometimes during the first two weeks, I really didn't have a grasp of some of the basic rules of like syntax or something and then was worried that it was going to be covered, and we actually started with verbs, and all the verb tenses. And so then I tried to learn that because I was really worried how I wasn't really understanding when people talked.

Despite stating that she enjoyed learning better inside the classroom, because she sees this as being useful for understanding others, there is still the sense that a task is performed both for enjoyment but also to alleviate an element of worry. Thus, the motivation to learn is linked more to an instrument to lessen worry than for pure enjoyment.

In the end, it seems like Alexandra thought she had to work harder than most students to succeed and often had to cope with tiredness:

I: What type of efforts do you feel are required to progress in a program like this?

Alexandra: I think obviously you need to work really, really hard, like the classes... and I think it's different for every level but they are like four hours in one block, and it isn't long but in those days if you are going to do it well, you should probably work for another seven hours, so it's quite intensive, right? And you can do it in less time but like you are not going to learn, or I wouldn't learn I should say...

So really it would be difficult... like somebody that would slack off a bit more and go for beers or something. You really get fatigued because I would find... and also one thing I regret not taking, and I really wish I had, and it was always meant to, and then every Monday I was really tired, was the phonetic workshop and I think that even now my pronunciation isn't where maybe it should be, and oddly I feel like my pronunciation has somehow gotten worse from the last couple of weeks, I think. And I've observed actually

with other students, that their pronunciation has gone downhill, no it's weird. There was a student, her first language is Chinese, and she's had the same problem I've had. I don't know if it's just kind of like a cognitive overload.

I: Yeah and there is that element of the program which is like oh yes its intensive, great, but aren't there negative effects that also do come out of the program because it's too intensive maybe?

Alexandra: Oh absolutely.

Whereas Michael felt he had more energy, Alexandra laments not having enough for almost the duration of the program. Despite the fact that Alexandra did enjoy a lot of the elements of the program, what seems to come out mainly is a feeling of frustration, attributed to different causes at different times, as she states when I ask her how she felt about her experience on the whole:

I: Can you tell me a little about your experience learning in the program for almost seven weeks now?

Alexandra: It's a difficult question. It's been seven weeks, but it's been like a very long experience. So, it's really complicated I guess like, it's been remarkable, but extremely frustrating at times, it's very much like a roller coaster. I don't really know how to summarize it.

I: That's good, that's fine. So frustrating, huh?

Alexandra: At times, sometimes it's great, yeah but definitely frustrating at times. For very different reasons, it's sometimes like contradictory reasons, like it's really frustrating for one reason one week, and the very next week it's frustrating for the opposite reason like you think something's not working and then the other thing happens and then you're like 'oh, that's not like this like its... that's a bit vague but yeah...

Although Alexandra did have difficult times, the positive point is that she did progress in terms of being able to communicate with others:

I mean definitely there has been progress there is no question... For me it's just like because it has been such a struggle to communicate orally, I'm just so happy I can communicate with people, not well, but people like... I understand them, and they understand me usually.

For Michael, the experience of fear, stress, anxiety, frustration, confusion and overwhelming feeling is quasi absent. Moreover, while he did experience difficulties, these are often linked with his disappointment towards two elements: other students who could not respect the pledge and a literature class he had to take. He states that even his motivation was affected by having to take that class and that he did not enjoy it:

I: Are there any elements of the program that you didn't particularly like or feel were not so great?

Michael: There are two that I can think of on top of my head. I think there are a good number of students in the 200 level that would agree with me that the literature course just isn't really rewarding for me. I haven't really had any success or motivation for that class for the whole time here. It's not really even necessary for me.

Despite the fact that he did not enjoy his literature class, the emotions he expresses when he talks about this, or other students breaking the pledge, relate to disappointment and sadness rather than frustration or anxiety. The way he puts it, these students have had a very negative effect on his integrative motivation:

And even for like simple things like ordering food, I know that they are beginners but they definitely can order food, I mean you don't even have to speak for that, you just point to the menu. And they would order in English. It is really, really, detrimental. I'm still kind of recouping from it. And this week, I've noticed my work in general, and just the response from my professors to me about my work has been considerably lower. That's because before I left I was in a good place with French completely, and now it's kind of a half and half. It's really bad for me because it's hard to switch between the two systems.

Michael takes his identification with the program, the good relationships he has with his professors and the positive attitude he has maintained all throughout so seriously, that when others spoil it for him by not showing respect to the pledge (and therefore the community), it highly affects his enjoyment and his drive. In fact, elements of integrative motivation are so present in his case (from the desire and passion he feels when learning to how easily he has integrated within his community) that when they are disrupted, it all gets really shaky.

Despite all of this, however, as table 2 shows, the overall positive learning experiences he has had outshine every bad experience he faced, which is apparent when he talks about how much the program has positively affected him:

I didn't really know what to expect, and yeah, I don't know, it's been... I had a lot of energy, a lot energy that I don't have when I speak English. And I'm not sure why it is, if it's the language or the professors or the other students that reflected on, or a combination, but I feel like in general I've just been smiling a lot, and speaking a lot. Just all that group, community,

activities, and just things you're involved in here, and yeah it's been... it's definitely rubbed off on me.

What seems to be an important part of Michael's self-perceived successful experience is his ability to gauge his learning progress with his expectations, as well as the confidence he feels when he speaks about his progress as a French speaker:

When we do the exercises where you just read two or three sentences slowly for the pronunciation, I think I'm really good at that. I think I'm better than some other students with that aspect. And I'm definitely confident with sitting down and pronouncing words on a page. I think that's the biggest strength I have. So when we do that in class, I'm kind of, I don't know why I kind of get excited to do that. I kind of like to hear myself say the words and hear the professor 'oh yeah that's right'. It's kind of like reinforcement.

More interesting is the way he speaks about his oral production class and how it completely changed his perspective:

There is... I don't know if there is anything I need to add, but there's something that that was kind of interesting. When the director [of the program] I think on the first day, I don't really remember because my comprehension was a lot worse... but she talked about, something about the magic of [the program] and I was like, 'What?', I don't really believe in magic. And I'm not really sure that it's as magical as maybe she thinks, but I do think there's something interesting that goes on. I have experienced that in my oral production course with [one of my professors]. I just looked around and seeing the progress that we made with the other students in the classroom, and me and everyone... it was just so comfortable and passionate to speak and learn, and completely different from day one. I think that's really been something that only she could really do with us. Yeah she has so much energy, I don't know how she has so much energy to teach three times a day like that, and then organize things like films for us in the evening, and just be so energized each day, like never tired. It's been really amazing.

It is also evident that the seven weeks spent in the program for Michael have been a real life changing experience, the way he talks about the program being a springboard for his future. When I ask him what the future holds and what he thinks about possibly becoming a highly proficient speaker, he responds:

I: And so do you see yourself sort of projecting into the future, maybe saying like 'oh I would like to have that level of proficiency one day'?

Michael: Definitely yeah.

I: So that I can have that many more experiences?

Michael: Yeah definitely. I really want to... I don't want to just do this program and kind of have it rest and hang wherever it is. I'm going to definitely use it as gas to propel me.

This chapter of the thesis dealing with the findings was divided into two sections. In the first section, we presented some general findings concerning eight of the ten participants of the study, according to the elements as illustrated in the conceptual framework. A summary of the eight participants' experiences was offered according to the overall characteristics exhibited by each participant. Here, a mixture of traits ranging from moderately high integrative motivation to moderately high instrumental motivation was in order for most of the participants.

The second section focused on two of the ten participants of the study, namely Michael and Alexandra, who represent polar opposites in the characteristics they exhibit on the continuum. Their respective experience is described in much greater details and it is made clear why Michael demonstrates a clear tendency to exhibit a vast majority of traits corresponding to high integrative motivation and low instrumental motivation, and why Alexandra exhibits a high preponderance to instrumental motivation and low integrative motivation.

Both sections are presented in light of the integrative-instrumental motivation continuum, while the second section deals explicitly with the six categories as outlined in table 1. These categories relate to each and every element of the conceptual framework and stand out as being the most relevant overarching nodes to come out of data analysis.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The previous section presents the findings in light of the integrative-instrumental motivation continuum. More particularly, I demonstrated how each of the six themes (as outlined in table 1) are relevant avenues to explore in order to theoretically apply the continuum and thus show its value in the present study. Certainly, the list of themes tackled here is not exhaustive; it simply presents various topics that are relevant to the way participants experience motivation and, to a lesser extent, identity construction.

The following chapter is divided into two sections: the first section tackles the relation between motivation, investment and identity construction, while the second section addresses the general importance of social and co-curricular activities in the program. Indeed, further questioning regarding the link between integrative/instrumental motivation and the notion of investment, and thus identity construction, is necessary given the state of research in SLE today. Despite the fact that the conceptual framework does not specifically account for notions of identity and agency, it is nonetheless important to further explore how those themes come into play in the present study, since their relevance in the findings is apparent. Moreover, the findings demonstrate how the social aspect of the program is a key element in relation with the notions mentioned here.

Section 1: Integrative Motivation, Investment and Identity Construction

How does integrative motivation relate to investment in learning French in the program?

It would appear difficult for a student to be invested if he or she has not experienced a high level of integrative motivation in the first place. This is because investment is a concept that "complements constructs of motivation in the field of SLA", as Norton (2001, p. 4) points out. Albeit, unlike integrative motivation, investment explicitly accounts for relations of power and cultural/social capital as elements that can have important effects on second language learners and their learning

experiences. Integrative motivation recognizes the relevance of social variables in the learning process, though it is arguably less of a socially-oriented concept than investment. Learners who invest in a learning situation do so with the knowledge that their said investments will have important repercussions on their possibilities for the future; much like learners who are integratively motivated, they are not looking for immediate results but understand the long-term commitment. Investment is a difficult concept to "measure" qualitatively, for two reasons: first, there are no clear guidelines to follow, which in a way is the whole point, and second, it is an abstract concept which is meant to be problematized and thus not attain finality. On the other hand, it is possible to tell the extent to which one exhibits characteristics that are proper to integrative or instrumental motivation, as demonstrated in the previous section. Because it is always difficult (and sometimes dangerous) to characterize learners, these constructs are meant to help us frame an understanding of the participants' experiences rather than labelling them.

It is very unlikely that a link between integrative motivation and investment does not exist. In a sense, integrative motivation precedes and is essential to showing signs of investment. People who exhibit high instrumental motivation will naturally show very few signs of investment since their orientations are for external rather than internal rewards. They may work very hard at learning the language to attain their goals, but in the end their desires are more reward-oriented than for individuals who learn for sheer pleasure. Michael and Alexandra illustrate just this point. One type of motivation is not necessarily "better" than the other since orientations vary across learners. What matters is that the learning environment matches the type of investment that the student is willing to put forth.

Ultimately, it is still unclear as to exactly where investment and integrative motivation cross paths, though it is evident that both notions have strong potential in explaining processes of second

language learning. Norton (2010) insists that if "learners invest in the target language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (p. 3). While investing in the target language or in the possibility of acquiring additional future resources are extremely important steps, it is possible that a person will invest in learning the language not only in terms of time, attention or dedication, or in the people and its culture, but also in its ideologies and representations, as Byrd-Clark (2008) points out. In this sense, investment becomes a broader concept, one that goes beyond what integrative motivation attempts to explain.

Norton states the following: "My research found that high levels of motivation did not necessarily translate into good language learning, and that unequal relations of power between language learners and target language speakers was a common theme in the data" (2001, p. 4). In her research, conducted with newly arrived immigrant women in Canada, Norton emphasizes power relations as one of the central preoccupations. To make a link with the context of my research, what I perceive here is that power is indeed an important consideration which can help recognize why a student may lack (or experience) integrative motivation or investment. In Alexandra's case, who struggled in her relationship with one professor in particular, and the fact that she sometimes felt diminished and discouraged by this professor's attitudes towards the class and herself, it is quite possible that this relationship made her feel powerless in the face of authority (foreign no less). This may have had a negative effect on her desire to integrate or identify with native speakers of French, and could have also played a role in the development of attitudes that she held towards French speakers, since the only native French speakers on campus were professors. This could also have negatively affected her desire to further invest in her curricular work. On the other hand, Michael, who had no problem with his professors' teaching styles, was in fact positively affected (in terms of

identification, attitudes, motivation and investment) by these relationships as they did not make him feel powerless (in fact they energized him). In this sense, power, as it is perceived by my respondents, and which is essentially part of the investment framework, can in fact relate to the notion of integrative motivation, thus exemplifying how both notions can indeed cross paths.

Other elements also appear to be important. As Byrd Clark (2008) found in her research on Italian Canadian youth and their investments in French in Canada, it is not so much a matter of learners investing in the target language "as it is the investment in ideologies and representations of such a target language and culture" (p. 25). What the French culture, language and its people represent for my participants, vary enormously. Every participant experienced a particular representation of French that has been processed differently through time and space and that has created a different idea of what French means to them. Ashley, who had been romanticizing the French culture and life in Paris for a while before she entered the program, later decided moving to Paris wasn't a dream anymore, but that she would be better off staying in America where she felt she really belonged. For Michael, whose central interests in French lie in the intricacies of the language and his passion for the Québec culture, this experience only confirmed to him that he did indeed love French as much as he thought he did. For Claire, who is fascinated with the whole linguistic element of French, it became apparent that despite her fascination for the language, she missed speaking English terribly. For Maya, who feels that as an African-American, she has no second language heritage, the experience in the program only confirmed to her the importance of leaving a second language legacy to her children in the future. Thus, "learning French" represents much more than a mere language learning experience for these participants; it is a way of becoming and a way of constructing a world they are trying to make sense of.

While Byrd Clark's theory (which builds on investment) is noteworthy, my particular research context reveals that investment can mean investing in absolutely everything that comes with the specificities of the learning context – that is the good, the bad and the ugly that students encounter. Students in this IM setting were away from home for nearly two months, had to adapt to a new social setting, new people and a new language (with a pledge no less), in addition to dealing with uncertainties for many. These elements became part of many students' unsettling reality for two whole months.

To become fully invested, students engage in their learning environment, their relationships with people on campus, the teachers (some of which they like, some of which they like less), the surprises they encounter, the stress that builds up, etc. If Norton's (2000) claims regarding good language learning linked with investment are true, then the more a person invests in his or her language learning, the higher he or she will succeed and feel rewarded by his or her experience, and thus the higher his or her integrative motivation should be. Investment, as Norton (2010) would have it, is understood here as "doing so with the understanding" that sometimes learning is fun, but that a painful or difficult situation might arise at any moment, for any reason. This is all too apparent in Michael's case when his trip to Montreal turned awry and people around him started breaking the pledge; both events left him feeling disappointed. Instead of letting it affect him, he fought against challenges and reminded himself why it was that he was in the SFLIP in question in the first place; he understood that to succeed and get the best out of his experience, he had to enjoy the good moments and make the best out of the more difficult ones. Even though it is possible that Michael arrived in the program keener than most participants, he still did not know what to expect (except for those who had been there in previous years) and he apparently understood right away what it took to succeed.

The participants in this study demonstrate that there is a good amount of hardship and disappointment, along with pleasure and gratification, that come with wanting to learn a language quickly in an intensive immersion program.

The question of developing a second language identity or modifying one's previously held identity through integrative motivation and/or investment - How does the change in identity manifest itself accordingly? High integrative motivation seems to be linked with an important change in identity for Michael, whereas this is not the case for Alexandra. It would appear that there is an important relationship between a high level of integrative motivation (and investment) and that of an L1/L2 identity being modified. Modify is the appropriate word to use here since the construction of one's identity in this case is not seen (or experienced rather) in terms of detachment from L1 identity or the conscious building of a "new" identity. It is not simply a matter of gain and loss, because identity does not come in quantities. No participants actually felt like they had become less of an English speaker or less American due to their high integrative motivation, nor were there any participants who felt like they had developed a new identity which they were conscious of and could characterize or describe.

For many participants who showed signs of high integrative motivation (Ashley and Claire for example), the case is not so much that they became another person, but that they now view their L1 identity, after seven weeks, under a new angle. However, it is not possible in the scope of this research to claim that this is directly linked to the integrative motivation they experienced. Ashley's experience learning French made her realize that she loves America and that she is now more than ever proud of being American and living in America. The fairy tale perception of the French language and of France that she used to entertain had been de-romanticized by the end of the program. It is difficult to tell whether this makes her more American and less French.

Another participant, Claire, realized by the end of the seven weeks how much she loved the English language, its words and speaking it, and felt like she may have taken its beauty and easiness for granted all this time. In other words, the challenge of learning another language made her realize that she loved her L1 even more now, though her love for French did not diminish. Hence, her perceptions of both languages and how she represents them did in fact change, though it is difficult to say whether she started developing a new identity or if her L1 identity changed. The key word here is difference. Difference as in both participants now view their L1 differently, and the representations they created for themselves of the L2 (French) have also changed, not necessarily for good or bad.

For the two main participants, namely Michael and Alexandra, there seems to be an influence between the type of motivation experienced and the intensity of the modification of identity. For Michael, the seven weeks spent in the program was literally a life changing experience: it made him realize that he wanted French to be an integral part of his life, and that is was going to define an important part of his future self. Alexandra realized that she was not much of a language person and showed no sign of French having rocked her world, as was the case with Michael. She came to the program in the first place because she was told it would help her do research for her PhD dissertation, while Michael, despite no encouragement or particular reason to learn French, came purely out of passion and interest. The fact is that Michael could not envision a future without the French language; Alexandra, on the other hand, will probably not look back at her experience in the program as a life defining experience. Looking at Michael and Alexandra's experience in the program more closely, the results of this study tend towards a probable link between integrative motivation, investment and the modification/construction of an L1/L2 identity.

Moreover, two additional factors that should also be taken in consideration here are the students' level or proficiency and the number of languages spoken. For two of the ten participants of

this study, who happen to be multilingual, (that is, who speak another language other than English and French), namely Andrew and Natalie, learning a new language seemed like business as usual, because it is part of both participants' reality since childhood. As for the level/proficiency, even though it is difficult to trace an actual pattern, it seems that for many of the graduate students, the learning experience differs in terms of identity as compared to the undergraduate students. Looking at the participants of this study, specifically four of whom are graduate students, French is, for the most part, a language that has been part of their established reality, whether professional (three out of the four are high school French teachers), or personal (Naomi has been speaking French since she was a child). Thus, it is difficult to say how much the actual seven weeks on campus has had an effect on their identity in comparison with the beginners and intermediates, for whom the change is possibly more obvious or intense.

Section 2: The Importance of Extra-Curricular and Social Activities

Taking full advantage of the opportunities of being immersed in an environment in which exposure and production of the target language were maximized. The findings from my research point out that, in order to fully take advantage of the immersion program in question, one should be ready and willing as well as have the desire to participate in as much of what the program has to offer in terms of extra-curricular and social activities. This is the reason these programs claim they can do so much in terms of quick learning for the students; if students do take advantage of everything, they are really a game-changer, as Michael's case demonstrates. This being said, the program seems to be targeted towards a specific type of student/language learner; having high grades, as this is one of the many pre-requisites upon which one is accepted, will not suffice since there is much more at stake here than grades and curricular work. This program is intensive in all of its aspects: socially, culturally, cognitively, emotionally, and time-wise. Students who show little desire

to meet other students and make new friends, or to participate in co-curricular and social activities, or to work hard academically – which is to say become invested in all the spheres of life offered by the program – might still succeed and come away with some satisfaction, albeit to a much lesser extent than those who strive to become fully invested. In this study, the participants who experienced the most satisfaction and who were the most integratively motivated were those who became the most involved in their language learning community. This does not mean attending every single event and activity, as this would be practically impossible; rather, it means exhibiting a good balance of curricular and co-curricular activities, as well as exercising good time management, both of which are apparently no easy task given the heavy workload and intensity of the program.

Taking advantage of everything means the students could choose one or two co-curricular activities and make an effort to attend certain social events that he or she would find pleasurable. This is, after all, the logic behind choosing to attend an intensive immersion program in the first place, otherwise a normal language program with no language pledge and little social contact (i.e., university classes, private lessons, classes in a language academy) would suffice. The advantages of such an IM program are many: overall, more than 20 workshops are offered every summer, ranging from sports (soccer, volleyball, hiking), to culture (art history, current French events, theatre), cooking (French cuisine class), academics (phonetics, second language teaching, writing), music (classical music concert, choir) and more. These workshops are all clearly presented at the beginning of the semester for students to decide what they would like to participate in. Moreover, one quick look at the school's calendar for the summer allows the student to plan ahead and see if he or she wants to attend social events such as: inter-school soccer games, weekly themed parties, karaoke nights, art presentations, open-mike nights, theatre presentations, and more. These events and

workshops are all free of charge and there are generally no restrictions as far as who can participate. They constitute the core elements of intensive immersion.

Certain essential questions should be formulated in relation to the above implications. Why does Michael seem like a good match for the program while Alexandra, apparently, not so much? In contrast to Alexandra's experience, why did the program correspond well to Michael's investments? Is it possible that students who are more integratively motivated really do come away with more satisfaction and better "results" in IM programs? There are indeed many differences in the way both participants not only approached the program, but also in the background and orientations they brought with them, as the previous chapter demonstrates.

Integrative motivation, identity positions and investment in extra-curricular activities.

In the first point of this section, we determined that the extracurricular and social aspects of the program are crucial for reinforcing integrative motivation. Those who were the most socially-oriented, in the end, seem to be the ones who came away with the most satisfaction while also best managing their time.

Of the six categories that were analyzed in the findings chapter (see table 1), Michael and Alexandra illustrate some of the various factors that are involved in motivation, identity construction, satisfaction, self worth, participation in curricular/social activities, and relationships with others. Both participants' orientations and dispositions towards the learning of French are very much in contrast to one another, as shown. Despite what it may appear to be, it is possible that the reason Alexandra did not succeed as well as Michael is because her orientations and identity investments were not totally in line with what the program had to offer, while Michael's were. It is possible, for example, that Alexandra might have done better than Michael in a more "regular" and less intense program, where a different type of investment is needed (no pledge, few co-curricular activities, less curricular work,

different class options, etc). In fact, it seems to be precisely because of the program's specific IM elements that Michael became so invested and integratively motivated. For Michael, the issue had nothing to do with respecting the pledge; it had to do with other people not respecting the community by breaking it. As he mentioned during an interview, the regular university classes in French did nothing for him because people stigmatised him for actually wanting to speak French.

At this point, it would seem logical to argue that despite a program's effort to help struggling students, if said students' investments are out of line with the "requirements" of the program, then there is little to do in terms of help. As this study shows, the ideal candidate for SFLIPs are people who want to participate in the social life at their disposition and, to a certain extent, decide to get out of their comfort zone (as Michael did). It also helps for the student to possess integrative orientations or motivations (towards learning French) in the first place. As for the students who enroll and end up struggling, like Alexandra did, it may be possible to prevent this by targeting certain difficulties in advance. The next section will deal with such implications for teachers and administrators.

Norton (2010) states: "if we agree that diverse identity positions offer learners a range of positions from which to speak, listen, read, or write, then the challenge for language educators is to explore which identity positions offer the greatest opportunity for social engagement and interaction" (p. 10). If what she claims is true, then it is difficult to think of a better learning environment than the actual SFLIP for students to have multiple opportunities to explore these identity positions, given how well structured and varied the program has become over its almost hundred years of existence. Indeed, where else in the world can a student take classes in the morning to learn about French literature, linguistics, and history, then spend the afternoon studying before playing soccer before dinner, finishing off the day with a theatre workshop in the evening? All of it in a structured and professional environment, where the only language allowed is French. This is only one of multiple

combinations that are available to students on a daily basis. In this sense, the "identity positions" that are available for students to discover on campus are not only encouraged and available to them, they are essential if students are looking to succeed and get the best out of their experience.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Implications and Practical Recommendations

On the one hand, the results of this study would imply that it is preferable to push students to become integratively motivated because Michael did so well all throughout the program. On the other hand, if a student's orientations are instrumental to start with (such as in Alexandra's case), theory would dictate that instrumental orientations, in this day and age, are not to be seen as inferior to integrative ones, as we noted in the conceptual framework chapter. In other words, is it the ultimate goal for our students to arrive or become (throughout the course of the program) as integratively motivated as possible, or can instrumental motivation and integrative motivation both lead to results that are equally positive for a language learner? Given the limited scope of this study, all that can be claimed is that Alexandra, who was instrumentally motivated, came away with less satisfaction and dealt with more difficulties than Michael, who displayed a high tendency towards integrative motivation. In another context, with different (and more) participants, the results could have been very dissimilar. Thus, it is impossible to claim representativeness for several reasons here, not the least of which is that this study only dealt with ten participants, but more accurately, only two in depth. In other words, instrumental motivation should not be automatically associated with negative effects, nor should integrative motivation with strictly positive effects.

Generally speaking, it is difficult to think of any variation of motivation that is not to be encouraged in language learners, whether it is integrative, instrumental, intrinsic or extrinsic. In this sense, teachers, administrators, and the people in charge of SFLIPs should not think of integrative motivation as an ultimate objective; rather, they should aim for students to develop positive characteristics that are associated with integrative motivation, according to what we have seen from Michael in this study. For example, we need to encourage students in SFLIPs to become more social

and develop a sense of community. Since co-curricular activities seem to play an important role in this, it could mean more promotion of co-curricular activities at the beginning of the summer.

Professors could even ask their students to choose one co-curricular activity as mandatory and assign a percentage of the course's grade as some type of homework related to this activity. This would create an obvious and conscious link between the curricular and the co-curricular (one that is absent at this time). If some students refrain from engaging in an activity or going to a social event because they have too much homework, this could be a solution for them to become more socially active and thus further engaged in their community. In other words, because the reasons for not participating in the co-curricular may vary from one student to the other, it is important to identify those reasons (lack of time being an important one) and address them as best as we can in order for all students to see the social aspect of the program as a necessity rather than an option.

Because the issue of time management on campus is important, as the data from this study show, another possibility could be to have workshops on this topic and make students aware, right from the start, that good time management is key to getting the most out of their language learning experience. For students who struggle with excessive difficulties, stress and/or frustration during their seven weeks, it could also be a good idea for the school to have someone who deals exclusively with these students in times of need, (a sort of counsellor). In other words, the teachers and administrators of the school/program cannot assume that students will automatically be fine in all spheres of life on campus, given the cognitive, emotional and cultural difficulties and challenges all students will face at one point or another. Alexandra, for example, mentioned that she only encountered one person on campus all summer that did not have a "breakdown". One could wonder whether this is normal or whether there is something we can do to ease the stress and anxiety felt by many in intensive immersion programs.

Summary, Contributions and Recommendations for Future Research

The purpose of this study was to explore how U.S college students experience integrative and instrumental motivation and how this relates to the way their sociolinguistic identity is understood, represented and constructed through their multiple experiences learning French as a Foreign Language (FFL) in an intensive SFLIP. The research question that guided this study is the following: How do students experience integrative and instrumental motivation in a U.S intensive SFLIP and how is this linked the notion of investment and their sociolinguistic identity construction? This question was addressed through a mixed methods approach using an online questionnaire and interviews. The literature supporting this study addresses the themes of second language education (SLE) in relation to immersion learning, motivation and identity. Based on the literature review, more specifically Gardner's (2001) notion of *integrative motivation*, an integrative-instrumental motivation continuum was developed specifically for this study. This continuum reflects a manifestation of the extent to which participants experienced tendencies toward integrative or instrumental motivation. The results of the study demonstrate that participants who exhibited the most characteristics in link with integrative motivation were the ones who took full advantage of the opportunities of being immersed in an environment in which exposure and production of the target language were maximized. Furthermore, the notion of integrative motivation is thought to be linked in several important ways to that of investment, while also having a considerable effect on the construction of identities. Finally, social and co-curricular activities play a crucial role in the development of characteristics relating to integrative motivation and investment.

The present study contributes to the themes of second language education, motivation and identity by demonstrating how participants' lived experiences on campus for seven weeks affect the way they conceive of and construct their identity, and how integrative motivation plays a key role in

this construction. More particularly, it sheds new light on the way integrative motivation relates to sociolinguistic processes of second language learning specifically in the context of SFLIPs and Intensive Immersion. Although integrative motivation has been a key notion in second language research for close to 50 years now, we still know very little as to how it relates to the increasingly popular notions of investment and identity construction, let alone in the wide array of contexts available to second language learners. This study sheds light on the particular context of SFLIPs, which has been the object of very little research since their years of existence, and which the public knows very little about to this day. If all of this is true for Canada, a country internationally renowned for its French immersion programs, the situation in the United States is even more alarming given just how little we know about L2 learning and immersion in a country that recognizes the great lengths it still has to go to in order to achieve its national goals in terms of foreign language learning. Although limited in its contribution, this study fills small yet important gaps in the research areas mentioned. It is my hope that the research I have conducted contributes to helping administrators, teachers and people in charge of SFLIPs by providing them with useful descriptions of lived language learning experiences, and a strong analysis of the dynamics of motivation and identity in context.

It is no secret that much ground remains to be covered in terms of research in the areas reviewed in this study. More specifically, two areas are of particular concern in my opinion. First, despite the fact that the construct of integrative-instrumental motivation has been the motivation notion *par excellence* for researchers since its rising popularity during the 1970s, very little is known as to how it relates to other notions of motivation, specifically the intrinsic-extrinsic notion. As Noels (2001) points out, "...the exact manner by which the intrinsic/extrinsic and integrative/instrumental orientations relate to each other has received rather little attention" (p. 51). Furthermore, while it is true that the integrative and instrumental notions have received the most empirical attention, the

"relative predictive power of [both] orientation[s] was found to be inconsistent" (p. 44). This is partly due to the fact that a vast array of other orientations exist, which, despite having been empirically described, still remain to be systematically organized in a coherent framework, consistent with existing knowledge on motivation notions (p. 44).

The second area in which more research is a pressing matter concerns the relation between motivation (integrative or otherwise) and the notion of investment. Investment being a relatively new construct, its objectives and purposes are, for the most part, still limited in their ability to clearly explain processes of language learning in relation with the construction of identity. It is also true, as this study briefly demonstrates, that the motivation-investment relation has yet to be clearly conceptualised, or understood for that matter, since the notion of investment still lacks an operable framework that can be "applied" in our field.

References

- Abbuhl, R., & Mackey, A. (2008). Second language acquisition research methods. In N. Hornberger & S. McKay (Eds.). *Research Methods in Language and Education*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters. Retrieved from <http://www.lerc.educ.ubc.ca/fac/norton/Norton%20in%20H%20and%20McK%20April%202009.pdf>
- Alim, H. S., Ibrahim, A., & Pennycook, A. (2009). *Global linguistic flows: Hip hop cultures, youth identities, and the politics of language*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Belsey, C. (2002). *Poststructuralism: A very short introduction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Berg, B. L. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences, 4th Ed.* Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Block, D. (2007a). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *Modern Language Journal, 91*(5), 863-876. Retrieved from <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2007.00674.x>
- Block, D. (2007b). *Second language identities*. London; New York: Continuum.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information, 6*, 645-668. Retrieved from http://webpace.qmul.ac.uk/sbaumgarten/Pierre%20Bourdieu_The%20Economics%20of%20Linguistic%20Exchanges.pdf
- Bourdieu, P., & Thompson, J. B. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- Burbules, N. C., & Peters, M. A. (2004). *Poststructuralism and educational research*. Oxford, UK: Rowman and Littlefield
- Byrd Clark, J. (2008). *Journeys of integration in Canada's pluralistic society: Italian Canadian youth and the symbolic investments in French as official language*. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Caine, T. M. (2008). Do you speak global? The spread of English and the implications for English language teaching. *Canadian Journal for New Scholars in Education*, 1(1), 1-11.
- Caldas, S. J., & Caron-Caldas, S. (1999). Language immersion and cultural identity: Conflicting influences and values. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 12(1), 42-58.
- Cervatiuc, A. (2009). Identity, good language learning, and adult immigrants in Canada. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 8(4), 254-271. Retrieved from <http://www.informaworld.com/openurl?genre=article&id=doi:10.1080/15348450903130439>
- Clarke, S. (1981). *The foundations of structuralism: A critique of Lévi-Strauss and the structuralist movement*. UK: The Harvester Press.
- Creswell, J. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*, 3rd Ed. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.
- Collentine, J., & Freed, B. F. (2004). Learning context and its effect on second language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 26(2), 153-171.
- Dagenais, D. (2003). Accessing imagined communities through multilingualism and immersion education. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 2(4), 269-283.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York: Plenum.

- De Saussure, F. (1974/1916). *Course in general linguistics*. (W. Baskin, Trans.). C. Bally & A. Sechehaye (Eds.). New York, NY: Philosophical Library. Retrieved from <http://www.archive.org/details/courseingenerall00saus>
- Djité, P. G. (2006). Shifts in linguistic identities in a global world. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 30 (1), 1-20.
- Dornyei, Z. (1994). Motivation and motivating in the foreign language classroom. *Modern Language Journal*, 78(3), 273-284. Retrieved from [http://mailer.fsu.edu/~jkeller/EDP5217/Library/Curiosity%20&%20Attention/Attention/Dornyei\(1994\)%20Foreign%20Language%20Classroom.pdf](http://mailer.fsu.edu/~jkeller/EDP5217/Library/Curiosity%20&%20Attention/Attention/Dornyei(1994)%20Foreign%20Language%20Classroom.pdf)
- Dornyei, Z. (2009). Individual differences: Interplay of learner characteristics and learning environment. *Language Learning*, 59(s1), 230-248. Retrieved from <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-9922.2009.00542.x>
- Dörnyei, Z., & Ushioda, E. (2009) Motivation, language identities and the L2 self: A theoretical overview. In Z. Dörnyei & E. Ushioda (Eds.), *Motivation, language identity and the L2 self* (pp. 1-9). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Duff, P. A. (2008). Language socialization, participation and identity: Ethnographic approaches. In M. Martin-Jones, A.M de Mejia & N.H Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education*. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/oculottawa/Doc?id=1022879&ppg=935>
- Eidoo, S. (2003). *Vivre Français: an examination of a "French-Only" policy as an educational experience*. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Toronto. Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- Freed, B.F., Segalowitz, N., & Dewey, D.P. (2004). Context of learning and second language fluency: Comparing regular classroom, study abroad, and intensive domestic immersion programs. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 26, 275-301. Retrieved from

<http://journals.cambridge.org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=214874&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0272263104262064>

Finegan, E. (2008). *Language: Its structure and use*. Boston, MA: Thomson-Wadsworth.

Gardner, R.C., & Lambert, W.E. (1959). Motivational variables in second language acquisition. *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 13, 266-272.

Gardner, R. C., & Lambert, W. E. (1972). *Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.

Gardner, R. C. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning : The role of attitudes and motivation*. London ; Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.: E. Arnold.

Gardner, R. C. (2001a). Language learning motivation: The student, the teacher, and the researcher. *Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education*, 6(1), 1-18.

Gardner, R.C. (2001b). Integrative motivation and second language acquisition. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second language acquisition* (pp. 1-20). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Genesee, F., & Gandara, P. (1999). Bilingual education programs: A cross-national perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(4), 665-685

Genesee, F. (2011). Introduction. *Canadian Issues*, 3-4. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1009013215?accountid=14701>

Goldberg, E., & Noels, K. A. (2006). Motivation, ethnic identity, and post-secondary education language choices of graduates of intensive French language programs. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 62(3). Retrieved from <http://www.utpjournals.com/cmlr/cmlr623.html>

- Gravel, M. M. S. (2010). *A sociocultural perspective on a summer French-language immersion program*. *Masters Abstracts International*, 48(02), 0676. (Edition date: 2009. 113 p. M.A.). (201012915; AAIMR52666)
- Gutting, G. (1998). Poststructuralism. In E. Craig (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. NY: Routledge. Pp. 600-604.
- Heller, M. (2003). Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7(4), 473-492.
- Heller, M. (2008). Language and the nation-state: Challenges to sociolinguistic theory and practice. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12(4), 504-524.
- Hodgson, N., & Standish, P. (2009). Uses and misuses of poststructuralism in educational research. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 32(3), 309-326. Retrieved from http://pdfserve.informaworld.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/241491_770885140_916742328.pdf
- Howard, E., Sugarman, J., & Christian, D. (2003). Trends in two-way immersion education. A review of the research report 63. Baltimore MD: Center for Research on the Education of Students Placed at Risk (CRESPAR/John Hopkins University). Retrieved from <http://www.csos.jhu.edu/crespar/techReports/Report63.pdf>
- Jackson, F. H. &, Malone, M. E. (2009). Building the foreign language capacity we need: Toward a comprehensive strategy for a national language framework. College Park, Mary-land: National Foreign Language Center. Retrieved from [www.http://www.languagepolicy.org/documents/synthesis%20and%20summaryfinal040509_combined.pdf](http://www.languagepolicy.org/documents/synthesis%20and%20summaryfinal040509_combined.pdf)
- Kaufman, D., Shapson, S., & Day, D. (1982). An evaluation study of the summer language bursary program. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 7(3), 62-83.

- Keating, N. (1982). The summer language bursary program: A Canadian success story. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 45(3), 457-463.
- Makropoulos, J. (2005) A case study of French immersion stayers in an Ottawa high school: cultural capital, investment, and identification to French. In J. Cohen, K. T. McAlister, K. Rolstad, and J. MacSwan (Eds.), *ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism*. Cascadilla Press: Somerville, MA. Retrieved from <http://www.lingref.com/isb/4/114ISB4.PDF>
- Makropoulos, J. (2010). Student engagement in an Ottawa French immersion high school program. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 33 (3), 515-540. Retrieved from <http://www.csse-scee.ca/CJE/Articles/FullText/CJE33-3/CJE33-3-Makropoulos.pdf>
- Mears, C. L. (2009). *Interviewing for education and social science research*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Noels, K. (2001). New orientations in language learning motivation: Towards a model of intrinsic, extrinsic, and integrative orientations and motivation. In Z. Dörnyei & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Motivation and second language acquisition* (pp. 43-68). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Harlow, England ; New York: Longman.
- Norton, B. (2010). Language and identity. In N. Hornberger & S. McKay (Eds.). *Sociolinguistics and Language Education*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters. Retrieved from <http://www.lerc.educ.ubc.ca/fac/norton/Norton%20in%20H%20and%20McK%20April%202009.pdf>
- Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29(1), 9-31.

- Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts*. Clevedon ; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the discourses of colonialism*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Retrieved from
<https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=http://www.netLibrary.com/urlapi.asp?action=summary&v=1&bookid=72048>
- Pennycook, A. (2001). English in the world/the world in English. In A. Burns & C. Coffin (Eds.), *Analysing English in global context* (pp. 78-89). NY: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and transcultural flows*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Potowski, K. (2004). Student Spanish use and investment in a dual immersion classroom: Implications for second language acquisition and heritage language maintenance. *The Modern Language Journal*, 88(1), 75-101.
- Potowski, K. (2007). *Language and identity in a dual immersion school*. Clevedon, UK ; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.
- Ricento, T. (1995). Considerations of identity in L2 learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research on second language teaching and learning* (pp. 895–910). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Retrieved from
<http://www.lerc.educ.ubc.ca/fac/norton/Ricento%20on%20identity.pdf>
- Roy, S. (2008). French immersion studies: From second-language acquisition (SLA) to social issues. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 54(4), 396-406.
- Schumann, J. H. (1976). Social distance as a factor in second language acquisition. *Language Learning*, 26(1), 135-143.

Schumann, J. H. (1986). Research on the acculturation model for second language acquisition.

Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 7(5), 379-392.

Spielmann, G., & Radnofsky, M. L. (2001). Learning language under tension: New directions from a

qualitative study. *The Modern Language Journal*, 85(2), 259-278.

St-Hilaire, A. (2005). Louisiana French immersion education: Cultural identity and grassroots

community development. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 26(2), 158-

172.

Wesely, P. M. (2009). The language learning motivation of early adolescent French immersion

graduates. *Foreign Language Annals*, 42(2), 270-286.

Wiersma, W. (2000). *Research in education: An introduction*, 7th Ed. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Appendices

Appendix A: Letter of Information

Student Identity Construction and Motivation in an Intensive U.S French immersion Program

Principal Investigator:

Alexis Maltais

Master of Arts student in Second Language
Education

Faculty of Education

University of Ottawa

Supervisor:

Dr. Douglas Fleming

Assistant Professor

Faculty of Education

University of Ottawa, ON

Invitation to Participate: I, Alexis Maltais from Canada, am a graduate student at the University of Ottawa in the Faculty of Education, currently enrolled in an M.A in Second Language Education and conducting a study as part of the requirements to obtain my degree. You are invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by me, Alexis Maltais, the principal investigator, under the direction of my thesis supervisor, Dr. Douglas Fleming.

Participation: Participants in this study include students such as yourself. If you wish to participate in this study, please complete the attached questionnaire, in which you are invited to provide some demographic information and write about your experience so far with language learning, and your thoughts on language immersion. Your decision to complete and return this survey will be interpreted as an indication of your consent to participate. The questionnaire should take you approximately 20 minutes to complete. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Once you have completed the questionnaire, please return it in to the principal investigator at the email address listed above. We would appreciate receiving it before June 3rd, 2011.

If English is your first language and French your second (in progress), you may be invited to participate in two interviews that will take place on campus this summer, and that will follow up on the questions of this questionnaire.

Purpose of the Study: This study will help me gain insights into how students experience identity construction and motivation while learning French as a foreign language. My particular focus in this study is to investigate how students experience the construction of their sociolinguistic identity and how this links to their motivation to learn French in the Summer French Language Immersion Program at . I am specifically interested in examining how this process takes place for summer French immersion students in the U.S.

Benefits: Participants will benefit from this research by having a chance to express their perspective

and point of view in regards to the learning, identity construction and motivation experienced within the program. This study is also meant to inform educational institutions and administrators on how to make second language instruction more meaningful and relevant for students in intensive immersion.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: The information that you will share will remain strictly confidential and will be used solely for the purposes of this research. The only people who will have access to the research data are the principal investigator and the supervisor. Your answers to open-ended questions may be used verbatim in presentations and publications but neither you (nor your organization) will be identified. Results will be published in pooled (aggregate) format. Anonymity is not guaranteed since you are being asked to send back the questionnaire by email to the principal investigator, and since you may be contacted later on to participate in the interview part of the research taking place this summer.

Conservation of data: The surveys will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in the residence of the principal investigator for a period of 10 years at which time they will be destroyed.

Voluntary Participation: You are under no obligation to participate and if you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer questions that you do not want to answer. Completion and return of the questionnaire by you implies consent.

Information about the Study Results: The results of this study will be presented in the principal investigator's final thesis, available upon request.

If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, you may contact the principal investigator or his supervisor at the numbers mentioned herein.

If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research

Please keep this form for your records.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Investigator's Printed Name

Investigator's Signature

Date

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form

Student Experience in French Immersion Informed Consent Form

Study: Student Identity Construction and Motivation in an Intensive U.S French Immersion Program

Principal Investigator:

Supervisor:

Alexis Maltais

Dr. Douglas Fleming

Master of Arts student in Second Language
Education

Assistant Professor

Faculty of Education

Faculty of Education

University of Ottawa, ON

University of Ottawa

I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Alexis Maltais, the principal investigator of this research.

I understand that the purpose of the study is to examine students' sociolinguistic identity construction and their views of motivation in Summer French Language Immersion Program.

My participation will consist essentially of participating in two face to face, one-on-one interviews that will last between 45 minutes to one hour each, during which I will be asked questions relating to my experience learning French here on campus. The first interview is to be scheduled during the first or second week of the program and the second interview on the last week, at a place on campus agreed upon by the principal investigator and I.

My participation in this study will give me a chance to express my perspective and point of view in regards to the learning, identity construction and motivation experienced within the program, and also inform educational institutions and administrators on how to make second language instruction more meaningful and relevant for students in intensive immersion.

I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential and that the contents will be used solely for the purposes of this research. I also understand that my confidentiality will be protected and that the only people who will have access to the research data are the principal investigator and the supervisor. The answers I will provide may be used verbatim in presentations and publications but neither I (nor my organization) will be identified. Results will be published in pooled (aggregate) format.

I understand that my anonymity cannot be guaranteed since I will be asked to meet the principal investigator in person in order to participate in face-to-face interviews. However, I understand that the risks are minimal since my identity and the personal information I choose to disclose will be

Appendix C: Open-ended Questionnaire Sent via Email

STUDENT IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND MOTIVATION IN AN INTENSIVE U.S FRENCH IMMERSION PROGRAM

Participant number:

Date:

Demographic information

Tick the answer that represents you best

- Age group:
 - 18-23
 - 24-29
 - 30-35
 - 36-41
 - 41 or over

- Sex:
 - M
 - F

- Total previous experience learning French :
 - Less than a year
 - 1-2 years
 - 3-5 years
 - More than 5 years

- Occupation:

- What are your goals in learning French at Middlebury this summer? Tick off as many answers as you feel necessary:
 - Further study
 - Work related
 - Travel
 - Self-improvement
 - Social
 - Other (please list):

Please, answer these questions briefly (in 1 or 2 sentences)

- What is your country and state/province of origin and residence?

- What is (are) your mother tongue(s)?
- Do you speak any other language(s)? If so, what are they?
- Why did you decide to enrol in this Summer French Language Immersion Program (SFLIP)?
- How did you hear about this SFLIP?
- What is/are your main motivation(s) for wanting to learn French in the SFLIP?
- What other language learning experiences (immersion, study abroad, and/or classroom) do you have? Please provide a short description.
- What do you hope to gain from your experience this summer?
- What do you think the challenges of learning French in intensive immersion will be?

Thank you very much for your time!

COMMENTS:

Appendix D: Interview Prompt Protocol

STUDENT IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND MOTIVATION IN AN INTENSIVE U.S FRENCH IMMERSION PROGRAM

One on one, face to face interview on campus

Date: Time: Place:

Interviewer: Interviewee number:

Instructions:

- Break the ice by making small-talk with the interviewee: ask for his or her name, how he or she is, where he or she is from, how the first week on campus is going so far, if he or she is enjoying learning French so far, etc.
- Let the interviewee know that you will be asking him or her some questions about their experience learning French on campus.
- Let the interviewee know that you will be recording this conversation unless he or she disagrees.

Questions

1st interview (week 1)

1. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself and why you decided to come to this program?
2. How did you hear about this program?
3. Are there any specific reasons why this program in particular appeals to you?
4. How do you feel about the language pledge?
5. How do you feel when you speak French?
6. What are your thoughts and perceptions of the French language?
7. What do you think will be the biggest challenges this summer? How do you plan on overcoming these challenges?
8. How do you feel about the program (the classes, the people, and the environment) so far?
9. Can you tell me about any previous experiences you have learning French or any other language (immersion, classroom, abroad)?
10. What are your expectations coming here for the summer?

11. Do you have any specific objectives or goals in mind after having experienced this summer?

Thank you very much!

COMMENTS:

2nd interview (week 7)

1. Can you tell me about your experience learning French in the program for 7 weeks now?
2. How do you feel about yourself when you speak French?
3. What type of efforts do you feel is required to progress in this program?
4. Do you feel like you are part of the French community here on campus? In what ways?
5. How would you describe your learning experience here at the French School: the people you've met, the French community, the learning situations you've encountered?
6. What can you tell me about the relationships you've created with others (professors, students, staff) here on campus?
7. What role does the French language play in you having made these relationships? Would it have been the same in English?
8. What can you tell me about your interactions with other students you've met here on campus? Are they helpful and if so in what ways?
9. Do you feel like learning French here is changing/having an impact on you? If so, how?
10. What are some of the things that motivate you to stay here and learn French?
11. Are there any elements of the program that you don't particularly like or feel like are not so great? Why?
12. Do you feel like learning French is important to you? If so, in what sense and why?
13. Could you tell me about a situation in the classroom or on campus where you made a mistake in the target language? How did that make you feel? Why?
14. Again, could you tell me about a situation where this time you felt really good speaking French? How did that make you feel? Why?
15. How did you deal with the language pledge throughout your experience?

16. Can you tell me about a situation where you found it difficult to only communicate in French?
17. How do you like learning the language in the classroom compare to outside the classroom through activities available to you on campus?
18. Is there a specific time of the day/week (ex: during a certain event/activity) when you feel most comfortable and where you enjoy to learn French the most?
19. How do you feel about participating in the social life and being part of the community here on campus?
20. Do you feel the need or pressure to participate in social events here at the French school or is this something you're doing because you really enjoy doing it?

Thank you very much!

COMMENTS:

Appendix E: Questionnaire Participant Demographic Information

Table 1

Number of Questionnaire Respondents by Gender (N=38)

Gender	No.
Female	26
Male	12

Table 2

Number of Questionnaire Respondents by Age Group (N=38)

Age Group	No.
18-23	17
24-29	13
30-35	5
36-41	0
41+	2
No answer	1

Table 3

Number of Questionnaire Respondents by Previous Experience with French (N=38)

Previous Experience with French	No.
Less than a year	6
1-2 years	7
3-5 years	4
More than 5 years	21

Table 4

Number of Questionnaire by Level in the Summer Program (N=38)

Level	No.
1	3
2	4
3	5
4	6
Masters	16
Doctorat	1
No answer	3

Table 5

Number of Questionnaire by Occupation (N=38)

Occupation	No.
Student	24
French Teacher	6
Other (arts center assistant, Barista, Study abroad adviser, Language Teacher, Programs advisor)	6
No Answer	2

Table 6

Number of Questionnaire by Goals for the Summer (N=38)

Goals for the Summer	No.
Further Study	20
Work Related	7
Self-Improvement	6
Travel	1
Other	5
Socia	0

Table 7

Number of Questionnaire by Place of Origin/Residence (N=38)

Place of Residence/Origin	No.
U.S	26
U.S (but born elsewhere)	4
U.S (but lives abroad in French Speaking Country)	1
Canada	3
Outside North America (U.K, Cayman)	2
No Answer	2

Table 8

Number of Questionnaire by L1/Mother Tongue (N=38)

L1/Mother Tongue	No.
English	30
English and French	2
English and Greek	2
English and Spanish	1
Russian	1
Japanese	1
Chinese	1

Table 9

Number of Questionnaire by Other Spoken Language(s) (N=38)

Other Spoken Language(s)	No.
English Only	15
French	6
Spanish	5
German	2
Russian	1
Japanese	1
Chinese	1
Spanish and Latin	1
Spanish and Italian	1
French and Russian	1
French and Greek	1
Greek and Japanese	1
French, Spanish and Italian	1

Appendix F: Questionnaire Participant Qualitative Information: Number of mentions per category

Table 10

Number of Mentions per Other Language Learning Experiences (N=71)

Other Language Learning Experiences	No.
Experience studying, working, living abroad	22
Classroom (College)	13
Experiences learning other languages than French	9
Classroom (Other)	8
Classroom (High School)	6
Informal learning - family, friends	5
Immersion	4
Travel	2
Academic research	1
Other	1

Table 11

Number of Mentions per Reasons for Enrolling in an SFLIP (N=54)

Reasons for Enrolling in an SFLIP	No.
Immersion effectiveness	10
Communication and fluency	7
Further learning	6
Degree completion	5
Living abroad	5
Linguistic	5
Reputation	4
Professional	4
Past experience(s)	3
Convenience	3
Academic	1
No answer	1

Table 12

Number of Mentions per Hopes for the Summer (N= 81)

Hopes for the Summer	No.
Linguistic proficiency	29
Communication skills and fluency	11
Understanding of French language and culture	7
Academic	6
Experience	6
Friendship	5
Teaching skills	5
Community	3
Confidence	3
Other	2
Vocabulary	2
No answer	2

Table 13

Number of Mentions per Main Motivation(s) (N= 56)

Main Motivation(s)	No.
Linguistic	7
Communication and fluency	7
Learning environment	7
Effectiveness and quality	7
Activities abroad	7
Professional	6
Leisure	3
Degree completion	2
Academic	2
Past experience(s)	1
Further learning	1
Family	1
No answer	4

Table 14

Number of Mentions per Foreseen Challenges (N=39)

Foreseen Challenges	No.
Language pledge	10
Communication difficulties	6
Immersion intensity	4
Personality and expression	4
Adaptation	3
Linguistic difficulties	3
language adjustment	2
vocabulary lack	2
Confidence	1
Coursework load	1
Presentational mode	1
Distance from loved ones	1
No answer	1

Appendix G: Interview Participant Demographic Information

Table 15

Code	Age	Gender	Years /exp.	Level	Occupation	Goals	Home	L1	L2,3
O	18-23	M	Less 1	1	Student	Work related	Cayman	Eng Sp	-
R	18-23	M	1-2	2	Student	Further study	U.S	Eng	-
M	18-23	F	3-5	3	Student	Further study	U.S	Eng	-
Y	18-23	F	3-5	4	Student	Self improve	U.S	Eng	-
B	18-23	F	1-2	4	Student	Self improve	U.S	Eng	Sp
N	24-29	M	+5	M	Fr. teacher	Further study	U.S	Eng	Ger
L	24-29	M	+5	M	Fr. teacher	Further study	U.S	Eng	Fr
P	24-29	F	+5	M	Student	Further study	U.S	Eng Greek	Fr,Sp It
G	30-35	F	1-2	2	Student	Further study	Canada	Eng	Ger
T	41+	F	+5	M	Fr. teacher	Further study	U.S	Eng	Fr

Appendix H: Ethics Approval



File Number: 04-11-03
06/03/2011

Date (mm/dd/yyyy):

Université d'Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice
Social Science and Humanities REB

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

<u>First Name</u>	<u>Last Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Role</u>
Douglas	Fleming	Education / Education	Supervisor
Alexis	Maltais	Education / Education	Student Researcher

File Number: 04-11-03

Type of Project: Master's Thesis

Title: Student Identity Construction and Motivation in an Intensive U.S. French Immersion Program

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
06/03/2011	06/02/2012	Ia

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

Special Conditions / Comments:

N/A

File Number: 04-11-03
06/03/2011



Date (mm/dd/yyyy):

Université d'Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa

Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the application for ethical approval for the above named research project as of the Ethics Approval Date indicated for the period above and subject to the conditions listed the section above entitled "Special Conditions / Comments".

During the course of the study the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove subjects from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the study (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, information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment documentation, should be submitted to this office for approval using the "Modification to research project" form available at: http://www.rges.uottawa.ca/ethics/application_dwn.asp

Please submit an annual status report to the Protocol Officer four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to either close the file or request a renewal of ethics approval. This document can be found at: http://www.rges.uottawa.ca/ethics/application_dwn.asp

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office

Signature:

Kim Thompson

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